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BRITISH BAPTISTS IN CHINA

1845-1952

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Mo Ti, a Chinese Heretic

China Among the Nations

Teach Yourself Chinese

BRITISH BAPTISTS
IN CHINA
1845-1952

by

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FOREWORD

THE main aim of this book is to provide a record of the work of British Baptists in China, particularly of those who served there under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society during the period 1860 to 1951. In the process of drafting, it soon became evident that if the things attempted and the progress achieved during those years were to be rightly assessed, the story must be told in its historical setting, and that the activities and experiences of our B.M.S. missionaries should be related to the progress of the Christian movement in China as a whole, due consideration being given to the difficulties encountered by missionaries and Chinese Christians during that time.

The writer has endeavoured to be as factual and objective as possible in recounting these matters, but he is well aware that in a narrative of this kind errors and defects will be found, and that its tone and colour must inevitably reflect the experience and opinions of the narrator.

Nevertheless, it is issued in the hope that the story of the B.M.S. share in the modern Protestant missionary movement in China, may not only be informative, but that it may inspire those who read it to gratitude and praise to God for all that He has wrought through the labours of His servants in that great far-eastern land.

In conclusion, thanks are due to the officers and Headquarters' staff of the Society, especially the Rev. J. B. Middlebrook and the Rev. A. S. Clement, for much appreciated help in the planning and production of the book, and to many of my missionary colleagues for their valuable criticisms and suggestions. In this connection I would particularly like to mention Mrs. T. W. Allen, Miss D. J. Curtis, Dr. W. S. Flowers, the Rev. A. J. Garnier,

who also contributed the map, the Rev. H. H. Rowley and the Rev. F. S. Russell.

H. R. WILLIAMSON

Sutton, Surrey
9th September 1957

To the sacred memory of
the Rev. T. W. and Mrs. Piggott
and their son Wellesley
who suffered martyrdom for Christ
in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, Shansi
on 9th July 1900

PART ONE

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

CHAPTER I

OUR MISSIONARY HERITAGE (A.D. 735-1860)

THE Baptist Missionary Society began work in China in 1860. But from the seventh century onwards prolonged though intermittent efforts to evangelize the Chinese had been made by others. It will be useful, therefore, as a prelude to the story of B.M.S. work in China, to give a brief account of the more important of these earlier missionary enterprises to the people of that great and ancient land.

I. THE FIRST NESTORIAN MISSION, A.D. 635-845

The first Christian Mission to China of which there is certain knowledge was undertaken by a strong and zealous missionary branch of the Eastern Church which had numerous adherents in Assyria, Mesopotamia and other countries of central Asia east of the Euphrates. They were branded as Nestorians by the leaders of the Western Church after Nestorius, their reputed leader, had been condemned for heresy regarding the Nature of Christ by the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431. In China, however, their missionaries were known as preachers of the Luminous Religion (*Ching Chiao*) and the Church they founded was called by that name.

There stands today in the city of Hsi-An-Fu, Shensi, a large stone monument which records the arrival in that city (then called Ch'ang-An) in A.D. 635, of missionaries from Syria led by one Alopen. The inscription on its face includes an outline of doctrine, a reference to the Scriptures, and recounts the history of the Mission to the date of the tablet's erection in A.D. 781.

It is evident from this, and contemporary Chinese records, that the Chinese emperor, T'ai-Tsung, of the illustrious T'ang dynasty, cordially welcomed these missionaries, and afforded them every facility for the translation of the Scriptures; that he himself studied these, and issued a decree that the new religion was to have free course throughout the empire. It is also clear that this Mission, although it met with persecution at intervals, achieved considerable success for a period of over two hundred years. Monasteries, traces of which have been found in fifteen widely separated places, were established in practically every province. And in 1908 a Christian manuscript in Chinese, of the eighth century, which includes a hymn to the Holy Trinity and a list of thirty-five Christian books, evidently of Nestorian origin, was discovered by Pelliot in a Buddhist grotto at Tun-Huang, in the north-west corner of Kansu province.

In A.D. 845, however, the emperor, Wu-Tsung, who was an ardent Taoist, decreed that all monks and nuns of the Buddhist, Nestorian and Zoroastrian faiths should abandon their religious calling, and revert to civil life. According to Chinese records, 265,000 Buddhists and 3,000 leaders of other faiths, of whom a considerable proportion (possibly 2,000) were Nestorians (probably monks), were affected by this edict. The edict was followed by severe persecution of the followers of the three proscribed faiths, and it would seem that as a result the Nestorian Church lost its identity in China itself, for there are few if any living traces of it there during the next four centuries.¹

There is evidence, however, of the survival of Nestorian Christianity in North Mongolia between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, in the existence of a Christian tribe, called the Keraites, who are known to have become Christian from the very early years of the eleventh century. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Mongol ruler Genghis Khan conquered the Keraites and forthwith married his son Tuli to one of their Christian princesses. She became the mother of three Mongol rulers, one of

¹ The whole subject is ably discussed by Mrs. C. E. Couling in *The Luminous Religion* (Carey Press, 1925).

whom, Khublai Khan, became the first Mongol emperor of all China. Although he was an ardent Buddhist, he was tolerant of all religions, except Taoism. These factors contributed greatly to the revival of Christianity in China itself, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

2. NESTORIAN AND FRANCISCAN MISSIONS OF THE MONGOL DYNASTY, A.D. 1260-1368

The Mongol rulers of China, being aliens themselves, were friendly towards other foreigners. The Nestorians gained a new lease of life under their régime. Cambulac (the modern Peking), the Mongol capital, was made the seat of a Nestorian metropolitan, and the former bishopric of Ning-Hsia (a section of Inner Mongolia, north-west of Shensi) was revived. Nestorians became very influential both at court and in the provinces, some of them attaining to very high and important offices. There were many Christians of Nestorian origin also amongst the foreign soldiers and merchants who came in with the Mongol rulers.

Amongst the foreign travellers welcomed at the Mongol court were two Venetians, Niccolo and Matteo Polo, father and uncle respectively of the better-known Marco Polo, who in 1274-5 accompanied them on their return visit to China. Marco quickly won the favour of Khublai Khan, who sent him on missions to various parts of the empire, and appointed him to the important post of governor of Yang-Chou. In the course of his long journeys Marco Polo encountered large numbers of Christians, and found many churches, some of them large and imposing structures, in Shansi and Shensi, as well as in Chihli (Hopei), Anhui, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kansu, Ssu-Chuan and Yunnan. These Christians seem mostly to have been of foreign nationality, with Nestorian connections. But they were called Yehlikowen (a Chinese equivalent of the Persian name for Christians generally). The vast majority apparently were laymen, merchants, soldiers, officials, etc., although the presence of a few monks amongst them is a possibility.

In 1266 Khublai Khan had commissioned the two elder Polos, who were then returning to Europe, to request the Pope to send China a hundred missionaries, who should be specially qualified to prove that "the law of Christ was best". The emperor also promised that if they succeeded in this, he and all his people might embrace the Christian religion. Unfortunately, considerable time elapsed before any attempt was made to meet this request, and it is thought that a great strategic missionary opportunity was thereby lost.

However, towards the end of the thirteenth century, a few Franciscans started out on the long and hazardous overland journey to China. But only one of these, John de Monte Corvino, actually reached Cambulac. That was in 1294, shortly after the death of Khublai Khan. He was well received by the emperor Timur, and given financial and other encouragement for his mission. He worked alone for some eleven years, but later on three or four other Franciscans arrived, and considerable results were achieved. In 1307 Corvino was appointed archbishop of Cambulac, with patriarchal powers of a very extensive character. He died in 1333. Meanwhile three churches had been erected in the capital, one of them a cathedral, and others were built in important cities in Fukien, Chekiang and Anhui provinces. It was also reported that tens of thousands of converts had been won. But the great majority of the Christians seem to have been gathered from foreign communities. That was probably also true of the Nestorian Mission of Mongol times. Both the Nestorians and Franciscans depended greatly on the favour of the Mongol Court for the continuance of their work. It is not therefore surprising that when the Ming, a Chinese dynasty, supplanted the Mongols in 1368, the foreign communities were dispersed and reaction against everything foreign set in. Persecution of Christians occurred in the early years of the Ming dynasty, and the Church which had resulted from these two missionary efforts of Mongol times evidently declined and died away, leaving only material traces in the form of church sites, cemeteries, and crosses.

Many reasons, mostly conjectural, have been adduced for this,

including the foreign character of the Missions, dependence upon Court favour, the remoteness and weakness of the sending Churches, and the bitterness of the persecution inflicted upon the converts. As far as the first Nestorian Mission is concerned, the fact that the monument in Hsi-An-Fu bears on its face distinct evidence in symbol and text of religious syncretism has led some to regard this as a contributory factor to failure. It is true that the cross is symbolized, but it is accompanied by the Buddhist emblem of the lotus, and the Taoist emblem of the cloud. The outline of doctrine also includes Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian terms. But reference is made to the creation, the fall of man, the incarnation, the holy life and ascension of the Messiah; to the rite of baptism, and to the Scriptures, some of which were translated into Chinese. And it is assumed that the missionaries who went to China promulgated the tenets of the Nestorian form of the Nicene creed as their basis of doctrine. Mrs. Couling hints that the monument might have been intended as an apologia or tract in stone, written in such a way as to attract Buddhists, Taoists and Confucianists to the Christian faith. Interesting as such surmises are we must be content to acknowledge the fact that these three missionary enterprises of the early and medieval Church had little permanent effect upon the life of the Chinese people as a whole.

3. THE JESUITS AND OTHER ROMAN ORDERS, MID-SIXTEENTH TO MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the middle years of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits, inspired by Francis Xavier, made yet another effort to open up China to the Gospel. Xavier himself was denied the coveted opportunity, for he died (after vainly hoping to set foot on the mainland), on the island of Shang-Ch'uan, near Canton, in 1552. But from 1582 onwards, his successors of the Jesuit Order, Michel Rugierius, Matteo Ricci and others, showing great courage and persistence, succeeded in penetrating the country and establishing churches in Central and South-East China, notably at Nan-Ch'ang (Kiangsi) and Nanking. In 1601 Ricci arrived at Peking to begin

a truly remarkable piece of missionary work. By consummate tact, his genius for the Chinese language, and his outstanding scientific knowledge and skill, he gained the support of the Ming emperor Wan-Li, and exercised great influence amongst the scholarly and official classes, over two hundred of whom became Christians. Ricci died in 1610. But later Jesuits like Valignani, Adam Schall, Jacques Rho and Ferdinand Verbiest, continued his scientific and religious work, with great success.

With the advent of the Manchus to power in 1644, and especially during the reign of the famous emperor K'ang-Hsi (1663-1723), the Jesuits continued to enjoy Court favour. They assisted in the negotiations leading to the treaty of Nertschinsk with Russia in 1689. In 1692, the emperor issued an edict permitting the preaching of Christianity throughout the empire without any restraint or restrictions. A new church was built in Peking, in the precincts of the Forbidden City, and others were erected in the thirteen provincial capitals, including T'ai-Yuan-Fu in Shansi, Hsi-An-Fu in Shensi, and Chi-Nan-Fu in Shantung. Considerable numbers of Chinese became Christians in the next few years, 26,000 being reported from Shensi and 3,000 from Shantung. In 1699, when there were about a hundred foreign missionaries in China, the emperor (K'ang-Hsi) requested the Pope to add to their number.

Unfortunately this period of success and rich promise was marred by bitter and prolonged controversy between the Jesuits and other Roman Orders, particularly Dominicans and Franciscans, about the correct term in Chinese to use for God, about the participation of Christians in Chinese rites, and the extent to which the Church might accommodate itself to Buddhist ideas and Chinese customs. Papal intervention in this squabble during the period 1704-20, though doubtless it was sincerely intended to maintain the purity of the faith, excited the bitter resentment of the emperor K'ang-Hsi, who supported the Jesuits in their more tolerant attitude on all these questions. So he continued to befriend them, but banished all other missionaries from the country.

K'ang-Hsi died in 1723. In 1724, his successor Yung-Cheng

issued an edict proscribing Christianity, ordering the confiscation of all church property, and banishing all missionaries, except a few in Peking who were to be retained for their scientific work (the last left Peking in 1822), to the Portuguese colony of Macao. Bitter persecution of Chinese Christians ensued. This, by 1747, had spread to every part of the empire, and continued until 1828, and then with less severity until 1858. However, some missionaries contrived to penetrate the interior by secret and devious routes, although many lost their lives as a result. Large numbers of Chinese Christians also were killed. But many must have survived. In 1840 their number was estimated to be 303,000, when eight bishops and fifty-seven other foreign missionaries were said to be at work. And in 1858 the number had risen to 400,000. Eighty-four foreign and 135 Chinese priests were then in China. During that same period there were about 20,000 Roman Catholic Christians in each of the three provinces of Shantung, Shansi and Shensi.

4. MODERN PROTESTANT MISSIONS, 1807-44

It was not until the closing years of the eighteenth century that active interest in the evangelization of the Chinese was evinced by Protestant Churches in the West. The credit for creating this interest in Great Britain is chiefly due to the Rev. William Moseley, a Congregational minister of Long Buckby, Northants. In 1798 he advocated the formation of a Society which should have as its objective the translation of the Scriptures into the chief Oriental languages, including Chinese. As he was investigating the feasibility of this, his attention was directed to a Roman Catholic manuscript in Chinese¹ in the British Museum, which comprises a harmony of the four Gospels; the Acts, the Pauline epistles, and the first chapter of Hebrews.

Mr. Moseley was thrilled with this discovery, and published a hundred copies of a pamphlet, entitled, *The Importance of Trans-*

¹ Probably by Father Basset, of the French Foreign Missionary Society, located in Shensi.

lating and Publishing the Holy Scriptures in the Chinese Language, which he sent to bishops and other men of influence. Then, in no wise deterred by their hesitations and excuses, he raised a substantial sum for the task on which he had set his heart.

He first broached his project, with the offer of the funds he had raised, to the Church Missionary Society in 1801. They sent it on to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which, after a delay of four years, transmitted it to the British and Foreign Bible Society. After much discussion, they in turn forwarded it in 1805 to the directors of the London Missionary Society, who had decided to inaugurate a Mission to China, and had appointed Robert Morrison¹ for service there. Therefore, they gratefully accepted Mr. Moseley's challenge and offer, and set Robert Morrison to work in London to study medicine, astronomy and Chinese.

Mr. Moseley then introduced Morrison to a young Chinese called Yong Sam Tuk, who not only gave him his first lessons in Chinese, but helped him to copy out the whole of the Museum manuscript. Morrison took this copy with him to China in 1807, and made it the basis of his own translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese language. It is of special interest to Baptists to note that he also sent a copy of this manuscript to Dr. Joshua Marshman, B.M.S. missionary at Serampore, India, who was also at that time engaged on the same great task.

As this represents the first practical effort of the B.M.S. to propagate the Gospel amongst the Chinese, some account must be given of it.

5. THE MARSHMAN-LASSAR TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES, 1810-23

The eyes of our pioneer missionaries at Serampore were literally "on the ends of the earth". As early as 1804 William Carey and his colleagues planned to send two of their number to the border of Assam to inaugurate a mission to the Chinese. But

¹ Morrison was influenced by the reading of articles by William Carey in *The Evangelical Magazine* of 1799.

as that proved to be impracticable they decided to begin the translation of the Scriptures into Chinese.¹ They entrusted this colossal task to Dr. Marshman, who had begun the study of Chinese in 1806 with that in view. The Rev. Claudius Buchanan, an Anglican clergyman, offered him the help of an Armenian Christian, Joannes Lassar, born in Macao, who was acquainted with the Chinese language, and who had already made considerable progress with the translation of St. Matthew's Gospel into that tongue. As a result of their joint work, this Gospel was printed at the Serampore Press in 1810. With the further help of Marshman's son, John, and two Chinese, one of whom was familiar with the Mandarin language, the translation of the New Testament was completed in 1811, and the whole Bible early in 1823. In May of that year a copy of this was presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, anticipating the reception of Morrison's version by about a year.

This version of the Chinese Scriptures by Marshman and Lassar was commended by an independent missionary authority in China, Mr. Wherry. It was used by the earliest American Baptist missionaries to China, and was the basis of later revisions by such of their scholars as Dr. John Goddard, Dr. C. E. Lord, and Dr. William Dean, who together produced a revised edition of the Chinese New Testament in 1853, and the whole Bible in 1868.

The Rev. T. H. Hudson of the English General Baptist Mission, who arrived in China in 1845, also used the Serampore version as the basis of his revision of the Chinese New Testament which he completed in 1866.

It will be seen, therefore, that in this way B.M.S. missionaries and their colleagues at Serampore played an important part in the beginnings of the Baptist missionary enterprise amongst the Chinese people.

But let us return to the story of Robert Morrison.

¹ They hoped that they might be used amongst Chinese in Burma, Java, Amboina, Penang—and eventually reach China. Marshman began his work thinking that he and Morrison might co-operate and reduce the time necessary for the complete translation. This did not prove practicable.

6. ROBERT MORRISON IN CANTON, 1807-34

He arrived at this South China port on 7th September 1807, when conditions were decidedly unfavourable for the prosecution of Christian missionary work. Relationships between the government of China and foreign powers were then severely strained. Foreign trade was confined to Macao (a Portuguese colony), and a narrow strip of land near Canton, popularly known as "The Magic Carpet", on the bank of the Pearl river, where residence of foreigners was restricted to the trading season of six months. During the rest of the year they lived in Macao.

Furthermore the edict of 1724 was still in force and Christianity was a proscribed religion. It was also a capital offence for any Chinese to teach their language to a foreigner. All honour, therefore, to two Roman Catholic Chinese (one of whom hailed from Shansi province), who at the risk of their lives persevered in teaching Morrison Chinese, and assisting him with his translation work. So stringent indeed were the regulations of the Chinese Government that Morrison soon realized that little if any effective missionary work could be undertaken by him in a private capacity.

So in 1809, in order to ensure continuity of residence either at Canton or Macao, and sufficient funds for his translation work, he joined the staff of the East India Company as interpreter and translator, an onerous post which he filled with distinction until his death in 1834. But for twenty-seven years he devoted every moment of his leisure to the task of translating the Scriptures and the preparation of his most valuable Anglo-Chinese dictionary. His colleague, William Milne, made a notable contribution to his work of biblical translation, particularly on the Old Testament side, and the British and Foreign Bible Society helped financially, to the extent of £10,000. The whole Bible was translated and presented to the latter Society in 1824. This Morrison-Milne translation was adopted by all, except Baptist, revisers of the sacred text as the basis of their revision work in later years.

Morrison baptized his first Chinese convert, Tsai-A-Ko, on

16th July 1814, at a lonely spot "away from human observation". Today a church and school erected in Macao by the Church of Christ in China stands as a memorial of this epochal event. In 1823 he ordained the first Chinese evangelist, Liang-A-Fa,¹ who earlier on had been beaten and imprisoned for his courageous witness to Christ. Shortly before Morrison's death on 1st August 1834, only ten Chinese were known to have made open confession of their Christian faith.

7. AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARIES, 1836-45

Prior to the war between Britain and China (1839-42) about twenty missionaries, representing eight Protestant Missionary Societies, had begun their efforts to evangelize the Chinese. Some of these worked at Canton, or Macao. Others worked with greater freedom amongst Chinese in Singapore, Malacca and Bangkok. But by 1842, not more than a hundred converts of Chinese nationality had been gained.

The first Baptist missionaries to China were the Rev. and Mrs. J. L. Shuck, who arrived in Macao in 1836, under the auspices of the American General Missionary Convention. They were joined the next year by the Rev. I. J. Roberts (later to be associated with the leaders of the T'ai-P'ing rebellion) and the Rev. Wm. Dean. Their work was restricted to Hong Kong and Macao until 1843, when it became practicable to make a start in Ningpo. In 1845 the American Baptists divided into Northern and Southern Conventions and their missionaries undertook work in mainly separate fields.

Mr. and Mrs. Shuck began by opening a school for two children, the one a destitute orphan boy and the other a ransomed slave-girl. In 1936, when the centenary celebrations of Baptist Missions in China were held at Canton, there were ten thriving churches (one with a membership of over 2,000) in the city and

¹ His life-story, containing the text of *Good-words*, the tract which influenced Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan, the leader of the T'ai-P'ing rebellion, has been published recently by the Council on Christian Literature for Overseas Chinese.

environs; over 5,000 students were enrolled in local Baptist schools; more than 200 men and women were in training for Christian service in their institutions, and all this work, apart from missionary allowances, was completely self-supporting.

8. BRITISH BAPTIST MISSIONS—1845-1951. INTRODUCTION

Credit for inaugurating missionary work in China under the auspices of British Baptists belongs to the General Baptists, who sent out their first missionaries in 1845. The B.M.S. commenced work in China in 1860. Both Societies made these new ventures following on wars between Britain and China, and as the result of treaties drawn up afterwards, which in successive stages opened up the whole of China to missionary enterprise.

It will be useful, therefore, at this point, to give some account of these epoch-making events.

9. THE SINO-BRITISH WAR OF 1839-42, AND ENSUING TREATIES

This conflict has been popularly but erroneously dubbed the "Opium War". Such a misconception is, however, excusable. For the British for many years had been major participants in the opium trade with China, and the Chinese authorities, for economic as well as moral reasons, began to take drastic action about this time to put an end to the traffic. In fact, the burning by the Chinese Commissioner in Canton of large stocks of opium, followed by strong British reactions to this, formed the actual "occasion" of the war. But it is no more true to say that opium was its cause, than it would be to claim that tea was the cause of the American War of Independence, or that the Sarajevo incident was the cause of the First World War. In this, as in the other major conflicts, the real cause lay elsewhere.

British merchants, in common with those of other nations, were anxious to expand their trade with China, and had long been urging their government to bring pressure to bear on the Chinese authorities to make more reasonable the existing regulations

governing foreign trade, which they considered were not only intolerably restrictive, but allowed of abuses which involved both them and the Chinese in serious and avoidable financial loss. The British government authorities likewise had for many years been striving in vain to persuade the Chinese Imperial Court to accord to their accredited representatives diplomatic "equality".

The Chinese on their part refused, for what they considered to be good and sufficient reasons, to modify the existing trading regulations; claimed that they had no need of the general goods which foreign merchants wished to import; and were determined to stop the import of opium which they had "officially" declared contraband as far back as 1800. The British overtures for equality of diplomatic status they rejected with contempt. If they wished to conduct negotiations with the Imperial Court it must be on the traditional basis of "bearers of tribute". The further British claim to exercise legal jurisdiction over their own nationals when embroiled in litigation with the Chinese, they likewise rejected as an intolerable infringement of their national sovereign rights.

These were the real reasons for the conflict. From the British point of view the opium trade was only an incidental factor in the dispute. But unfortunately for the good name of the British, their interest in the traffic had become so great over the years that the Chinese were able to publicize that as the major issue, and keep what in British opinion were the underlying causes of the conflict in the background.

Much opposition to the opium traffic was aroused in Britain as well as in China, and no right-minded person can do other than condemn the British share in the trade which has had such disastrous physical, moral and economic effects upon the Chinese people. It is true that we could not have imported opium into China if the Chinese people had not wanted it. But it has always been true, as the British House of Commons declared in 1907, that "the traffic is morally indefensible". That was the attitude of British Missionary Societies in 1842. And British missionaries in China, in later years, when Chinese officials made the British "imposition of opium on China" a pretext for opposing their

evangelistic activities, were glad to be able to quote that declaration of their Government in 1907. They also welcomed the policy issuing from it, namely, that British imports of the drug should be diminished by one-tenth per annum over a period of ten years, on condition that the Chinese reduced the growth of opium in a similar way, and were particularly relieved at the complete cessation of the British share in the traffic at the end of that time.

No doubt, racial prejudice, national pride, economic interest, on both sides, were contributory factors to the conflict, and it would take far more space than is available to attempt to apportion to either their share of the blame. And as, from the missionary point of view, the issues rather than the causes of the war are our more important concern, we turn to consider them.

The war, which began in November 1839, terminated with the Chinese surrender to the British fleet then besieging Nanking in August 1842, and the conclusion of the treaty of Nanking on 15th September of that year, which was subsequently officially ratified by the British and Chinese governments on 26th June 1843.

By the provisions of this treaty, Hong Kong, then a small fishing village, which had been temporarily occupied by the British after Chinese pressure had forced them to evacuate Canton and Macao, was formally ceded to them. The Chinese government also agreed to open five ports, viz., Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai, to foreign residence and trade. Other concessions they made were the recognition of equality in diplomatic relationships, indemnity for the opium destroyed by Commissioner Lin and the institution of a regular trade tariff on imports.

Other Western nations, particularly France and U.S.A., took advantage of the situation to obtain treaties from China. And between 1844 and 1846 supplementary treaties were drawn up by representatives of these two countries, in collaboration with Great Britain, whereby China agreed to the inauguration of extra-territorial rights affecting all foreigners and the extension of any

privileges granted by them to any one foreign nation, to all others. And what is more important for our purpose, China authorized the beginning of missionary work and the erection of churches in the five ports mentioned above, but not elsewhere; permitted the Chinese to accept Christianity, either of the Roman Catholic or Protestant type, and restored to Roman Catholics certain properties which had been confiscated in the preceding century of persecution. Naturally, as Hong Kong was recognized as British territory, missionary work could be freely carried on there.

10. THE WAR OF 1856-60, AND ENSUING TREATIES

Unfortunately, the situation resulting from all that had preceded proved to be little more than an armed truce, and it was soon evident that the treaties had by no means resolved the basic issues which had so long divided China and the Western Powers. Mutual resentment and suspicion persisted, and the treaty obligations were considered by both sides to have been frequently infringed or ignored.

And so, war broke out again in 1856, France taking joint action with Great Britain against China. The outbreak of hostilities was once again precipitated by "incidents". The British pretext for declaring war was the seizure, on 8th October 1856, by the Chinese authorities, of the Chinese crew of a cutter, called *The Arrow*. This was a vessel of Chinese ownership, registered in Hong Kong, and sailing under the British flag, and under a British captain, who, however, was not aboard at the time of the incident. This seizure, accompanied as it was by the hauling down of the British flag, led to the British government making demands which the Chinese would not grant.

The French pretext for joining in the war was connected with issues arising from the official execution, after imprisonment and torture, of a French priest named Auguste Chapdelaine in Kuangsi in February 1856. Both these acts were considered by Great Britain and France to be violations of the treaty of Nanking.

Popular opinion in Great Britain regarded the incident of *The Arrow* as too trivial to justify a declaration of war, and the British government of the day had to appeal to the country before it took that step. However, the real reasons for re-opening hostilities were the same as those already adduced (p. 13), plus dissatisfaction of the Western Powers with the limitations of existing treaties.

No serious fighting occurred until late in 1857 when Canton was reduced. Then hostilities extended to the north. After experiencing some set-backs, the Franco-British allies succeeded in entering Tientsin in 1858 and Peking by 1860. At Peking, the allied troops, in retaliation for the torture and massacre of a truce party, looted and destroyed the Summer Palace. China then capitulated, and was thereupon compelled to grant additional and more important concessions to the victors.

By the provisions of the ensuing treaties, viz., the treaty of Tientsin dated 26th June 1858, and the Peking Convention of 24th October 1860, China agreed to permit foreign ambassadors and their entourages to reside in Peking on a footing of diplomatic equality; to open ten more ports to foreign residence and trade, and to the establishment of consulates in them, to the ceding of part of the present Kowloon territory (on the mainland opposite Hong Kong) to the British; and to the legalization of the opium traffic by the imposition of regular dues. And what was of far greater importance for the missionary cause, foreigners were allowed to travel in the hinterland; the preaching of Christianity was officially permitted throughout the empire; protection was to be afforded foreign missionaries, and it was forbidden to persecute or otherwise interfere with Chinese who professed belief in the Christian religion.

It is regrettable that in the Chinese copy of the treaty made with the French, probably on the initiative of the missionary translator, a clause was surreptitiously inserted which granted to French missionaries "permission to rent or purchase land in all provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure". After the divergence between the Chinese and the French copy (which was

supposed to be the authoritative text) was discovered by the Chinese, this clause became a fruitful source of friction and trouble. It should be stated at once that the British authorities refrained for some years from taking advantage of this clause as it concerned British missionaries and that they exercised great caution in regard to it, even after it was virtually accepted by the Chinese authorities on the basis of the Berthemy convention of 1865. By 1875, when Timothy Richard went to Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, the question had been largely resolved by a multiplicity of precedents, often with the concurrence of local officials. And although here and there difficulties continued to be encountered, both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries were allowed to buy or lease land for their purposes without undue official opposition.

II. BRITISH GENERAL BAPTIST MISSION—1845-60

Missionary interest in China throughout Europe and America was greatly enhanced as a result of the treaties arising from these wars. After the first war of 1840-42, although scruples were expressed in Christian circles in Britain¹ about the desirability of missionaries entering a door that had been forced open by war, and in which the opium traffic had assumed such prominence in the popular mind, these were over-ridden by the paramount sense of opportunity to preach the gospel in China, so greatly desired and so long deferred, which the first set of treaties seemed to afford. Although this opportunity was limited at that time to five ports and Hong Kong, the fact that the door was open at all was welcomed by the vast majority of missionary enthusiasts as the harbinger of a greater "day of the Lord". So after 1842, those missionary societies which had already begun work in Canton and Macao strengthened their staffs and new societies entered the field.

The Baptist Missionary Society at that time seriously considered the question of beginning work in China. But their exist-

¹ Both the L.M.S. and the C.M.S. voiced such scruples in their deliberations.

ing responsibilities in India and the West Indies, and a series of recurring deficits, caused them to defer action until a later date.

However, the British General Baptists, in spite of existing heavy commitments in Orissa, resolved at a meeting of their Missionary Committee in Leicester on 22nd March 1843, "to extend the sphere of the Mission to China". This they had done, partly at least, at the instigation of the Rev. J. L. Shuck of the American Baptist Mission who wrote from Hong Kong in September 1842: "Let us look beyond the causes of the present dreadful and war-like position of affairs [the Sino-British war of that time] and regard the results and the consequences as they bear upon the advancement of the Kingdom and the will of Heaven".¹

They accepted offers of service from the Rev. T. H. Hudson, who had worked in the West Indies, and who had taken a course in Chinese, and from the Rev. and Mrs. W. Jarrom. By June 1846 they had settled in Ningpo. They found the local language difficult, and evidently there was very little spiritual response to their efforts for the first few years. Writing in October 1851 Mr. Hudson reported the baptism of one respectable Chinese and another as inquirer. The first, a Mr. Lee Hsing, was their Chinese teacher, who engaged with them in evangelistic work. At the same time, after six years' work, Mr. Hudson reported the opening of two boys' schools, with an enrolment of about sixty, many of whom were orphans, the holding of services in the schools, which were poorly attended, and regular preaching work at some country centres. He reported also that a plot of land had been purchased in the city, on which buildings including a chapel were later erected. When Mr. Hudson made this report, i.e., October 1851, he was the only representative of the Society, then at Ningpo. Mrs. Jarrom had died in February 1848, and in 1850 Mr. Jarrom resigned to take up ministerial work at home. Mr. Hudson's son, who had gone out with his father and had assisted him for a short period, left to take up a business appointment in Shanghai. Between 1854 and 1857 the Home Committee resolved that they

¹ This and the details of the work at Ningpo have been collated from the current issues of *The Baptist Repository* or the *General Baptist Magazine*.

could not continue to support the work, and instructed Mr. Hudson to wind up the Mission's affairs. At the same time letters were sent to his Chinese colleague Mr. Lee Hsing, encouraging him to continue his service. Meanwhile, however, Mr. Hudson had been working on a translation of the New Testament based on the Marshman-Lassar version, and also on some parts (at least, Genesis) of the Old Testament. So the work must have been continued in some form after 1857, for Mr. Hudson's translation of the New Testament was completed in 1866,¹ and Dr. Latourette states that the work of the British General Baptists at Ningpo was handed over to the English Methodists in the 1870s.²

Financial stringency led to this step being taken. For many years prior to this, the British General Baptists had encountered difficulty in maintaining their work in the West Indies and Orissa. And from all available reports, it would seem that the work at Ningpo produced very meagre spiritual results.

Other matters of interest connected with this first venture of British Baptists in China are that in 1855 the Home Society had to appeal to the Foreign Secretary for the protection of their property and workers at Ningpo. In December 1861 the T'ai-P'ing rebels occupied the city for over a year, and it is reported that on entering the port they "hailed the missionaries as comrades".

The treaties of 1858 and 1860, which opened up the whole of China to the preaching of the gospel, aroused still greater missionary interest among the churches in the West. And although hesitations and misgivings of the kind already referred to continued to be expressed, several Missionary Societies in Europe and America either expanded existing efforts, or decided to begin work in China. Amongst the latter was the Baptist Missionary Society.

¹ A. J. Garnier, *Chinese Versions of the Bible*, p. 32.

² Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 256.

CHAPTER 2

PIONEERS AT SHANGHAI, NANKING AND CHEFOO (1860-75)

“Since the days when the three men of God first went out to the plains of the Ganges, NO ERA IN THE HISTORY OF THE B.M.S. HAS ASSUMED GREATER IMPORTANCE THAN THE PRESENT.”

Missionary Herald, 1859, p. 450

As indicated already, the claims of China had been occupying the minds of the B.M.S. Committee for some time. The new situation arising from the treaties of 1858 and 1860 introduced a fresh note of urgency into their discussions. The desirability of opening up work in China was pressed upon them by missionaries of the American Baptist Mission at Ningpo,¹ and by keenly interested ministers at home like the Rev. W. G. Lewis of Bayswater, and the Rev. John Angell James of Birmingham, and also by Dr. Edward Steane, Secretary of the Baptist Union, who, on the basis of a pamphlet written by Mr. James, entitled *God's Voice from China to the British Churches*,² made passionate appeals to the Committee of the Society and to the whole denomination.

On 20th April 1859, the B.M.S. General Committee passed the following resolution, viz.:

“That this Committee, having had its attention called to the great providential fact that China has now for many months been open to the instruction of the gospel, and that this fact constitutes an urgent call upon the churches of Christ to send missionaries to that great country, feels impressively that this duty devolves upon the Society they represent, and in humble dependence upon the grace of God, decide to address themselves solemnly to its fulfilment.”

This resolution, with some minor differences of wording, was

¹ See article by the Rev. J. M. Knowlton, in *Baptist Magazine*, 1859 vol. p. 513.

² Reviewed in *Baptist Magazine*, March 1859, 1859 vol. p. 161.

approved by the general meeting of subscribers on 26th April, and by the annual meeting of the Society shortly afterwards. It was also agreed to open a special fund for the purpose of launching the new venture, and at the concluding meeting of the Assembly held in the Moorgate Street chapel under the auspices of the Young Men's Missionary Association, at which the main theme was the proposed mission to China, appeals were made for volunteers.

The attitude of British Baptists and the B.M.S. to the political aspects of the war and the continuing connection of the opium trade with it, are clearly enunciated by Dr. Edward Steane, in his plea for the proposed mission to China, in the June issue of the *Baptist Magazine*. He writes:

"It is impossible that any Christian mind should be insensible to the vast importance, in a moral point of view, of those extraordinary events by which, in the providence of God, China has been made accessible to the nations, and thrown open, in its entire extent, to the gospel. . . . On the character of the events themselves I make no observation. [But see below.* H.R.W.] I am not concerned on the one hand to censure, nor on the other to justify them, regarded under a political aspect: it is enough for my purpose to accept them as great providential occurrences, which contemplated in the light of Christian duty, carry with them a clear significance. I* would not, however, by this silence, be supposed to look upon the iniquitous cupidity of our opium traffic otherwise than as a great crime, and the war, to which we resorted to enforce it, as at once a national calamity and a disgrace. But it is the prerogative of God, out of evils which nations inflict upon another, to bring forth their greater good, and even to make the very sins of men subserve the designs of His mercy to the world.

"In the present instance, the issue to which these events have led exhibits unmistakable evidence of His over-ruling hand, nor less clearly indicates His will. For assuredly, we shall not interpret the course of His providence aright, if we do not hear in it a loud voice, calling upon us, in common with our fellow-Christians,

to address ourselves, in dependence upon Divine help, to the spiritual regeneration of that vast empire."

Offers of service were soon forthcoming from two men who had already had experience of missionary work in China, viz., the Rev. Hendrik Z. Kloekers, and the Rev. Charles James Hall. Kloekers had served with the Netherlands Chinese Evangelization Society and the American Southern Baptists between 1855 and 1858. He, and his second wife, *née* Miss Winterbottom of Stroud, (later to become the mother of Mrs. Holman Bentley of the Congo), were accepted by the Committee on 13th July 1859. Hall, who, with his wife, was appointed at the same time, had served with the Chinese Evangelization Society in Ningpo from 1857. Hall later proceeded to Shanghai. He was there in the autumn of 1859. The Kloekers arrived at that port in March 1860. Our pioneer missionaries lived in rented quarters in Shanghai, and held services in their home. But during 1860 and 1861 they made exploratory visits to cities along the Yang'tzu river, like Wu-Hsi, Chin-Kiang, Su-Chou and Nanking. At that time these cities were held by the T'ai-P'ing rebels, who then were reputedly Christian, and whose movement was for a decade or more thought to provide an extraordinary opportunity for the Christianization of the whole land. Before recounting the story of our missionaries' visits to the area occupied by them, it will be useful to give some account of the T'ai-P'ings.

The principal figure, promoter and leader of this movement was Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan, born in 1813 of poor parents, a Hakka, or member of an immigrant tribe into the south-east of China from one of the northern provinces several centuries ago. His home was in a village about thirty miles from Canton. He was of scholarly mind, but failed repeatedly at the official examinations, so spent many years in teaching in the village school, or engaging in agriculture. In 1833, during one of his periodical visits to Canton for the examinations, he met a missionary and his Chinese Christian colleague, who gave him some booklets entitled *Good Words for the Times*, which had been written by Liang-A-Fa, an evangelist with Robert Morrison. Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan

paid little heed to these until ten years later when a friend brought them freshly to his notice. He read the booklets with keen interest and, being of a somewhat mystical temperament (possibly a little mentally unbalanced), experienced a series of visions in which he felt himself elevated to Heaven, where he held converse with the Heavenly Father and Christ, and felt commissioned by them to deliver China from idolatry, opium and every other debilitating vice, and from the Manchu yoke. He also felt called to revive the worship of the True God (Shang-Ti, the God of the Classics) throughout the land. He and a friend began by discarding their household gods, and, very daringly, removing the Confucian tablet from the village school. Between 1844 and 1849, he and a few kindred spirits preached and taught the Christian religion, as they understood it, in many parts of Kuangtung and Kuangsi provinces. He also helped to organize and promote a religious sect syncretic in character, called "The worshippers of Shang-Ti". During this period, in 1847 he made the acquaintance of the Rev. Issachar J. Roberts, an American Baptist missionary in Canton, and studied under him for some months. During this time also he was reading a great deal about Chinese military strategy. Gradually the religious organization, "Worshippers of Shang-Ti", developed into a political revolutionary movement.

In 1850 he publicly raised his standard of revolt, and the next year promulgated his dynasty as "The Great Peace" (T'ai-P'ing), assumed the title of King of Peace, appointed five collaborators as regional princes or kings, and rallied huge armies to his cause. They captured Nanking in 1853, slaughtering most of the 20,000 inhabitants who remained, and made it their capital. Their forces then marched through a very great expanse of country, including Shantung, Shansi and Shensi, trekking some 1,400 miles in a northward march, which threatened Peking, but which was finally checked near Tientsin in February 1854. The rebels then turned southwards again. In August 1860 they threatened Shanghai. But here, to their chagrin, they were opposed by the British and French, who, having secured what they wanted by the treaty

of that year, began to throw in their lot with the Imperialists against the rebels, towards whom hitherto they had been disposed to be friendly. After this unexpected rebuff, the T'ai-P'ings continued to ravage the countryside and retained their hold on Nanking.

As the Imperialist forces had so far failed to suppress the revolt they called on foreign military leaders to help in the planning and control of operations. Two Americans, F. T. Ward, a most capable commander, who unfortunately was killed in action in 1862, and H. A. Burgevine (not so capable) and Major Charles Gordon (British) who took his place, successively took the lead of what came to be called "the ever victorious army". Gordon's intervention at a critical stage in the struggle, with the co-operation of a Chinese scholar-general, Tseng-Kuo-Fan, led to the capture of Nanking in 1864. Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan committed suicide and the rebellion was finally crushed the following year.

Critics vary widely on their opinions of this remarkable movement in its political aspects. Some thought that if the Western Powers had lent their support to it, the Manchu régime, already decadent, would have fallen, and that a new régime under T'ai-P'ing auspices would have been established, genuinely friendly and co-operative with foreign nations. Others doubted the ability of the T'ai-P'ing leaders to achieve such a goal. There is no doubt that originally they were actuated by sincerely patriotic motives, and it is true that they had promised free trading and other facilities for foreigners, whom they regarded as their Christian brethren!

Opinions on the religious character of the movement, and its possibilities from the missionary point of view, also varied. Until 1860 missionaries and others were inclined to think that the revolt of the T'ai-P'ings might, if successful, lead to the rapid evangelization of the country. There seems little doubt that Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan was inspired by such ideals, most of which he had gained from his reading of *Good Words* and the Bible. Until 1861 at least, the T'ai-P'ing leaders observed and promoted Christian worship. They appointed preaching elders, kept the Sabbath, and

established schools in which Christian instruction was regularly given. The leaders read the Scriptures. Special translations of the whole Bible with their own commentaries based on the version of Gutzlaff, a most energetic and enterprising German missionary, were issued under the "royal" seal. They also produced a Christian version of the famous "Three-character-classic", familiar to every Chinese school-boy, and their own interpretation of the Ten Commandments. They were rigorously opposed to idolatry and forbade sacrifices to ancestors. Amongst their leaders was one, Hung Jen, who had served for some years as evangelist with the London Missionary Society, and who had joined the T'ai-P'ings in the hope of making a genuine Christian contribution to their aims. Missionaries were received by the leaders from time to time, although it is evident that Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan and his leading associates were determined to pursue their own religious course, and preserve their own peculiar religious views. These gave the missionaries serious concern. The visions of Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan eventually led him to conceive of himself, not simply, as was the case earlier on, as divinely commissioned by God and Christ to deliver China from religious error, but as being practically divine himself, and as virtually equal to Christ. His public statements on this matter allowed of a variety of interpretation at different periods, but finally, as missionaries in closest touch with him testified, his claims were tantamount to blasphemy.

The Baptist missionaries who had personal contact with the T'ai-P'ing leaders were the Rev. I. J. Roberts, of U.S.A., and our two B.M.S. pioneers, Kloekers and Hall. Roberts had the longest and closest association with them. He had taught Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan for a time in 1847, as we have seen. In 1853 the rebel king invited Roberts to Nanking to preach and baptize, affirming that his heart's desire was after the war to disseminate Christian doctrine throughout the empire, that all might return to the one Lord and worship only the true God. Roberts eventually reached Nanking in October 1860, and for a time exercised considerable influence over the leaders. Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan himself even wished to appoint him Foreign Minister. This Roberts refused.

Kloekers along with Griffith John of the L.M.S. and two Chinese, left Shanghai on 6th November 1860, to visit Nanking. They had discussions with rebel leaders at one or two places *en route*. They arrived in Nanking on 18th November where they were cordially received by Hung-Jen (who had the title of "Shield King") and Roberts. Discussions with them failed to clarify dubious points as to the divine claims of Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan. But in general the visitors were favourably impressed with the prospects of the movement from the Christian and missionary point of view. They found eighteen places used for worship in the city. Before Kloekers and his companions left Nanking on 25th November, the rebel leaders handed them an edict of toleration, offering missionaries free access to Nanking and other centres, giving them freedom to preach throughout their territory, and promising them every needed assistance and safety. Kloekers was so impressed by all this that he wrote to the Committee at home a most favourable account, which included the phrases, "The Imperialists, i.e. the Manchus, 'suffer' our efforts to evangelize the land . . . the Revolutionaries, i.e. the T'ai-P'ings, 'invite' them." This led the secretaries of the Society, Trestrail and Underhill, to issue an appeal for six more missionaries for China, and to authorize Kloekers and Hall to begin work at Nanking. In January 1861 Hall accompanied an English naval expedition, in the capacity of interpreter, up the Yang-Tzu, and visited Nanking. His impressions of the T'ai-P'ing leaders and the movement were distinctly less favourable, and he sent a report home which was very critical of the religious and moral aspects of the movement.¹

Kloekers visited Nanking again in September 1861, where he was once more welcomed by the Shield King and Roberts. The latter was feeling the loneliness of his lot, but apparently still cheerful and hopeful about his efforts to direct the rebel leaders aright in doctrinal matters. Kloekers was given accommodation in one of the palaces, and protection was assured him provided he did nothing to injure the rebel cause. He was even encouraged to think that "the false doctrines now taught by the chief, and to

¹ See *Missionary Herald* for September 1861, pp. 137-8.

which Mr. Kloekers made objection, would in the end be corrected and laid aside". Kloekers was able to secure a courtyard for purposes of a chapel from 29th October and preached daily to audiences, which gradually increased in numbers, until 9th November, when domestic matters obliged him to leave for Shanghai.¹

In a letter written by Kloekers from Shanghai dated 15th May 1862, he outlines the efforts he had made to advise the T'ai-P'ing leaders on political, commercial, moral and religious questions; expresses his disappointment at their lack of interest in such matters; his distress that they should forbid his return to Nanking, and that they had forced Mr. Roberts to leave the city. It is evident that by that time Roberts had become completely disillusioned as to the Christian character of the T'ai-P'ing leaders. He left Nanking in January 1862 after his life had been threatened, asserting that Hung-Hsiu-Ch'uan was insane, and declaring that any missionary who dared to question his claim to divine inspiration and authority went in danger of his life. Finally he said, "I am as much opposed to them, i.e. the T'ai-P'ings, now, as I was in their favour before."

It had evidently become quite clear by this time that the leaders, who in 1850 had inaugurated a movement of such rich promise both politically and religiously, had degenerated grievously both morally and spiritually. Ill-instructed, or only partially so, in the early years, they became more and more bigoted and arrogant in their religious claims as success attended their arms. Possibly deeming their blasphemous assumptions necessary to impress their followers, in the later years of their régime they became spiritually decadent, morally debauched, and violent and cruel in their dealing with the people. So that a movement, which in the beginning was thought by many missionaries and mission administrators, as well as others in the general Christian community, both in China and at home, as likely to provide the Christian mission to China with its finest hour, proved in the end to be a serious hindrance to its progress: first because its connection

¹ *Missionary Herald*, April 1862.

with Christianity, and missionaries, exposed the missionary movement to the suspicion of fomenting revolution, and secondly because of the sufferings of the people from the fifteen years of fighting and devastation.

Timothy Richard, writing his reminiscences, says, "Although the T'ai-P'ing rebellion had been crushed six years before my arrival in China, its baleful effect against the spread of Christianity continued so powerful a factor that it must be mentioned." And again he writes, after recounting the widespread devastation wrought by the rebellion, "Small wonder that there remained a legacy of hatred against Christianity, a hatred which has scarcely melted away."

Our B.M.S. pioneers shared in the general disappointment of the missionary circle at the changed attitude of the T'ai-P'ings. Although Kloekers and Hall had met with some encouragement in their work in Shanghai, they began to think, now that Nanking seemed closed to them, of settling in the north of China. Kloekers had set his heart on Peking as the venue of their future labours, and went there in May 1861 to explore possibilities. He discovered that the Roman Catholics, operating under the Protectorate of the French Government, had re-established a mission in the city, on the basis of the recent Treaties—as interpreted by them, and that Foreign Embassies, including the British, were also installed. However, the British authorities refused Kloekers permission to settle, and he returned to Shanghai in June a very disappointed man.

Meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs. Hall had gone to Chefoo (on the coast of Shantung), where they arrived on 1st May 1861. At first they lodged in a temple. But in the summer they succeeded in renting a house, and, after many difficulties, in establishing the first residential station of the B.M.S. Other Missionary Societies had already begun work there and in the vicinity. But the times were unpropitious. The people were either themselves hostile to the foreigners, or were intimidated by official threats into being so. Bandit hordes, offshoots of the T'ai-P'ings, frequently ravaged the district, burning and looting villages and massacring the

people. On one occasion, as the rebels approached Chefoo, two missionaries, Dr. Parker of the American Episcopalians and Mr. Holmes of the American Southern Baptists, were murdered as they went out to plead with the leaders to spare the people of the port.

Mrs. Hall and their baby daughter were compelled to take refuge on a Dutch steamer then in the harbour. In the midst of all this terror and turmoil, Hall wrote: "My only desire now is, if possible, to spend my life in seeking the good of poor, bleeding China, whether oppressed or oppressor, imperialist or rebel, as God gives me help and spares my life."

Alas! his life was not to be spared for long. Cholera, one of the terrible periodic scourges of China, was raging in the spring of 1862. Hall wrote, "The whole district is like the chamber of death, newly-made graves are everywhere." In this emergency he did not spare himself. Using the little medical knowledge he possessed he moved in and out amongst the people, attending the victims with utter disregard to his own safety. On 16th March 1862, he wrote, "The Chinese have dubbed me doctor in spite of myself." The acting British consul commended him for his devotion, not only to the stricken, but to his preaching two or three times a day. On 22nd July 1862, he himself, at the early age of 29, fell a victim to the scourge, as did his little child. In all, four missionaries and five of their children died in Chefoo in that particular epidemic.

Kloekers had arrived from Shanghai just a week before Hall's death. He at once made plans for Mrs. Hall's return to England, while he remained, the sole representative of the B.M.S., at Chefoo.

The appeal which the B.M.S. had made for reinforcements now assumed greater cogency and urgency. Three married couples were soon accepted, and arrived in Chefoo, the Rev. and Mrs. F. Laughton in the spring of 1863; Rev. and Mrs. W. H. McMechan in December 1864, and Rev. and Mrs. E. F. Kingdon a little later.

But the times were still unpropitious. The rebels continued to

harass eastern Shantung; and epidemics continued to decimate the population. In 1863 there were thousands of deaths from cholera in the vicinity of Chefoo. Chinese officials were still hostile, and the common people dared not show too much interest in the "foreign" religion for fear of official reprisals. But these missionary recruits gave a very good account of themselves in exceedingly trying circumstances.

Itineration in the country round was always attended with difficulty and discomfort, and frequently with danger. But the task was undertaken with courage and persistence. Laughton paid visits to Têng-chou to distribute Christian literature to the candidates at the official examinations. Shops in Chefoo itself were regularly visited. Two baptisms were reported in 1863. In October 1864 a small chapel was erected at Tsungchia, a village near Chefoo, and a voluntary preacher, Mr. Ch'ing, appointed. Two of the local community, one a teacher, the other a former maker of idols, were baptized in the sea. Kingdon used his medical knowledge to good effect during the recurring outbreaks of cholera. Another country outpost, Hanchiao, where Laughton had persisted in staying some days in spite of threats of the villagers to kill him, was established, four members were enrolled, and a chapel built in 1867.¹

A church was formed in Chefoo with twelve members under the care of an honorary Chinese pastor, presumably Mr. Ch'ing.

But the missionary staff sustained grievous losses. In March

¹ E. B. Morse, in his *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Vol. II, relates that Laughton in his desire to rent a house for the purposes of worship, in a place two miles from Chefoo, was involved in trouble with the local people, by the folly of his Chinese agent (evidently his personal servant) who in endeavouring to negotiate the rental of these premises falsely, and against Laughton's instructions, asserted that the house was required for residence and not for worship. As the landlord had received the sum of \$5 in advance for rent, he offered to pay it back on condition that Laughton would release him from his promise. Laughton refused to do this, and also demanded the premises. The local people thereupon stripped the roof and blocked up the door. The date given for this incident is March-April 1868. It is quoted, as an illustration of the difficulties in those days. The British consul evidently thought that Laughton ought to have consulted him first. The consul had to intervene; Laughton was granted the premises, on condition that he publicly dismissed his servant for his duplicity.

1865, the McMechans resigned on health grounds, and Kloekers¹ left in May of that year for the same reason. The Kingdons had to leave in 1867 to avoid a threatened breakdown. Laughton was far from well. It is evident that living and working conditions in Chefoo in those days involved missionaries in terrific strain.

Small wonder then that in June 1867 the Home Committee appointed a special committee of inquiry into the state of the China mission, to consider the propriety of continuing or extending it.

In that year, bandits again appeared in the vicinity of Chefoo, ravaging the district. The little chapels at Tsungchia and Hanchiao were occupied by them. But the threat to Chefoo itself was warded off by the manning by local militia of the hill-ramparts, and fear of foreign gunboats in the bay.

In 1868, Laughton acted with representatives of four other Missionary Societies then in the port to form a Union Church in Chefoo, with a joint pastorate of all the missionaries! That church continued to be the centre of worship for the local English-speaking community until recent times.

In spite of continuous ill-health, Laughton continued to travel and preach. In 1869 the British consul, Mr. Challoner, complimented the B.M.S. and the L.M.S. on the fine work their missionaries were doing in Chefoo. Each Society had one!—our representative being Laughton. The work amongst the Chinese was organized by him on sound lines. He trained our first Chinese pastor Ch'ing. Writing home in 1869 he said, "I shall never rest until I see the native church self-governing, self-supporting and free from every kind of foreign influence which tends to hinder its free native natural development and extension." What a modern ring that seems to have! The Chinese pastor-elect of the Chefoo church, echoing Laughton's reiterated opinion, said to his brethren, "This church ought to be self-governing and self-supporting."

In September 1869 Laughton reported the membership of the Chefoo and district Baptist church at thirty-five.

¹ Mrs. Kloekers died in Shanghai 16th December 1860—while the T'ai-P'ing rebels were investing the port.

Timothy Richard and the Rev. and Mrs. C. Baschelin were appointed later that year to reinforce the Chefoo staff. But the Baschelins decided to work independently, and settled in Ningpo. So Timothy Richard went on to Chefoo alone, where he arrived on 27th February 1870.

Shortly after his arrival, on 21st June, Laughton succumbed to his persistent ill-health. By remarkable energy, insight and devotion, he had shown himself to be an exemplary missionary. Mrs. Laughton returned to England, leaving the B.M.S. once again with a lone representative, Timothy Richard, or Li T'i-Mo-T'ai, as eventually he was to become known throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The very day of Laughton's death, a number of Roman Catholic priests and nuns were massacred in Tientsin, and this created great anxiety in the Chefoo community. A minute of the Chefoo Union Church, dated July 1870, reads, "On account of the commotion and excitement caused by the rumours that the Chinese were about to massacre all the foreigners in Chefoo, an adjourned meeting of the co-pastorate was not held." The American missionaries from the neighbouring port of Têngchou were evacuated by a British gunboat, to return a little later in an American man-o'-war. What a time for a new missionary to arrive!

Towards the end of 1870 Richard was joined by Dr. William Brown, our first medical missionary to China, and this made possible new lines of approach to the people. Hall, and Kingdon before him, had used the little medical knowledge they possessed to good advantage, especially in outbreaks of cholera. But Dr. Brown initiated medical missionary work on a more regular and systematic basis. He raised funds for the erection of a small hospital and dispensary in Chefoo, in addition to itinerating with Richard, treating the sick and preaching the gospel to village groups. During these journeys Richard was impressed by the opportunity for evangelism which this medical work afforded, and readily shared with Dr. Brown in his work in Chefoo itself.

A local scholar who brought his son to the hospital for eye

treatment was engaged in conversation by Richard. He gave him a gospel to read, and some Christian newspapers edited by Dr. Allen in Shanghai, one of which offered a prize for an essay on the theme, "Whom say ye that I am?" Richard encouraged him to send in an essay, with what success is not recorded. But this incident furnished Richard with a valuable precedent for future work amongst the educated classes.

Dr. Brown soon realized the need for translating medical books into Chinese, and made a good start with this work with the help of Pastor Ch'ing. He also enrolled four men for training. So from the beginning the general pattern of all future medical missionary work—healing, preaching, translating and teaching—was drawn.

Unfortunately, however, misunderstandings which arose between Dr. Brown and the Home Committee about medical missionary policy led to his resignation in April 1874, after four years of most promising service. This left Timothy Richard once more alone.

For him, these early years at Chefoo served as a valuable period of apprenticeship in the art of the missionary, in which he was to show himself so adept later on. Evidently his experience of open-air preaching left him in some doubt as to whether this was the most effective method of evangelism. So he began to experiment with ideas he had gleaned from Christ's commission to the apostles, as outlined in Matthew 10, particularly v. 11: "And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, *inquire in it who is worthy*, and there abide till ye go hence."

Richard's interpretation of "the worthy" included those who were sincerely devoted to whatever religion they professed. These he termed devout, and considered them to be good ground in which to sow the gospel seed. On one occasion he travelled over eight miles out of Chefoo to converse with Buddhist priests. On another, he walked eight miles specially to meet a salt manufacturer, who had the reputation of being a *religieuse*. Richard included Chinese scholars in his conception of "the worthy", and the officials also, not so much because they were

“worthy” in the religious sense, but because it was worth while making special efforts to reach them with the gospel on account of their standing and influence in the general community. He knew the significance of the Chinese proverb, “When the wind blows the grass bends”, and argued from that that if only the learned and official classes could be brought under the influence of the gospel, it would naturally follow that the common people would be more ready to give a favourable hearing to it. Under the impulse of this idea, he began to visit the homes of the better educated people in Chefoo.

In the course of these visits he became impressed with the possibilities for evangelism amongst these classes; but he was appalled by their general ignorance of the outside world and the hold which superstitious notions had upon them, which marred much that otherwise was sound and attractive in their philosophy of nature and life.

This set him thinking of scientific lectures as one means of commending the gospel to them. His views on this matter were strengthened by his contacts with Dr. Calvin Mateer, of the American Presbyterian Mission, who became well known as “the great pioneer of scientific education in Protestant missionary work in China”. On one occasion in Chefoo Richard assisted Dr. Mateer as demonstrator, and was much impressed by the use he made of scientific apparatus in lecturing on religious subjects. Richard adopted this method later on, especially during his term of service in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, Shansi, where he made special efforts to reach the educated and official classes with the gospel.

In his Chefoo days, Richard was also fortunate to have as another colleague, Dr. Alexander Williamson, who had already travelled extensively in North China distributing the Scriptures, and who later became widely renowned as “a giant, physically, mentally and spiritually”. His conviction that Christian literature was the best method of reaching the literati with the gospel made a deep and lasting impression on Richard's mind. From 1877 Williamson concentrated his efforts on this medium of approach, and was chiefly instrumental, ten years later, in founding the

Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge (S.D.C.K.) of which he became the first General Secretary. When Dr. Williamson died in 1891 Richard was called to be his successor in that post. The work of this Society, which was later known as the Christian Literature Society for China (C.L.S.) enabled Richard to make his greatest missionary contribution.

Robert Lilley, the agent for the National Bible Society for Scotland, was yet another of Richard's Chefoo colleagues who exercised considerable influence upon him. They often travelled together in the Shantung hinterland, preaching and selling Scriptures by the wayside. In 1871 they journeyed into Manchuria and Korea, experiencing much hardship, including shipwreck, sunstroke, attacks by bandits, and accompanied, as he says, "by the delights of sleeping in Chinese inns, on brick beds, shared by dozens of Chinese fellow-travellers"!

Richard now began to feel very uneasy about remaining in Chefoo. Missionaries of other Societies were resident there, and, in view of the very small number of missionaries then available in China as a whole, redundancy seemed to him to be thoroughly illogical. So in 1872 he made an effort to rent premises at Ning-Hai, some twenty miles away. This, however, roused serious opposition among the populace, and Richard felt constrained to make an appeal to the local official, calling his attention to the treaty clauses governing such matters.¹

But this only made matters worse. The landlord's life was threatened by the enraged gentry, and the official was placed in a most embarrassing position. Richard thereupon felt it wise to refrain from exerting further pressure, and in the spirit of Matthew 10:23, "When they persecute you in one city, flee into another", began to think of other places where the people might be more willing to receive the gospel.

In 1873 he spent five months in Chi-Nan-Fu, the provincial

¹ According to the treaty of 1860 missionaries were required to secure permission from the local authorities to rent property. As this procedure often resulted in delay or actual failure, the French minister to China in 1865 secured a "convention" which rendered this unnecessary. It was not until 1895 however, following on representations by the French and U.S.A., that this "convention" became fully operative.

capital, where he distributed specially prepared Christian literature to the two thousand or more candidates for the Government examinations. As one result of this work, he baptized a military officer in the lake in the heart of the city. He also visited the two mosques, and held interesting conversations with the Mullah.

Richard was now becoming increasingly restless in Chefoo, and more and more his heart was set on reaching the people in the interior. Soon after Dr. Brown had left he made his decision. In the course of his journeys through Shantung the city of Ch'ing-chou-fu had strongly appealed to him as a strategic missionary centre.

So after arranging for the transfer of Baptist interests in Chefoo to the American Baptists he set off in January 1875, to found the first inland station of the B.M.S. in that historic city.

In many ways the Chefoo mission had been a costly experiment. Of the ten missionaries, including wives, who had taken part in it, two had died, Hall after three years, and Laughton after seven years' service. Kloekers and Mr. and Mrs. McMechan had resigned on health grounds, the former after seven, and the others after only three years on the field. And Dr. Brown had resigned after four years' work.

But the mission was by no means fruitless. Each of our missionaries had helped to break up "fallow ground" and had scattered the gospel seed which was to bear such a rich harvest in Shantung in later years. A church of fifty members had been gathered; two out-stations with chapels erected by local funds had been established, served by voluntary preachers. The principles of self-propagation, self-support and self-government had been inculcated. The social implications of the gospel had been exemplified in medical service; a united Free Church for foreign residents had been formed. And last, but not least, Timothy Richard had been prepared by God for the great task he eventually accomplished.

CHAPTER 3

LENGTHENING THE CORDS (1875-91)

a. Shantung

CH'ING-CHOU-FU is an ancient city, rich in historical and cultural associations. Although much of its former glory had departed when Richard arrived there in January 1875, it was still a very important city, with a population of about thirty thousand, which included a large number of Manchus. It was also the administrative, educational and business centre of a prefectural district of eleven counties, comprising many large towns and innumerable villages all densely populated. But what had chiefly attracted Richard was its importance as a religious centre. A considerable Mohammedan community resided there, and had erected two mosques and a theological college in the vicinity. Buddhist and Taoist temples in the city and environs periodically attracted large crowds of pilgrims, and devotees of various religious sects were numerous.

The arrival of this foreigner, the first Protestant missionary ever to reside in the city, excited no little stir amongst the people. It was impossible to rent a house immediately, so Richard had perforce to lodge for a time in a Chinese inn. The insatiable curiosity of the Chinese brought him some casual visitors, but the people generally were "shy" of making any more intimate contact. Richard therefore changed into Chinese dress to make approaches easier on both sides. But he had little success in breaking down this initial reserve and prejudice until epidemics of cholera, malaria and ague gave him a unique opportunity. He had brought with him supplies of chlorodyne, spirits of camphor and quinine. These homely remedies he applied with such care and skill that he soon acquired a widespread reputation as a

“wizard of healing”, and this attracted large numbers to his room in the inn. There were many opium addicts in the city. One of these, an official, grateful to Richard for helping him to break off this debilitating habit, enabled him to rent a small house adjoining the yamen in the city. Similar acts of kindness gradually won for Richard the gratitude of many of the people, and the respect of the more responsible officials. This in turn saved him from the hostility of others who from the first had agitated for his expulsion from the city, and even plotted for his death.

Persistent drought in North China during the years 1876 to 1878, caused widespread famine throughout the area, and seriously affected the people of Shantung and Shansi. Richard’s heart was deeply moved by the distressing sights customary at such times. Processions of wailing or sullenly silent people passed his door, wearing chaplets of willow leaves, and headed by the chief official of the district, ostentatiously bearing the chains of a criminal, as a token that his maladministration had caused the drought. They were on their way to the temple of the rain god, to appease his wrath by their confessions, and pray that he would send the long-hoped-for rain. He witnessed groups of starving people searching frantically in the fields for edible grasses and roots, or scraping the bark from trees to relieve the gnawing pangs of hunger. Often he saw distraught parents offering their children for sale in the open streets in the hope that wealthier people would take and feed them in their homes, and that their own hunger might, for a time at least, be appeased.

Riots frequently occurred, during which clamouring crowds surrounded the yamen or attacked the grain stores. Robbers and bandits ravaged the countryside, and public executions were matters of almost daily occurrence.

In these circumstances Richard could not stand idly by. He issued many pamphlets and posters urging the people to pray to the one and only God, and adopted practical measures to relieve the prevailing distress. He appealed to foreign communities at the coast, from whom he received considerable sums which he forthwith distributed throughout the vicinity. Work of this

kind is usually not only difficult but dangerous, as desperately hungry crowds are hard to control, and specious impostors mingle with the really needy. The sifting process calls for both tact and courage, qualities which Richard fortunately possessed in marked degree. In fact, his firmness, wisdom and ingenuity at such times, as well as his benevolent and gracious spirit, contrasted so glaringly with the indifference or impotence of the officials, that he was twice urged by the people to lead them in revolt against the authorities. However, Richard felt it politic to leave the district to allow time for such ardour to cool off!

The responsibility for distributing the ever-increasing relief funds which reached him soon proved much too heavy for one man to discharge effectively, and Richard was greatly relieved when his colleague, A. G. Jones, arrived in March 1877, from Chefoo, where he had spent some months in language study. Together they carried through a remarkable piece of relief work, which produced encouraging spiritual results.

The first converts in Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, a silk-weaver and his wife, were baptized by Richard in 1875 in a river outside the west gate of the city. Another fifteen were later baptized by him in his own courtyard in an improvised baptistry, in the presence of a high official. By the winter of 1877 over a thousand catechumens were registered and over three hundred had been baptized.

This rapidly growing church, scattered as it was over a wide area, made great demands of Richard and Jones, and their Chinese colleague Pastor Ch'ing, who had been called to their aid from Chefoo. But in consultation together they devised a system of religious instruction and church organization, which helped greatly to meet the need. The Christians of each locality were organized into groups, and given a leader, selected for his general intelligence and spiritual qualities. Catechisms, collections of hymns, addresses and sermons were printed and distributed to the leaders for their use. Adult Sunday schools were organized at each centre, for which special lessons were prepared. And at intervals the local leaders were called in to Ch'ing-Chou-Fu for a period of instruction and training. The local churches were then grouped

together to form district Associations, which gradually developed into the Baptist Union of Shantung.

The principles of self-support, self-government and self-propagation were emphasized and generally observed by this young and growing church. The Rev. John Nevius, of the American Presbyterian Mission in Shantung, who became famous for his advocacy and promotion of the indigenous church, acknowledged his deep indebtedness to our Shantung pioneers for many of his ideas.

The foundations of our Baptist church in Shantung were well and truly laid by these wise master-builders.

The famine relief work resulted also in large numbers of orphan children being placed under the missionaries' care. Five orphanages were established, one in Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, the other four at district centres, each with one hundred children. Elementary education was given, as well as courses in carpentry, iron-work, and silk spinning which helped to meet the heavy expenses incurred. The Home Committee voted £500 for these projects.

b. Shansi

Famine conditions in Shansi during these years were far more severe than in any other part of North China. In the autumn of 1877 the International Famine Relief Committee in Shanghai invited Richard to undertake relief work in that province on their behalf. Jones and Pastor Ch'ing, realizing the urgency of the need there, agreed to release him for this special task. After an arduous overland journey of twenty-one days, Richard arrived in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, the provincial capital, in November 1877. A few days before he arrived, two missionaries of the China Inland Mission, the Rev. J. J. Turner and the Rev. F. James (both of whom joined the B.M.S. later) who had completed an extensive tour of investigation in the southern half of the province, had left for the coast. James had contracted famine fever, and was so ill that Turner felt he ought to accompany him. The Rev. Arnold Foster of the L.M.S., Hankow, deeply distressed by what he had

seen in the South, had also left for England to appeal for relief funds.

Richard at once got to work with characteristic energy, stirring up the Chinese officials and the Roman Catholic missionaries to greater efforts at relief. He himself travelled widely to ascertain the facts, which were gruesome indeed. Not only were people stripping the trees of bark, but mixing powdered stone with grain or herbs for food. Houses were stripped of window frames and doors for fuel. Unscrupulous gangs of men were driving away cartloads of women and girls compelled to barter their bodies and souls for bread. Piles of unburied dead lay everywhere and authenticated reports of cannibalism were abroad. Richard reported these terrible facts to the officials, to the foreign embassies in Peking, to Relief Committees at the coast, and also to the Missionary Societies and the Lord Mayor of London.

In the spring of 1878, the Rev. J. J. Turner, the Rev. David Hill of the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Rev. Albert Whiting of the American Presbyterian Mission, arrived in T'ai-Yuan-Fu with a large sum in silver from the Shanghai Relief Committee. Unfortunately, as they began to distribute this money, Whiting succumbed to famine fever. But Richard, Turner and Hill, later joined by missionaries of other Societies, at constant risk to their own health and lives persevered in their task to the saving of at least seventy thousand Shansi people from starvation and death. (Some reports place the figure as high as 150,000.) The death roll for the whole of North China during these terrible years of famine is estimated at at least fifteen millions.

As a direct result of this relief work, the first Baptist church in Shansi, on Bridge-head Street in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, was opened in 1878. The local populace, out of gratitude for what the missionaries had done, presented a large tablet, inscribed in gold letters "Chiu Shih T'ang" (Hall of Universal Salvation), to be hung over the main entrance. A Baptist church still stands on the original site, and doubtless the tablet remains, to witness to the passers-by that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the World. At this centre, daily preaching and worship were conducted, and some

medical and opium-refuge work begun. Relief work continued to be a major occupation of the few missionaries in the province until well into 1879; in fact, it would be true to say that the foundations of the B.M.S. work in Shansi were largely laid on this memorable exemplification of Christian mercy and benevolence.

Richard and Hill made special efforts to reach the literati with the gospel in those early days. T'ai-Yuan-Fu was the centre for the triennial Civil Service examinations for the second, or M.A. degree. In the autumn of 1879, seven thousand candidates, the intellectual *élite* of Shansi, assembled there from every part of the province, and to these special Christian tracts were distributed. Hill also conceived the idea of offering prizes for essays on religious subjects. With Richard's help the scheme was publicized, and distributed to the candidates, with subjects and conditions of entry.

A scholar of great repute and a confirmed opium addict called Hsi, who lived at P'ing Yang in the South, was informed of what had happened at the capital by returning candidates, who gave him the subjects for the essays, and finally persuaded him to compete. He submitted four essays, the one he thought the best under his own name, the other three under assumed names. He was awarded three of the four prizes offered. This success brought Hsi into personal touch with David Hill, who was then residing at P'ing-Yang. He became Hill's teacher, living in his house. He read the New Testament at first simply to teach his missionary pupil the Chinese text. Gradually, however, he felt constrained to read it out of a sense of his own spiritual need, and accepted Christ as his Saviour. He testified that his conversion, like that of Paul, was accompanied by a vision of the risen Christ. But it was not easy to break the bands of the opium habit, and a tremendous struggle ensued, in which medicine, prayer, exhortation and personal help for a time all proved unavailing. Finally, however, he was completely freed, to quote his own words, "by the power of the Holy Spirit". The Rev. J. J. Turner baptized him, and after further instruction he was appointed pastor of the local church. He became widely known in Shansi as Pastor Hsi, and achieved a

great reputation for his work amongst the numerous opium addicts in the area. He set up a chain of refuges in which thousands were delivered from the noxious influences of the drug. More than seven hundred of these were baptized and joined the church. Although Pastor Hsi worked in association with the C.I.M. he gradually developed his own methods, and became largely independent of any missionary society. But as Timothy Richard and J. J. Turner shared with David Hill as human agents in the early Christian experiences of this remarkable man, his story is worthy of a place in this record of B.M.S. work.

c. Shensi

Famine was also an important factor in the opening of B.M.S. work in Shensi, which suffered from periodical drought, and like Shansi was particularly hard hit by the drought of 1876-8. Prior to that, the T'ai-P'ing rebellion of 1850-65, and Mohammedan risings between 1864 and 1870, had decimated the population of the province, with the result that great tracts of arable land were lying uncultivated. The government therefore encouraged immigration from other northern provinces. Between 1887 and 1890 thousands of people left Shantung to traverse the seven or eight hundred miles of rough road to Shensi, to set up their homes in what was to them practically a foreign land.

Amongst these emigrants were forty from our Baptist community. These were mostly from the Ch'ing-Chou-Fu district, and included four trained teacher-pastors. After arriving in Shensi, they made their way north of Hsi-An-Fu to establish themselves eventually in Gospel Village, or Fu-Yin-Ts'un. One of their first major concerns was to erect a place of worship, and until that was achieved they were content to live in tumble-down temples or hastily erected shacks.

They soon organized their Christian community life on the Shantung model, and were self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating from the beginning. But in 1890, during the visit of the first Home deputation to China, consisting of Dr. Richard

Glover and the Rev. T. M. Morris, these Baptist immigrants, appreciating the help they had received from our Shantung missionaries, invited the Society to appoint missionaries to Shensi.

The response of the B.M.S. to this "call from Macedonia" was as prompt and generous as their then limited resources in staff permitted. The Rev. and Mrs. A. G. Shorrock (1891), Rev. and Mrs. Moir Duncan (April 1892) and Rev. and Mrs. Evan Morgan (1895) were located there. Our work in Shensi was thus inaugurated on this auspicious foundation of Chinese Christian initiative and desire for co-operation with the Home Society.

CHAPTER 4

STRENGTHENING THE STAKES

(1875-1900)

DURING this period the missionary staff gradually increased, and the work expanded in each province. More residential stations were established, and various types of activity, ancillary to the main task of evangelism and the strengthening of the church, were inaugurated. Educational and medical work, and the training of Chinese evangelists, pastors, teachers and medical assistants, mainly on a modest scale, were begun. The scope and pattern of future work assumed shape, and the main principles upon which that work was to proceed were formulated.

a. Shantung

Thanks to the enterprise, vision and genius of the two pioneers, Timothy Richard and Alfred Jones, and with the blessing of God's Spirit, the work in Shantung speedily progressed. The form of Church organization created by them, which with slight modifications has persisted to the present, accounts largely for the stability and strength of the Shantung church of later years.

From 1881 missionary recruits began to arrive. But Ch'ing-Chou-Fu remained the only residential station until 1888. By that time the membership of the church had increased to nearly 1,000, and sixty out-stations, with regular worship, many with elementary schools, had been established. The membership of the church grew mainly as the result of personal testimony borne by individual Christians, rejoicing in their new-found faith and hope. Responsibility for the conduct of worship, and the development of local church life, including instruction of "inquirers", and the

management of the village schools, was vested in voluntary "leaders". These were usually selected by their fellow-Christians, with the approval of the missionary. Most of them were young in the faith, and in many cases illiterate. A typical "leader" of those days (1879) was Wang-Pao-T'ai, "a market gardener, inexperienced and illiterate, quite young, but an ardent leader, whom the local Christians, despite their Oriental notions of age and gravity, willingly follow".

It was to meet the need of such zealous but uninstructed "leaders", that classes, held at the central station during the less busy intervals in the agricultural year, had been instituted earlier on. After the arrival of Rev. J. S. Whitewright in 1881, and Rev. J. P. Bruce in 1887, this work was gradually developed into a training school at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu for preachers and teachers. Rev. and Mrs. Samuel Couling, who had arrived in 1884, opened a central boarding school alongside for boys, many of whom went on to the training school. In 1891, during the visit of Rev. Richard Glover and Rev. T. M. Morris, six students of this training school were ordained for the ministry. One of these, it is interesting to observe, was Wang-Pao-T'ai, referred to above. Yet another was Sun-Han-Ch'ing, one of the emigrants to Shensi in the great trek of 1887-90, who was appointed the first pastor of the newly-formed Fu-Yin-Ts'un church, and continued to render devoted and effective service in that office until his death in 1934. The training school in Ch'ing-Chou-Fu was reorganized in 1893 as the Gotch-Robinson Institute, with twenty-seven students, two-thirds of whom were enrolled for a full course of four to five years, the rest for a special two years' course for lay-leaders.

Graduates from this Institute served as pastors, or as teacher-evangelists in villages or small towns. The pastors were supported by the churches (usually in groups) which called them. If a school was organized and a teacher engaged, 50 per cent. of the cost was provided by the local Christian community. Pastor Ch'ing (see pp. 54 f.), was given the status of an associate missionary, and supported by the Mission, as were a small number of other graduates

of the Institute, who were appointed not as pastors but as mobile evangelists.

Most of the Shantung missionaries in those days had acquired some medical knowledge and experience, which they used to advantage in the course of their journeys, and in tackling epidemics and the prevalent endemic diseases. Rev. J. T. Kitts, who arrived in 1879, and Rev. E. C. Smyth, who followed in 1884, had taken medical courses at home in addition to their theological training, and both were known as "doctors" by the generality of the population. It was largely due to the medical work done by these and Alfred Jones, that Chou-P'ing (or Tsou-P'ing) was opened as the second residential station in 1888. Later on Rev. Frank Harmon who, during his furlough in 1892, had taken a special course in diseases of the eye, did extraordinarily useful work in this district, achieving almost 100 per cent. success in the numerous operations for cataract which he attempted.

Dr. and Mrs. J. R. Watson, both of whom were fully qualified, were the first to begin systematic medical work in this area. They arrived at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu in 1885. In 1892 Dr. T. C. Paterson and his wife (who also had received medical training), joined them. In those days the Home Committee were not yet convinced of the necessity of providing well-equipped hospitals, so these medical missionary pioneers had perforce to carry on their work in buildings and with equipment which left much to be desired. In spite of that, both at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu and Chou-P'ing, considerable medical and surgical work was done, which created many fruitful openings for the gospel. A beginning was also made with the training of medical assistants, some of whom—particularly Dr. Chou—rendered long and faithful service.

Work amongst the women and girls in these early years was carried on by the wives of missionaries, who received a well-deserved tribute from the Glover-Morris deputation of 1891. But that their efforts needed supplementing is evident from their report, viz., "If a small staff of unmarried Christian ladies, full of faith and tenderness, could be placed on both fields, it would meet the pressing needs of the hour in both provinces. It might spread

still further the great success in Shantung, and Shansi might change 'hope deferred' into 'the desire accomplished.'" In response to this appeal, four such "ladies" arrived in 1893-4, Miss A. O. Kirkland and Miss L. M. Shalders being allocated to Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, and Miss A. Simpson and Miss A. Aldridge to Chou-P'ing. Miss Shalders resigned after six years' service, but the others remained for lengthy periods of greatly appreciated work. In particular the advent of these single-women missionaries made possible the opening of girls' boarding schools at both residential centres which proved to be splendid assets to the women's side of the work.

In 1887 Mr. Whitewright opened a museum in Ch'ing-Chou-Fu which he stocked with natural history exhibits, as well as models and pictures, many of which were specially designed to illustrate the beneficent influence of Christianity on civilization and the social order. The museum attracted large crowds from the countryside, especially on the frequently recurring market-days. As Chinese evangelists were in constant attendance, and shared with the missionaries in the regular preaching, and in conversation with individuals and groups, this new venture proved to be a great asset in the broadcasting of the gospel. It also relieved the district missionaries of much travelling.

The work in Shantung prior to 1900 was firmly established. The church was well organized, and developing hopefully under Chinese leadership. Candidates for church membership were required to undergo a period of eighteen months' probation, during which regular scriptural instruction was given. A system of church discipline was adopted by common consent and strictly enforced. And although Christians were called upon to endure severe persecution at frequent intervals during those early years, most of them stood firm, and by 1900 the membership of our Baptist Church had reached the encouraging figure of 4,177.

b. Shansi

The church in Shansi, however, prior to 1900, made very slow

progress. For many years Shansi had acquired the unenviable reputation of being one of the biggest opium-growing and opium-consuming provinces in the land. At least 60 per cent. of the population were opium addicts in the pre-1900 days. Shansi people were also notorious for their materialistic spirit, as the nickname of "misers, preferring money to life" by which they were known to the rest of their countrymen indicates. There is little doubt that these two factors retarded the growth of the church, not only in B.M.S. districts, but throughout the province.

Then our B.M.S. missionary staff suffered many set-backs during this initial period. Timothy Richard was our sole representative in the province until 1881, and he and his wife withdrew in 1887. In the meantime the following reinforcements arrived:

Rev. and Mrs. A. Sowerby, 1881.

Rev. and Mrs. J. J. Turner, 1883 (transferred from the C.I.M.)

Rev. and Mrs. H. Dixon, 1884 (transferred from Congo)

Rev. and Mrs. Evan Morgan, 1884

Rev. and Mrs. G. B. Farthing, 1886.

And in 1887, Rev. A. G. Shorrock and Rev. and Mrs. Moir Duncan.

But between 1891 and 1895 the Morgans, the Duncans and Mr. Shorrock, all of whom had got well into their stride, were transferred to Shensi to inaugurate our Mission there.

The withdrawal of the Richards in 1887 was a heavy blow from which it took the Shansi Mission a long time to recover. They left because serious differences of opinion had arisen between Richard and his missionary colleagues on missionary methods and questions of theology, especially his attitude to those of other religious faiths.

It was to the difficulties recounted above that the Glover-Morris deputation report of 1891 referred, when they wrote, "Our brethren there (in Shansi) do not yet know that they are beaten." This comment is also a tribute to the missionaries

who remained and who had persevered through the preceding years with what was obviously a heart-breaking task.

But something must be said here about Richard's work in Shansi during his ten years of residence there. When he left, his Chinese name of Li-T'i-Mo-T'ai had already become a household word throughout the province. That was due primarily, but not solely, to his outstanding work in famine relief.

In T'ai-Yuan-Fu, as in Shantung previously, his major concern had been to win officials, scholars and devotees of other religions to Christ.

In pursuance of this aim he expended over £1,000 out of private funds to purchase scientific equipment for public lectures, which were designed to demonstrate the order and beauty of the universe, to show the necessity of obedience to God's laws, and the reasonableness of the Divine revelation in Christ. The provincial authorities placed a theatre in the city at Richard's disposal for the lectures, which were well attended and much appreciated by the educated and official classes. Richard eagerly availed himself of opportunities which resulted from this special work, to make more intimate contact with individuals and to present the claims of Christ to them.

Actual conversions of officials and scholars in those days were extremely rare, and Richard was not privileged to see any spectacular spiritual results from this type of approach. But it was of real benefit to missionary work as a whole throughout the province.

Richard and his capable wife also took their full share of preaching and teaching, both in T'ai-Yuan-Fu city and in the surrounding district. They supervised for some time a school of sixty famine orphans in the city, which, however, they handed over to the China Inland Mission as a gesture of co-operation in 1881. Richard also had the oversight of seven village schools. He paid visits to Wu-T'ai-Shan, a famous Buddhist centre of pilgrimage in the north-east of the province, and conversed frequently with Taoist and Buddhist priests in the numerous temples in and around T'ai-Yuan-Fu.

From time to time he exerted himself in negotiations with provincial officials and the authorities in Peking, to secure just treatment for Chinese Christians, and sought to promote fuller co-operation between the various Missionary Societies at work in the province.

After Richard's withdrawal the Shansi Mission was not further reinforced until 1896, when the Rev. and Mrs. W. A. McCurrach and the Rev. and Mrs. J. T. Underwood arrived, to be followed during 1899 and 1900 by the Rev. and Mrs. S. F. Whitehouse, the Rev. and Mrs. S. W. Ennals and Miss Bessie Renaut. All of these, together with their senior colleagues, the Rev. and Mrs. G. B. Farthing, and their three children, were killed in the Boxer cataclysm of 1900. The only members of our Shansi staff to survive were the Rev. and Mrs. A. Sowerby and the Rev. and Mrs. J. J. Turner, who at the time were providentially on furlough in England.

But in the meantime the evangelistic task was pursued with vigour and perseverance. Itineration was extended to nine counties, radiating from T'ai-Yuan-Fu, and Hsin-Chou, forty-five miles further north, as the two residential centres. In an area some 160 miles long and eighty miles wide, the out-stations of Fan-Ssu, ninety miles north of T'ai-Yuan-Fu; Wen-Shui, forty-six miles to the south-west; and Shou-Yang, sixty miles to the east, formed the rough geographical limits of their activities.

In this wide field the missionaries, never more than twelve (including wives) on the field at one time, assisted by a few Chinese evangelists, who received somewhat spasmodic individual training from them, addressed themselves mainly to forward evangelism, and the shepherding of the very small and widely scattered groups of Christians. Short-term classes were occasionally assembled at Hsin-Chou by Mr. Sowerby for teacher-evangelists, but in the circumstances nothing like the permanence and standards of the Ch'ing-Chou-Fu work could be attempted.

At intervals church members and inquirers assembled at the two central stations for conferences, which provided them with spiritual inspiration, and enhanced their sense of corporate fellow-

ship in Christ. But, because members were so few, little was done to develop church organization. In 1892 there were only 32 members, 6 in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, 16 in Hsiao-Tien-Tzu, nearby, and 10 in Hsin-Chou.

No centrally organized medical work was conducted by the B.M.S. in Shansi during this period, although, as in Shantung, practically all the ministerial missionaries engaged in some form of medical activity. Dixon opened a dispensary in Hsin-Chou, and gained quite a reputation as a doctor throughout the district. Farthing opened a number of opium refuges in the Chiao-Ch'eng district, which proved the main means whereby the church in that area expanded.

However, the C.I.M. (which at Timothy Richard's suggestion sent a number of missionaries to T'ai-Yuan-Fu, in 1878) began hospital work in that city in 1880. Dr. Harold Schofield, whom Richard described as "one of the most brilliant medical missionaries who ever came to China", was their pioneer in this field. Unfortunately, after only three years of outstanding service he succumbed to typhoid fever. His memory is enshrined in the B.M.S. hospital in the city, which bears his revered and beloved name.

The B.M.S. and the C.I.M. worked side by side in T'ai-Yuan-Fu until 1896, when the latter Mission withdrew to the south of the province. After that the Shou-Yang Independent Mission assumed responsibility for their work in T'ai-Yuan-Fu and also for the Shou-Yang area. But it continued in co-operation with the B.M.S., and in 1902 the work of the two societies was united.

Village schools for the children of Christian families were started in a few centres, which were supervised by the missionaries in the course of itineration. Boarding schools with small enrolments were also established at T'ai-Yuan-Fu and at Hsin-Chou late in this period. The wives of B.M.S. missionaries shared in the work of the Girls' School in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, which from 1881 until 1900 functioned first under the auspices of the C.I.M. and then of the Shou-Yang Mission.

Although the Christians gathered during these years were so

few (there were only 256 church members in 1900), their spiritual quality was to reveal itself in the baptism of blood and fire which engulfed this young and struggling church in that terrible year.

Some of our Chinese brethren served with conspicuous loyalty in this initial period of our work. Amongst these was Chao-Hsia-Yün, who in 1883 had been loaned to Shansi from Shantung. He remained at Hsin-Chou for over forty years. This truly remarkable man, scrupulously honest in his administration of affairs, and an earnest preacher, was ready to do anything, and go anywhere, for Christ. Though he was never called "pastor", he was the chief mainstay of the church in the city and district, the "guide, counsellor and friend" of missionaries and Chinese alike. His great services in the Boxer year will be referred to later. He was, in effect, like Pastor Ch'ing in Shantung, an associate missionary, and as such was supported by the B.M.S.

Another of our leaders in the Hsin-Chou area was Ho-Ts'un-K'uei, who surrendered quite a lucrative business post to take up the poorly paid but cherished task of evangelist. At one time he was under threat of "beating" by the magistrate for his passive resistance to the payment of illegal temple taxes. While waiting for the ordeal he said to Mr. Dixon, "Jesus Christ was crucified for me; cannot I take a few blows for Him?" He was beaten to death by a thousand blows in 1900.

Yet another stalwart of those days was Hu-Tung-Yeh of Shih-T'ieh, located between T'ai-Yuan-Fu and Shou-Yang. He was a man of independent means, who after his conversion devoted himself and all he had to every good work, treating opium addicts, visiting the sick, taking a special interest in children, and counting it a delight to entertain missionaries. He was always testifying to the love of God and the grace of Christ. But in 1900 this kindly, cheerful, and consecrated servant of the Master was cut to pieces by the Boxers, and his heart strung up in the local temple.

c. Shensi

Turning now to Shensi province, we recall that in 1891-2 our

pioneer missionaries to that field, the Rev. A. Shorrocks and the Rev. and Mrs. Moir Duncan, had begun their work of co-operation with the Shantung Christian emigrants of a few years before. The first organized Baptist church in the province was formed at Gospel Village (Fu-Yin-Ts'un) on 8th April 1892, with forty-eight members, all of whom were asked to make definite pledges in order that "a clean and worthy beginning should be made in the corporate life of the new church". The members, therefore, individually confessed in public: (1) their faith in Christ anew; (2) their determination to follow their Saviour in their new life and surroundings, and (3) to make known His Name and salvation to all around. The first pastor of the church was Sun-Han-Ch'ing, one of the emigrants, who, as noted above, had been trained in Ch'ing-Chou-Fu. The young church was fortunate in having him and three or four others who had taken courses in Shantung, two of whom, Pastor Liu and his son, in the Theological School, as their first leaders. The ideas of self-support and self-propagation were accepted from the beginning. As a practical expression of this, an Evangelistic Association was formed, the members of which pledged themselves as volunteers to contribute towards travelling expenses, to spend at least one day a month in evangelistic work, and to undertake a course of Bible study to be followed by examinations.

The training of church leaders, both men and women, by our B.M.S. pioneers, mainly in a personal capacity, provided a strong foundation for the progress of evangelistic and educational work. But in spite of that and of much hard travelling and earnest preaching in the country around by both missionaries and the Chinese Christians, which led to the opening of work in eight counties, at twenty-five centres, and the starting of fourteen day schools, the membership of the church grew very slowly. In 1897 there were 135 on the roll, an increase of eighty-seven in six years. These were practically all Shantungese. The Shensi people in those days tended to regard the church, although it had been introduced into the province by Chinese, as a "foreign" movement. Provincial feeling in China ran very high in those days and for



THE
NESTORIAN
TABLET,
HSI-AN-FU

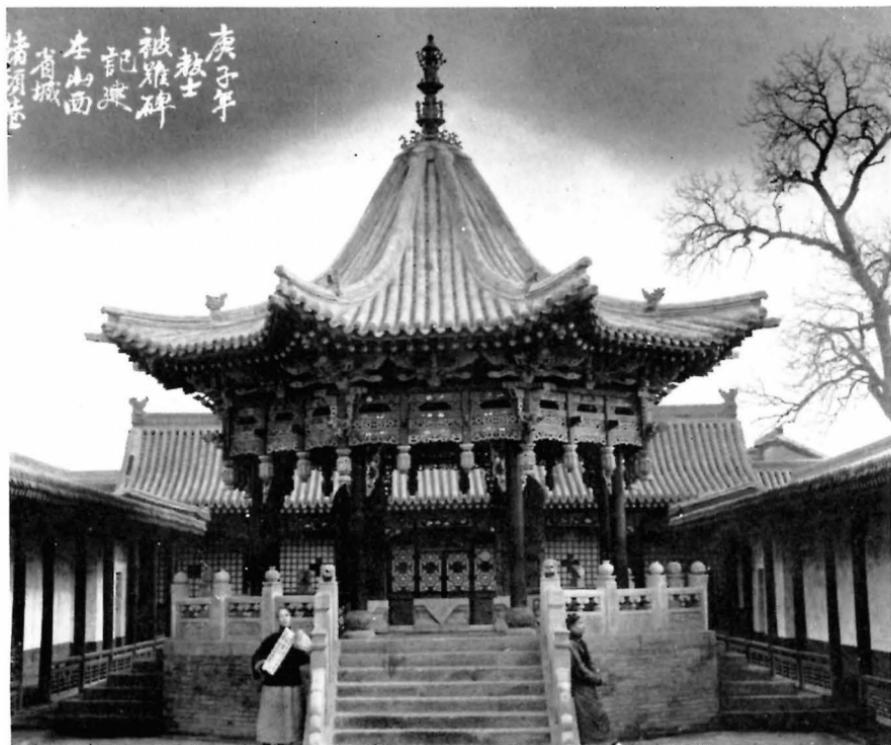
THE GATEWAY,
CH'ING-CHOU-FU





THE PIONEERS IN SHANSI (see page 56)

THE MARTYRS' MEMORIAL, T'AI-YUAN-FU, MARKING THE PLACE OF IMPRISONMENT



many years proved to be a real barrier between the native Shensi folk and the immigrants from Shantung, even after some of the former had joined the church.

The church leaders, true to the Shantung tradition, set a high value on education. Boarding schools for both boys and girls with an average enrolment of thirty in each, were established at Gospel Village in 1892, the one for girls being the first to be opened in our China Mission history. This was built alongside the new church, and owed much to Mrs. Duncan's initiative.

The arrival of the Rev. and Mrs. Evan Morgan in 1895 made more district and training work possible, but Gospel Village remained the only residential centre for a long time.

Hsi-An-Fu, which in the seventh century had welcomed the Nestorian missionaries, proved to be very difficult of entry by their Baptist successors in the last decade of the nineteenth century. But Moir Duncan's persistent efforts to gain a foothold in this famous old city were finally rewarded by his securing rented premises for a house, book-shop and preaching-hall in 1894. The sales of books here in 1896 amounted to over £300 in value. Concurrently there was a good hearing for the gospel, and a small company gathered together for regular worship.

At San-Yuan, which was a most important commercial and cultural centre, Evan Morgan was equally persevering in his efforts to break down the strong anti-foreign prejudices of the local gentry, and by making friends of the literati in the town he also eventually succeeded in renting suitable premises for regular work.

Women's work was specially promising. Mrs. Duncan and Mrs. Morgan conducted regular classes for these at Gospel Village, and their efforts in the Girls' School, which included the formation of a Christian Endeavour Society, resulted in sixteen of the girls joining the church in 1899. They also conducted an anti-foot-binding campaign amongst the women, promising a new pair of shoes and calico for socks, to all who would make the courageous venture of unbinding their "lily" feet. Whether that

was the only inducement or not I do not know, but in 1899, twenty "took the leap"!

Rev. F. Madeley and Miss Jennie Beckingsale (the first W.M.A. worker in this province) arrived in 1898, to be followed by Dr. Creasy-Smith in 1899 and Nurse Law a little later, as our first medical missionaries. But no settled medical work was possible, as the events of 1900 intervened, and the whole missionary staff had to evacuate the province, where such a promising beginning had been made. The church membership at this time was 219, with an equal number of enrolled inquirers.

NOTE ON ILLUSTRATION

THE PIONEERS IN SHANSI.

This photograph was taken in 1898 at T'ai-Yuan-Fu. Of those shown on it, twenty-one were killed during the Boxer Rising. Included in these were the following B.M.S. missionaries: Rev. G. B. Farthing (*back row, first on left*), Rev. J. T. Underwood and Rev. W. A. McCurrach (*next to back row, third and fourth from right, respectively*).

CHAPTER 5

THE CHURCH LAID WASTE (1900-02)

I. HISTORICAL PRELUDE

DURING the period 1876-1900 the foreign Powers, including Japan, exerted increasing pressure on a rapidly weakening China, compelling her to surrender further concessions of territory, and a variety of economic privileges. France extended her control of Indo-China, and in 1885 annexed Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. Britain annexed Burma which had hitherto been tributary to China, in 1886, and the next year China formally ceded Macao to Portugal.

Japan, taking advantage of a nebulous political situation in Korea, declared war on China in 1894 to enforce her claim to the land. In the ensuing hostilities China was defeated, and was compelled to cede not only Formosa and the Pescadores, but virtually to hand over Korea to Japanese control by recognizing its independence.

This humiliation by a people whom China had hitherto regarded with contempt, roused enlightened patriotic Chinese to a sense of their country's peril, and to furious agitation for reform.

The famous viceroy Chang-Chih-Tung, in 1898, issued a challenging call to the nation in a book entitled *Learn*, urging that China's only hope lay, on the one hand, in adherence to her basic moral philosophy, and on the other in the adoption of Western education and military and naval reforms.

In 1897 Germany, who had undertaken the protection of Roman Catholic missions in China a few years previously, exploited the murder of two German missionaries in Shantung to gain the lease of the Chiao-Chou (Kiaochow) territory, including Ch'ing-Tao (Tsing-tau), for a period of ninety-nine years; the

right to construct two railways, one through the heart of Shantung province from the coast to Chi-Nan-Fu, and the other a branch line to the mining area of Poshan (incidentally through B.M.S. territory); mining rights along these railways, and the exaction of a heavy indemnity. This increased the lust of other Powers for additional territorial concessions. Russia claimed the Liao-Tung peninsula, while Great Britain demanded Wei-Hai-Wei, and France Kuang-Chou-Wan. Concurrently with this scramble for "slices of the Chinese melon" the various foreign Powers began to map out different sections of the country as their "special sphere of influence". Russia laid claim to Manchuria as such, and Japan the province of Fukien. Germany selected Shantung, and France Yunnan, while Great Britain staked out as her special sphere the valley of the Yang-tzu.

Then, in 1899, at the suggestion of John Hay of U.S.A. the "Open-door policy" was agreed to by all the interested Powers. This, while conserving the semblance of China's sovereignty, was designed to keep the whole of China open to foreign trade on the basis of equal opportunity for the various foreign Powers concerned, but at the same time to safeguard their particular privileges in these special spheres.

During this period also, the foreign Powers tightened their economic grip by persuading China to contract huge loans for the building of railways and other projects; by imposing heavy indemnities for "incidents" in which their nationals were involved; and demanding control of important sources of national revenue to ensure that the loans would be repaid. It is true, however, as some Chinese admit, that some of this proved to be in China's interest. The control of the Imperial Maritime Customs is a case in point. This, in 1854, during the T'ai-P'ing rebellion had been entrusted by the Chinese authorities in Shanghai to an international Commission. Later on, Sir Robert Hart, of Great Britain, was appointed Chief-Inspector of the Service, in which capacity he served between 1863 and 1908 with distinction and great success, commending himself to Chinese and foreigners alike. His supervision of the Customs and its affiliated Postal Service for

the whole country is in fact a classic instance of administration of this kind, and resulted in greatly increased revenues for the Chinese government coffers. But even he is not without his modern Chinese critics.

Naturally, most thoughtful Chinese were conscious that these things imperilled the sovereignty and economic security of their country. Indeed they began to fear that China, like Africa, might become a joint-colony of the various foreign Powers. And as they attributed this danger, with considerable justification, to the weakness and corruption of the alien Manchu Government, revolt was inevitable.

In 1895, Sun-Yat-Sen, a Christian (the son of an L.M.S. pastor), who was later to become famous as the "Father" of the Chinese Republic, organized a revolt in the South. This failed and from then until 1912 he was in exile. In 1896 he was seized and imprisoned in the Chinese Embassy in London. There is little doubt he would have been sent back to China and executed by the Manchus, but for the timely intervention of an old teacher and friend, Sir Thomas Cantlie.

In 1898, the Emperor Kuang-Hsü, who was genuinely sympathetic with the reformers, issued a series of startling reform measures. The curriculum of the civil examination system was to be radically modified by the inclusion of Western subjects. A modern university was to be established in Peking. Temples were to be converted into schools, and young Manchus were to travel abroad to gain knowledge of Western countries and institutions.

This drastic move greatly stimulated the leaders of the reform party, many of whom, like the Emperor himself, had derived their new ideas from the publications of the Christian Literature Society, or from personal contact with Timothy Richard. Had the Emperor been the sole authority at Court at this time, all might have gone well for the reformers. Unfortunately, however, that was not the case. For the Empress-Dowager, Tzu-Hsi, largely dominated the scene. She was a confirmed Conservative, and leader of the reactionary party. It seemed, therefore, to the reformers that the removal of Tzu-Hsi was essential. So, during

September 1898, they determined to stage a *coup d'état* aimed at the seizure of her person. The Empress-Dowager, however, got wind of the plot, through Yüan-Shih-K'ai, and took desperate counter measures. She seized the Emperor, and imprisoned him within the palace precincts; took over the reins of government; and promptly beheaded as many of the Reform leaders as she could lay her hands on. She also emerged triumphant from the ensuing struggle at Court between the Conservative and Progressive factions, and sounded, for the time being at least, the death-knell of the reform movement.

Strengthened by this apparent victory, the Empress-Dowager now determined to wager her all in one last attempt to oust the foreigner from the land. And to further her purpose she enlisted the aid of the Boxers.

2. THE BOXERS

The Boxers were a powerful secret sect, whose activities originally were directed both at the overthrow of the Manchus and the extermination of their foreign aggressors. So they had styled themselves "The Righteous-Peace-Army". (I-Ho-T'uan.) As long as the movement remained anti-dynastic in character, the Manchus had contemptuously dubbed them the "Fist-Rebels", (Ch'üan Fei), on account of the shadow-boxing antics which played such a prominent part in their occult rites. Hence they were called "Boxers" by the foreign community in China. When, however, the Empress-Dowager adopted these erstwhile rebels as her allies, they were authorized to keep their original designation of "The Righteous-Peace-Army". They thereupon emblazoned their banners with such slogans as "Support the Manchus and exterminate the foreigners".

This volte-face of the Manchu Court, *vis-à-vis* the Boxers, was due largely to the astute instigation of Yü-Hsien, the intensely anti-foreign Manchu governor of Shantung. In this province during the autumn of 1899, the Boxers had shown active hostility against missionaries, whom they vilified as secret agents of Western Powers, and against Chinese Christians, who they

swore were their collaborators. Yü-Hsien did nothing to suppress these activities. Indeed it is generally believed he secretly supported them. Anyway he succeeded in persuading the Empress-Dowager to make overtures to the Boxers, which resulted in the transfer of their whole-hearted allegiance to the Manchus, and to their making common cause with them against the foreign foe.

However, Yü-Hsien did not escape unscathed. As attacks by the Boxers against missionaries and Chinese Christians in Shantung increased in intensity, and he was reported by missionaries to be turning a blind eye to the disorders, the Foreign Embassies in Peking made joint representations to the Manchu Court, as a result of which Yü-Hsien was dismissed from his post. But he was received with special honours as a hero at Court! And in March 1900 he was given a new appointment—less influential and lucrative than his former post in Shantung, as Governor of Shansi.

But we must now trace the course of events in the wider field. Yüan-Shih-K'ai, who succeeded Yü-Hsien in the office of governor of Shantung, was a much more enlightened man. But before he could bring the Boxers under control, they had murdered the Rev. S. M. Brooks (S.P.G.) on 31st December 1899. And then, encouraged by the support of the Manchu Court, the Shantung Boxers spread into North and East China, sweeping in hordes of riff-raff in their train, destroying mission property, and slaughtering many Chinese Christians. On 2nd June 1900, they killed two more S.P.G. missionaries in Chihli province (now Ho-Pei). The situation *vis-à-vis* the foreign residential community in the vicinity of Tientsin and Peking was getting so serious that the foreign Powers decided to despatch an international force under Admiral Seymour to attack Peking. This, however, proved abortive. In Peking itself, meanwhile, the Boxers had massacred large numbers of Chinese Christians, and the foreign legations were virtually besieged. But the Taku forts, guarding the sea-approaches to Tientsin and Peking, were reduced by the allies on 17th June. Then the Empress-Dowager, inflamed by the fanaticism and

apparent success of the Boxers, and disregarding the strong opposition of the Emperor and Jung-Lu, an eminent Manchu prince, declared war on all Western nations on 21st June.

Three days later, she ordered telegrams to be despatched to all provinces to "slay all foreigners". This act of fury was stoutly opposed and decried as folly by many at Court. And it is generally believed that two highly-placed secretaries, Yuan-Ch'ang and Hsü-Ching-Ch'eng, who had been entrusted with the despatch of the telegrams, dared to alter the word "slay" to "protect", and paid with their lives for this courageous act. Then further telegrams, still more peremptory in tone, and leaving the local officials in no doubt as to the Court's intentions, were sent out. But there were some provincial governors and viceroys who refused to carry out her orders. Amongst these was Yüan-Shih-K'ai, the newly-appointed Governor of Shantung, who summarily disposed of the Boxers' claim to be invulnerable to foreign bullets by placing twenty of them against the Chi-Nan-Fu city wall, to face a few volleys from a firing squad armed with the despised foreign weapons!

The governor of Shensi province, Tuan-Fang, also refused to obey the Imperial mandate, as did Chang-Chih-Tung, the enlightened viceroy at Wu-Ch'ang.

But the recently-appointed governor to Shansi, Yü-Hsien, needed no encouragement such as the second telegram from the Court gave him to "kill all foreigners", as the succeeding record will show.

3. EFFECTS UPON B.M.S. WORK

a. In Shantung

In spite of the precautions taken by the newly-appointed Governor, Yüan-Shih-K'ai, our cause suffered severely. All missionaries had to evacuate their stations, but arrived safely at the coast. Much B.M.S. property was looted and many churches were destroyed. Large numbers of our Christians had their homes burnt down, and were compelled to flee for safety. The Governor

had issued an edict, advising all Christians to "recant for the time being", so as to save their lives. This was complied with by some of our Baptist brethren including a number of pastors. Not all, however, did so. For, as Rev. E. W. Burt records, "over one hundred and twenty died the martyr's death, glorying in the Saviour, and scorning to purchase life by recantation".

Amongst these were a church-elder and his wife who had lived exemplary Christian lives, and who had built a church at their own expense, and were honoured and beloved by their fellow-Christians. In one village twenty-seven members perished, and in another five out of a family of six were put to death.

Mr. Burt writes, "When the storm was over it took years for the Church to recover from the shock it had received." Not the least difficult of the problems which awaited solution after the missionaries returned, concerned the church-members and pastors who had recanted. Also large numbers of church members, intimidated by the recent terrible events, and local persecution, fell away, and many inquirers enrolled prior to 1900 were afraid to attend church services.

b. In Shensi

All B.M.S. missionaries were evacuated from the province by the courageous act of the governor, Tuan-Fang, and arrived safely at Hankow, thanks to the friendly co-operation and protection of the Wu-Ch'ang Viceroy, Chang-Chih-Tung. Likewise, our Chinese Christian brethren in Shensi were mercifully preserved from persecution, due again to the timely intervention of the provincial governor.

c. In Shansi

Here the storm broke with unmitigated fury. The newly-appointed governor, Yü-Hsien, arrived in T'ai-Yuan-Fu in April 1900, fuming with rage at his degradation in rank, and incensed beyond measure against the hated foreigner, especially the missionaries, whom he considered to be responsible for it. Soon after

his arrival, he posted decrees in the city that "war was now declared . . . and that even children (referring to the thousands of Boxer teen-agers who had followed him into Shansi), could now use the sword . . . that foreign religions were disrespectful to the gods and oppressive of the people . . . and that 'the righteous people' (Boxers) would rise and kill". Following on this, rumours began to spread that the new governor was determined to exterminate all foreigners and Christians.

The Rev. George Farthing, our senior missionary then on the field, tried several times, though without success, to ascertain the truth or otherwise of these rumours. At that time, there were two centres of missionary residence and work in T'ai-Yuan-Fu. One of these was located in Tung-Chia Lane, where the Shou-Yang Mission carried on medical work and a Girls' School. The other centre was at Bridge-head Street, where B.M.S. church work and a Boys' School under Mr. Farthing's care were situated. The distance between these two centres is about half-a-mile.

On the evening of 27th June, a mob attacked the Tung-Chia-Hsiang premises and set them on fire. This forced out the nine foreigners who were residing there, four men, who were armed, four women and one child, on to the open street. But as they set out with linked hands, accompanied by a small band of faithful Chinese, to make their way through the howling mob to the Bridge-head Street compound, Miss Edith A. Coombs suddenly realized that two of her school-girls, Fu-Jung and Ai-T'ao, one of whom was ill, had inadvertently been left behind. She at once left the struggling group, and returned to the blazing buildings to rescue them. In bringing them out, however, the weak girl stumbled and fell. Miss Coombs strove to lift her and shield her from the shower of brickbats which were hurled at them. But alas! the mob forced them apart and drove Miss Coombs back into the flames. "Here, kneeling in prayer," so onlookers said, she perished, the first of a great and noble army of martyrs in Shansi province. Her charred remains were buried by two loyal Chinese the next day in the Mission grounds. And the sacred memory of her last loving deed and heroic death is enshrined to-

day in the Coombs Memorial gate of the Tung-Chia Lane compound of the B.M.S.

The rest of the harassed party managed to reach their colleagues of the B.M.S. and the British and Foreign Bible Society in the Bridge-head Street compound. Some days of terrible anxiety and fear ensued, before the whole party, now numbering twenty-six, including eight children, were transported to premises in Pig's-Head-Alley (later changed by sympathetic officials to Heaven's-Peace-Lane) in another part of the city. Here, on arrival, they found twelve Roman Catholic priests and nuns, confined in cramped quarters, and in like distress with themselves.

During the afternoon of 9th July, the whole party, thirty-eight in number, accompanied by a few devoted Chinese Christian friends, were marched off under military guard to the Governor's yamen, in the front courtyard of which, adjoining the main street, and open to the public gaze, by the Governor's order and in his presence, they were all brutally done to death. A little later that same afternoon, a missionary group from Shou-Yang, comprising four adults and three children, were killed on the same sacred spot. Thus on that memorable day, twenty-two Protestant missionaries with seven of their children, and twelve Roman Catholic missionaries, mingled their life's blood for the glory of the Saviour whose wondrous Name they had come to China to proclaim.

The B.M.S. group consisted of Rev. and Mrs. George B. Farthing and their three children, Ruth, Guy and Betty; Miss E. M. Stewart, governess to the Farthing children; and the Rev. and Mrs. F. S. Whitehouse, who had but recently arrived. Chinese who witnessed these tragic scenes testify that Mr. Farthing maintained a calm and composed demeanour throughout.

Those associated with the Shou-Yang Mission who suffered in like fashion that day numbered thirteen in all, including two children. Amongst these were the Rev. and Mrs. T. W. Piggott (the sister of Mrs. E. H. Edwards) and their boy Wellesley aged 12, fellow-members with the writer of the West Street Baptist Church, Rochdale. During the two days' journey from Shou-Yang to T'ai-Yuan-Fu, taken in open carts in the blazing heat of

July, Mr. Piggott, whose hands were manacled, preached earnestly to the crowds whenever the cart stopped by the wayside. By-standers also say that in the forecourt of the Governor's yamen in T'ai-Yuan-Fu "he was preaching to the last".

Six of our Chinese Christians died with the missionaries. These, including a cook, a student, a mason, and personal servants, loyally remained with their foreign friends, serving them to the bitter end. Three others were killed in the city, but some who had rendered yeoman service during the preceding days of suspense and peril providentially survived. Three of these actually gathered for prayer during that very night of 9th July. One, an elder of the T'ai-Yuan-Fu church, Liu Ting-Hsüan, was the trusted steward of our Mission affairs. On the Sunday following the death of Miss Coombs, he assembled a few Christians at the rear of the church in Bridge-head Street, and conducted worship. Afterwards he travelled to the coast at great personal risk, to convey the news of the massacre to Dr. E. H. Edwards, who had just arrived from England. He was also most helpful in arranging the "settlement" of our Mission affairs during 1901. In his later years, he would often say with a note of wistful regret, that "God had not counted him worthy to die for Him in 1900". With him were two youths, Liu-P'ai-Yuan, who later rendered invaluable aid in our Men's hospital and became very influential in the provincial medical service, and Chang-Chin-Heng, who succeeded Liu-T'ing-Hsüan as our efficient business-manager, and became one of the most eloquent preachers the Mission ever had.

T'ai-Yuan-Fu is today a city of many memorials of these modern Christian martyrs. Stone tablets bearing the names of all who died on 9th July, Roman Catholics and Protestants, stand on the sites of their imprisonment and death. Some two miles outside the east gate of the city is the Martyr Memorial Cemetery, where the graves of all the Protestant missionaries and Chinese Christians lie in peaceful and beautiful surroundings. On 14th September 1924, a Martyr Memorial Church was opened on the site of the former Tung-Chia Lane premises, in the porch of which stand tablets bearing the names of all the Protestant

martyrs. Nearby stands the Coombs Memorial gate to which reference has already been made.

Forty-five miles to the north of T'ai-Yuan-Fu lies the city of Hsin-Chou. Here eight B.M.S. missionaries, the Rev. and Mrs. Herbert Dixon, Rev. and Mrs. W. A. McCurrach, Rev. and Mrs. T. J. Underwood (of the T'ai-Yuan-Fu staff), Rev. S. W. Ennals and Miss B. C. Renaut, the last two but recently arrived, were in residence at that time.

On receipt of the news of the T'ai-Yuan-Fu massacres, they decided to leave the city and move to a hill-village, Liu-Chia-Shan, where, having taken refuge in hill-side caves, they were lovingly cared for by local Christians. For several weeks they remained here, always in dire peril and without food for days at a time, until finally their Christian friends themselves had to flee for their lives. A B.M.S. evangelist, Ho-Ts'un-K'uei, already mentioned, was beaten to death for refusing to reveal the missionaries' hiding place. Towards the end of July the missionaries found themselves in desperate straits for food and supplies, and having received promise of protection from the magistrate at Hsin-Chou, they decided to return to that city. On arrival there they were kept some days in the common jail, and then on 9th August, before day-break, having been promised official escort to the coast, they set off in carts for the east gate of the city. But, alas! as they were passing between the inner and outer gates these suddenly closed upon them. An armed ambuscade sprang out and brutally beat them all to death.

Just before the Hsin-Chou missionaries left for their hiding place in the hills, Mr. Dixon had persuaded Chao-Hsia-Yün,¹ who was most unwilling to leave his colleagues, to take a message to the coast. Later on, Mr. Chao feelingly reported that as they parted, Mr. Dixon had said to him, "We are ready to glorify our Lord, by life or by death" . . . "If we die there will certainly be others to take our place."

The memory of the Hsin-Chou missionary martyrs is preserved in a secluded cemetery garden outside the west gate of the city. In

¹ See above, page 53

the centre stands a fine marble monument, erected by the late Sir George Macalpine of Accrington, bearing their names and a note of the forty-three martyred Chinese Christians of the B.M.S. area of Shansi.

And what of our Chinese brethren?

In all 124 (some reports say 147), of our Chinese Christian brethren (including the B.M.S. and the Shou-Yang Missions) were killed in Shansi. Of these, 9 were from T'ai-Yuan-Fu, 16 from Hsin-Chou, 22 from Fan-Ssu, 4 from Tai-Chou, 1 from Kuo-Hsien, and 72 from Shou-Yang and vicinity; 51 of whom were connected with the B.M.S. Many of these were given no opportunity to recant. But of those who were given the opportunity, not a few refused to take advantage of it, and were truly "faithful unto death".

In the Hsin-Chou district, a Christian family of four, Chao Hsi-Mao, his wife, sister and mother, were condemned to be executed by the Boxers. Hurried away and huddled together in an open cart, they made their Via Dolorosa bright with the strains of their favourite hymn, "He leadeth me". At the place of execution each was asked in turn to recant before the death-blow was struck. One by one they valiantly refused, and all died, witnessing thus gloriously to their Saviour and Lord.

At Fan-Ssu, our most northerly outpost, the small church building was set on fire by the Boxers, and the young evangelist, Chou-Yung-Yao (Chou-the-glorious) was beaten to within an ace of death for refusing to divulge the names and whereabouts of the local Christians. As the mob began to drag his stricken body to the burning church to hurl him into the flames, he was heard to say, "You need not drag me, I will go myself." As he crawled painfully into the blazing ruins, the roof fell over him, to crown his last noble act of self-immolation for the Church and her living Lord whom he so truly loved, and had so nobly served.

Among the seventy-two Christians killed in the Shou-Yang district were fourteen members of the family of Yen-Lai-Pao, who had protected the Shou-Yang missionaries in their little hill village of Pei-Liang-Shan for a time. The Boxers in this area

adopted a variety of tests to induce the Christians to recant. Some they asked to burn incense or to "kow-tow" to the idols in the local temple. A few did so and were given tickets of recantation and protection. Others were given a mock trial before a tribunal of the Boxer leaders and the local magistrate. These were tested by being placed in a circle drawn upon the ground, in the centre of which was inscribed the cross. Most of them were asked merely to step outside the circle to show they had left the Christian Church, under promise that their lives would be spared if they did so. A few accepted this way of escape, but fifteen refused and were killed. Amongst those who so fearlessly remained faithful to their Lord were some youths and maidens in their teens. One of the Christian servants of the Piggots, called Wang-Tan-Jen, because of his close connection with the missionaries, and his outstanding zeal for Christ, was specially ordered to defile the cross on which he stood in the ring, if he wished to save his life. He steadfastly refused, and was immediately killed.

Considerations of space forbid the recounting of other similar instances of the wonderful faith and triumphant spirit of our Chinese Christian brethren of Shansi in that terrible yet glorious year of 1900. A special memorial service was held in the Bloomsbury Baptist Church, London, on 31st December 1900, for both missionary and Chinese Christian martyrs.

Roman Catholic missions in Shansi, with their longer history, had a far larger Christian constituency (about 15,000) than the Protestants and suffered proportionately much heavier losses. Protestant missions in Shansi altogether lost 382 Chinese Christians, whereas the Roman Catholics reported a loss of over 8,000 (Latourette says 2,000). Missionary losses in the Province totalled 171, of whom 159 were Protestants, including children. With good reason, therefore, Shansi has been designated "the modern martyr province".

4. SUMMARY

The total losses of the Christian Church in China during 1900 are estimated to be as follows:

Roman Catholics. 47 missionaries, 30,000 Chinese Christians.

Protestants. 135 missionaries, and 53 children, 2,000 Chinese Christians.

This grim story of Manchu Imperial folly, and treachery and cruelty on the part of many Manchu officials, is relieved not only by many glorious instances of Christian steadfastness and martyrdom, but by the conspicuous courage of other Manchu and Chinese officials, who befriended and protected large numbers of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians in their various domains. It is certain that but for their timely and heroic intervention, the losses above recorded would have been greatly multiplied.

Meanwhile at Peking, the foreigners, including many missionaries, and a large Chinese Christian community were beleaguered, and in deadly peril for seven or eight weeks. But some 450 foreign troops, assisted by about 500 civilians, and large numbers of Chinese Christians, stoutly defended the foreign legation quarters and the Roman Catholic Cathedral compound in the north of the city, until 14th August 1900, when the Allied forces broke through and relieved them.

Heavy losses were sustained by the Church, particularly the Roman Catholics, during the siege. Three large churches were destroyed, and several thousand Chinese Christians were killed. The ancient Roman Catholic cemetery, containing the graves of such famous missionaries as Ricci, Schall and Verbiest were wilfully desecrated.

Amongst the many Protestant missionaries who shared in the privations and perils of the siege of the legations was the Rev. F. H. James, former missionary of the B.M.S., but professor in a Peking college at the time. He was captured by the Boxers in one of several efforts to ensure that Chinese Christians were brought to a place of safety, and executed by order of the Manchu princes Tuan and Chuang, who were ardent collaborators with the Boxers.

As the foreign relieving forces approached Peking, the Em-

press-Dowager, the Emperor, and high officials of the Manchu Court fled to the west. They travelled through North Shansi, via Hsin-Chou to T'ai-Yuan-Fu, where they stayed in the Confucian temple from 10th to 30th September. Then they left for Hsi-An-Fu, where they remained until 20th October 1901, whence, after the foreign Powers had negotiated a settlement with the Chinese plenipotentiaries on 7th September of that year, which is known as "the Boxer Protocol", they were recalled to Peking. The Court and retinue arrived there on 7th January 1902.

CHAPTER 6

REPAIRING THE BREACHES AND RESTORING THE PATHS (1902-12)

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE Empress-Dowager, after her return to Peking in 1902, made a few gestures of penitence and even conversion, to the Liberal and Progressive Party by decreeing a number of long overdue reform measures. New educational regulations were issued during 1904-5 ordering yet once more the inclusion of Western subjects in the Civil Service examinations. This measure led to the rise of a number of modern colleges, and the emergence of a new student class. Incidentally, this afforded missionaries who were qualified for such work, an excellent opportunity of exercising Christian influence on this new generation of Chinese scholars, by taking up appointments either as professors or as administrators in these colleges.

Chinese students began to go abroad for higher education. Japan claimed by far the greater number. But America, Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany also received large contingents. As these students were almost all Chinese, as distinct from Manchus, they made an eager study of the democratic ideas of the West, and became distinctly revolutionary in outlook and purpose. This was particularly true of those who studied in Japan, where they came under the influence of Sun-Yat-Sen. Large numbers of them enrolled in his band of Covenanters (T'ung-Meng-Hui) with the avowed object of overthrowing the Manchu throne and establishing a republic. As many who went abroad were military or naval students, the Reform policy of the Manchus in these respects contributed to their own downfall, of which many significant omens were looming.

Prominent amongst these was the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, which, by the unexpected victory of "despised" Japan, not only gave her full control of Korea and the Liao-Tung peninsula, but also a strong foothold in Manchuria. This administered a very severe shock to the already shaky Manchu régime.

But one very interesting result accrued from this. Many influential Manchus and Chinese attributed Japan's astounding success in the war, at least in part, to the abstention of her people from opium and other narcotics. This aroused the country afresh to the menace of opium and its derivatives, and led in 1907 to their agreement with the British government referred to on page 14. The British kept their part of the bargain, but the Chinese, although they made serious efforts to do so, failed to keep theirs.

The Chinese failure was largely due to their unrealistic attitude to the existing agricultural situation. Most of the farmers who cultivated the poppy possessed only small holdings of land. Naturally, therefore, they resisted orders to uproot the much more lucrative opium crop and grow grain instead, for that necessitated much greater acreage than they could command, and starvation would have resulted. Riots of farmers ensued in many parts of the country, and the repressive military measures undertaken only seemed to enhance their hatred of the Manchu régime. Several instances of this arose in B.M.S. districts in Shansi, where the poppy was extensively cultivated. But it was good that the nation had been stirred to even think of eradicating this root of evil from the life of the nation.

The Manchus also attempted to inaugurate some form of democratic government, by proposing the establishment of Provincial Assemblies, the members of which were to be elected by a limited popular vote; and the setting up of a National Assembly, to which the Provincial Assemblies would nominate a proportion of the representatives. Fine new buildings sprang up like mushrooms in the various provincial capitals. But the elections proved to be as farcical as the top-hats and frock-coats of the first members of the Provincial Assemblies were amusing in their vintage and variety! The National Assembly likewise failed

to function in any really democratic way, and it soon became evident that the new and revolutionary ideas of the Chinese could not be contained in the old wine-skins of their Manchu overlords.

Then the Empress-Dowager, who had dominated the political scene for so long, died on 18th November 1908, and Kuang-Hsü, the shadow-Emperor for many years, died conveniently the next day. The heir to the throne, Hsüan-T'ung, was only three years old, so his father was appointed Regent.

At this critical period, large numbers of students who had been sent abroad began to return, a little hesitant perhaps as to whether they should retain their Western clothes, or revert to Chinese dress, complete with queue, the badge of subjection imposed by their Manchu conquerors 250 years ago. But inwardly they were seething with unrest and ripe for revolution.

Yet another portent of the coming storm was that the Manchu garrisons throughout the country, apart from the Imperial Banner-men at Peking, which were well disciplined and equipped, had become hopelessly demoralized. Such military duties as fell to them had for long been confined to the guarding of city-gates and the yamens. Few engaged in any arduous tasks, as their rations and maintenance allowances, derived from the taxation of the Chinese people, ensured their livelihood. Most of them were opium addicts, and sought relief from boredom in gambling and other time-killing pursuits.

On the other hand the Chinese soldiers, trained under their own officers who had studied abroad, or in military colleges in China under Western supervisors, were progressing in discipline, and as they had the additional incentive of patriotism to spur them on, they prepared assiduously for the revolution which was bound to come.

Fighting between the Chinese and the Imperialist forces, which unexpectedly broke out in Wu-Ch'ang in Central China on 10th October 1911, touched off a general uprising of the Revolutionary Forces throughout the country. In the initial struggle the Manchu levies in the provinces proved to be no match for their Chinese

counterparts, who rapidly gained control of important provincial centres.

But the Revolution had happened prematurely, and the ground was not too well prepared. Sun-Yat-Sen, the brains of the movement, was abroad when the first shots were fired at Wu-Ch'ang, and the military plans in the early stage went badly awry. For a while the Revolution pursued an uneven and somewhat tortuous course. But eventually, on 12th February 1912, the Manchu Emperor abdicated, and the Chinese were once more in control of their own land.

2. THE B.M.S. IN THE LAST DECADE OF EMPIRE (1902-11)

The first concern of our missionaries when they returned to their respective spheres after the Boxer Rising, was to negotiate with the officials, regarding the losses which the Mission and Church had sustained.

The general terms of the international settlement had been drafted in the Boxer Protocol, which, included an indemnity of U.S. \$337,000,000 at 4 per cent. interest. The whole of this capital and interest, which was to be paid by 1940 to the various foreign Powers, would have amounted at that date to £147,335,722. Any claims of the Missionary Societies for the loss of life or property were to be taken from this indemnity money. Some Missionary Societies refrained from making any claim whatsoever. Others claimed for Mission property losses, and accepted indemnity for the loss of Chinese lives and property. Protestant Societies carefully scrutinized all claims and restricted their requests to the minimum. The Roman Catholics tended to make much larger claims, and to take up an unyielding attitude towards the Chinese authorities.

a. Shantung

In Shantung B.M.S. property losses were comparatively slight, but amongst the Chinese Christians the loss of life had been serious, and damage to local church buildings and the homes of church-members had been considerable. The Governor, Yuan-

Shih-K'ai, was friendly and helpful in regard to the settlement, and our missionaries had little difficulty in arriving at an equitable solution of the complicated financial problems involved.

The moral and spiritual questions arising from recantation of members and pastors during the recent ordeal and trial of faith were not so easily disposed of.¹ During their period of exile at Chefoo, the missionaries of all Societies assembled there had held numerous conferences on this subject, and had reached the general conclusion that "those who had recanted should be required to withdraw from the church". However, when the missionaries came face to face with their brethren, and realized more clearly the nature and circumstances of the ordeal through which they had passed, the "warmth within the heart" melted "the freezing reason's colder part", and they felt unable to implement the Chefoo decision. In most cases public confession of recantation was required, periods of discipline were imposed, and the great majority were eventually restored to the fellowship of the church.

An important development in inter-Mission co-operation in Higher Education resulted from the evacuation of missionaries, and their conferences together at Chefoo. Plans were then made, which issued in 1904 in an agreement between the American Presbyterian (North) Mission and ourselves, to set up a joint Arts and Science College at Wei-Hsien, a joint Theological College at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, and a union Medical College at Chi-Nan-Fu. These three Colleges were eventually centralized in the latter city, together with the Whitewright Institute and Museum (transferred from Ch'ing-Chou-Fu) to form the Shantung Christian University in 1917.

The B.M.S. Missionary Staff in Shantung received many reinforcements during this period. The former stations at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, Chou-P'ing, Chou-T'sun and Pei-Chen were remanned, and gratifying progress was made in every department of work.

¹ Readers of Church history will be interested to compare Cyprian's attitude to the "lapsed" in the Carthage area, in the mid-third century.

In 1910 the Shantung Baptist Union was in full operation, with its Council, and its own scheme of pastoral settlement and sustentation. It was then agreed that pastors of churches who were supported independently of Mission funds should have the following privileges, viz.:

1. They should be *ex-officio* members of the Baptist Union Council.
2. They should be eligible for the chairmanship of Association conferences and committees, serving alternately with missionaries.
3. They should be eligible for election to membership of Committees dealing with general educational work.
4. In their own church area they should have full and independent management of all church administration, and that missionaries should undertake church work in that area only on the invitation of the Chinese pastor responsible.

The membership of the church advanced to well over 5,000, and about fifty Chinese pastors and evangelists were fully engaged in coping with numerous opportunities for evangelism. The Boys' Middle School (Shou-Shan) at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, under the expert guidance and supervision of the Rev. and Mrs. S. Couling made splendid headway, quite a proportion of the students coming from other Missions in the province. The Girls' Boarding School, also at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, thanks to the inspiring leadership of Miss H. Sifton, was making a fine contribution to the women's side of the work. This, combined with the persevering efforts of Miss A. O. Kirkland, Miss Annie Simpson, and Miss Annie Aldridge, in evangelistic work in the district, ensured that the foundations of Chinese women's leadership in our Shantung church, were well and truly laid.

There were developments also in the medical work. In 1903 a hospital with accommodation for thirty patients was built at Chou-P'ing. The missionaries would have preferred to have located this hospital at Chou-Ts'un, a much more important centre on the railway some fifteen miles away. But thus far the

people there had shown marked hostility to all forms of missionary work. Dr. and Mrs. T. C. Paterson were appointed to this new venture. In 1909 the somewhat ramshackle buildings at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu were replaced by a new hospital, appropriately named "Kuang-Te" (Loving-service-for-all) which had accommodation for forty-five in-patients. The supervision of this hospital was in the hands of Dr. and Mrs. J. R. Watson, who had the assistance of a capable Chinese doctor, who had been trained by them.

But in 1905 the Shantung Mission and the Christian cause throughout the province suffered a severe blow by the accidental death of our pioneer Alfred Jones through the collapse of a building on T'ai-Shan. He was an Irishman, owning a prosperous business, the care of which he entrusted to other hands that he might fulfil his strong sense of missionary vocation. He proceeded to China as a layman in 1876, and devoted himself without reserve to the founding and building up of our church in Shantung until his widely lamented death. A colleague, the Rev. E. W. Burt, writing in 1925, says, "The developed church in Shantung is in the main the child of Jones's brain and the living memorial of his great heart." His services were rendered in an honorary capacity, and included the training of preachers, the production of "apologetic" literature; the inauguration of home industries for the Christians; medical, evangelistic and church work; in all of which he showed great devotion and organizing genius. The respect in which he was held by his intimate colleagues may be measured by the last request of the Rev. W. F. Chalfont, of the American Presbyterian Mission, that he might be buried at the feet of Alfred George Jones, a request which was duly observed. Alfred Jones proved himself to be as great a missionary in the spheres of evangelism and church-work in Shantung as Timothy Richard was in the wider sphere of the national life.

The revolution of 1911 caused little disturbance in Shantung.

b. Shansi

In Shansi province the difficulties arising from the Boxer

troubles were much more serious than in the other two provinces. All B.M.S. missionaries then on the field in 1900 were killed. Damage to both Mission and Chinese Church property was severe, and 124 Chinese Christians connected with the B.M.S. and Shou-Yang Missions had lost their lives.

On 9th July 1901, exactly one year to the day since the massacres of missionaries in the city, a small group representing the four Missionary Societies formerly at work in Shansi, arrived at T'ai-Yuan-Fu, to consult with the officials regarding the settlement of affairs, and the re-starting of work.

The Rev. Moir Duncan and Dr. Creasy Smith represented the B.M.S. in these preliminary negotiations, and Dr. E. H. Edwards was the spokesman for the Shou-Yang Mission. The Roman Catholics adopted an uncompromising attitude in their claims for indemnity, demanding humiliating concessions of the Chinese officials, which rendered these initial discussions extremely difficult. So it was not until the spring of 1902, after Revs. A. Sowerby and J. J. Turner had returned from furlough, accompanied by the Rev. S. B. Drake, of Shantung, that a settlement of Mission and Church claims became practicable. The former two were primarily responsible for negotiating the delicate matters concerning compensation of our Chinese Christians, and credit is due to them for the sympathy and tact with which these were conducted, to a satisfactory conclusion. Orphans of the Christians who had been killed were granted sums barely adequate for their education and support up to a certain age, and very modest compensation was claimed and granted for the losses of life and property.

Instances of recantation were dealt with in the same understanding way as that adopted by our Shantung missionaries. But a few Church members who were proved to have deliberately shared in the looting of Mission property, were excommunicated.¹

¹ The Rev. A. Sowerby, summarizing the situation, after his return to Shansi in 1902, writes: "It is quite evident already that many of our Christians who suffered death-blows, or imprisonment, have been as brave as any of the great Christian heroes of the days of old. Others have escaped, with no sort of denial of Christ, but these are very few. Many have made some form of recantation, apparently by themselves, and others as merely a form. Others have been cowardly, and a few, very few indeed, have shown themselves worthless and wicked."

Timothy Richard's contribution to the overall settlement was his enterprising suggestion, accepted eventually after prolonged discussions by the officials, that as in his view the people's support of the Boxers was due largely to ignorance a sum of 500,000 taels (about £70,000) should be provided by the province, to be paid in ten annual instalments, for the establishment of a University at T'ai-Yuan-Fu, comprising separate Chinese and Western Departments.

Timothy Richard was appointed Chancellor of the University for a period of ten years. He was also authorized to appoint the staff of the Western Department, and to control the policy and finance connected with it. The officials, however, refused to allow the teaching of Christianity in the curriculum. This was to a considerable extent offset by the fact that Richard's appointees to the principalship were first the Rev. Moir Duncan of the B.M.S. until his death in 1906, and then the Rev. W. E. Soothill, of the Methodist Missionary Society, until 1911. Furthermore some of the professors appointed to the Western Department were men of sterling Christian character, and there is no doubt the Western Department was generally helpful to the missionary cause throughout the province. This was particularly true of our B.M.S. student work in the city of T'ai-Yuan-Fu, which, conducted on Y.M.C.A. lines, attracted many of the University students who came from all parts of Shansi, and in which the principal and staff of the Western department gave valued help. The Christian influence of this work extended far and wide.

It has already been noted that the Shou-Yang Mission sustained heavy losses of missionary and Chinese Christian lives and mission property. Dr. E. H. Edwards refused all offers of compensation, and rebuilt the T'ai-Yuan-Fu hospital and residences, and the church and two houses at Shou-Yang, out of private funds. The provincial officials erected a tablet outside the hospital at T'ai-Yuan-Fu to commemorate this generous act, and the Governor made a donation of £700 towards the restoration of the Shou-Yang property. Dr. and Mrs. E. H. Edwards joined the B.M.S. and handed over to it the former property of the Shou-Yang

Mission at T'ai-Yuan-Fu and Shou-Yang, and agreed to the fusion of their work with the B.M.S. in September 1902.

The Church meanwhile recovered but slowly from the disastrous events of 1900. Evangelistic work in the countryside was hampered by fears of a recurrence of the Boxer troubles, and by much persecution. The cynicism of some proved to be a serious obstacle, many rejoining when being asked to put their trust in God, "Do you wish us to believe in a God who couldn't protect His people in 1900?" Missionaries travelling through the villages in remote parts encountered either stolid indifference or open hostility, and were occasionally stoned. Chinese evangelists were very few, and widely dispersed.

The central church in T'ai-Yuan-Fu was rebuilt on the old site in Bridge-head Street, the Chinese Christians meeting the expense of this by contributing one-tenth of the indemnity money received by them. Regular services were conducted in the new building from 1902. As an adjunct to this the Boys' Boarding School was reopened by Mr. Sowerby and designated the Farthing Memorial School as a tribute to its founder. The school was intended primarily for the orphans of the Boxer year, and the sons of Christians. But as the desire for Western learning grew during this decade, students were received from non-Christian families. Miss M. E. Shekleton also reopened the Girls' Boarding School in T'ai-Yuan-Fu as a Baptist institution.

The missionary staff was substantially reinforced during this period and it was possible to re-occupy Hsin-Chou with three married couples and two single women.

In 1907 the Revs. C. E. Wilson and W. Y. Fullerton visited China as a deputation from the Home Society. During their stay in Shansi, plans were made for utilizing a share of the bequest totalling over £500,000 from the late Robert Arthington, the devoted "missionary-miser" of Leeds. In particular, attention had to be given to his request that the funds received by the Missionary Societies should be spent on forward work, and expended within twenty-five years.

On this basis a chain of new residential stations was planned to

link the districts of Chiao-Ch'eng and Wen-Shui in Shansi, with projected stations like Sui-Te-Chou, Yü-Lin-Fu and Yen-An-Fu, in the far north of Shensi. It was hoped also that in the north of Shansi, Kuo-Hsien, Tai-Chou and Fan-Ssu might become residential centres. However, largely owing to the development of Institutional work, chiefly in the provincial capital, which made heavy demands on the available missionary staff, it was only possible to occupy Wen-Shui in the south for short periods, and Tai-Chou in the north, somewhat more permanently.

The Men's Hospital in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, after being rebuilt, had accommodation for sixty in-patients, and was staffed by two or three missionary doctors, and (towards the end of this period) one missionary nursing-sister. Provision for women patients was also made in a Chinese courtyard nearby, but the accommodation was poor and inadequate. In 1907, after the arrival of Dr. Paula Maier and Sister Katherine Lane, medical work for women was also carried on in a large Chinese courtyard on Bridge-head Street. This, however, was only a temporary makeshift. In 1910 a new building, well planned and equipped, was erected on the Hsing-Hua-Ling site with a grant from the Arthington Fund. But for reasons given below, it was not possible to undertake medical work in it until 1913. Meanwhile both hospitals made a notable contribution to evangelistic work.

In 1909 the Rev. A. J. Garnier inaugurated special work amongst the large student community in the city of T'ai-Yuan-Fu, which later developed into the Y.M.C.A., already mentioned. This, and every department of the Mission's activities, was making most hopeful progress when the revolution of 1911 occurred.

The turnover from Manchu to Chinese control was speedily effected in Shansi. Thanks to the timely warnings of the revolutionary leaders, all our missionaries were assembled in T'ai-Yuan-Fu when the actual outbreak occurred, and they and other foreigners resident in the city were given adequate protection in the midst of considerable disorder, during which the commercial quarter was looted and many shops and houses destroyed by fire.

The Manchu governor and his personal bodyguard were killed, but the rest of the Manchu soldiers and community suffered no serious maltreatment. Some members of the Manchu governor's family and a number of wounded Manchu soldiers were given refuge and treatment in the Men's Hospital.

As the revolution was accompanied by serious disturbance in North China generally, the British authorities in Peking strongly advised all their nationals in Shansi to leave for the coast. It was agreed, however, that the provincial Secretary, the Rev. T. E. Lower, should remain for a time to assist missionaries of other Societies who would be passing through T'ai-Yuan-Fu on their way to the coast, and that Messrs. H. J. Fairburn and P. D. Evans of the B.M.S. should await the expected arrival of a small group from Peking, who were planning to go to the rescue of our missionaries in the northern part of Shensi province. The rest of the missionary and general community left by a train specially chartered by the British Minister, Sir John Jordan, and arrived safely at Peking and Tientsin. Later Mr. Lower and missionary evacuees from other parts of the province left by railway trolley, and for the time being a halt had to be called to much promising work. The membership of our Church in Shansi had advanced to 364 in 1911.

c. Shensi

The work was re-started in Shensi in 1901 with fresh hope and promise. No serious material damage was sustained during the Boxer year, and Christians had been mercifully preserved from persecution. But the province suffered from serious drought and famine. The missionary force increased and this rendered considerable expansion possible. The people also were much more friendly than before.

In Hsi-An-Fu, premises, which formerly had been difficult to secure, were now readily obtainable for hospital purposes. And what perhaps was more significant, the native Shensi people, particularly in the neighbourhood of Hsi-An-Fu, joined the Church in considerable numbers. Indeed for some years our

Baptist church in the south of the province was largely composed of Shensi people, while Shantungese continued to predominate in the north. Some years elapsed before these two strands of provincial folk could be intertwined to form one church. The church progressed rapidly during this period, the membership, which in 1903 stood at 541, rising to 891 in 1906 and to over 1,000 in 1911.

During the visit of Revs. C. E. Wilson and W. Y. Fullerton in 1907, the local missionaries, encouraged by the promise of help from the Arthington Fund, and the hope of additional reinforcements, made plans for advance into the north of the province. A group of our Christians who had migrated to the north during the famine of 1900 had settled in the city of Yen-An-Fu, about eight days' journey by road north of Gospel Village. The Revs. J. Watson and John Bell, after a long and arduous tour of the whole area, reported on the advantages that would accrue to the whole cause if the Society could station missionaries, some of whom should be medicals, in Yen-An-Fu and in two cities still further north, viz., Sui-Te-Chou and Yü-Lin-Fu. In the spring of 1911 these three out-stations were all occupied by very small numbers of our missionaries. This enterprising venture, however, as will be recorded below, was destined to be short-lived.

Meanwhile boarding schools for both boys and girls were opened in Hsi-An-Fu, the Girls' School having been transferred from Gospel Village. The medical work, centred in Hsi-An-Fu, was exercising remarkable Christian influence in the city and much further afield. And our missionaries in the provincial capital and at San-Yuan were beset with increasing opportunities for evangelism amongst students and officials.

Then came the revolution, which broke out in Hsi-An-Fu on 22nd October 1911, and threw the city into the utmost confusion for a time. Scenes of indescribable violence and horror were enacted. Yamens, shops and residences were looted and burnt. In the Manchu quarter of the city more than ten thousand Manchus were slaughtered, irrespective of age or sex. Extreme elements of the revolutionaries attacked the premises of the Scandinavian Missionary Alliance in the south suburb, and killed two of the

missionaries and four children. But in the midst of this holocaust, the lives of all B.M.S. missionaries were mercifully preserved. Whilst the terror was at its height, Dr. George Charter made his way through the turbulent streets to attend the German Postal Superintendent, Mr. Henne, who had been seriously wounded by the mob. After his return the next day, he and Mrs. Charter and Sister Helen Watt, who were residing on the hospital compound in the city, were menaced by the milling crowds outside. But thanks to the timely intervention of a Christian friend, Professor Liu of the University, who arrived with a guard of armed students, they suffered no harm.

At the time of the outbreak, our missionaries in the east suburb became greatly concerned for the safety of the girl students in their charge, who were clamouring to be taken away to their homes in the countryside. And after Deacon Chou had arrived with detailed reports of happenings in the city, they decided to make an attempt to get them away. Mr. and Mrs. Donald Smith set off with a group of schoolgirls. But before they had gone far, they were attacked twice by roughs, who robbed them of all their possessions and beat them mercilessly. Both Mr. and Mrs. Smith were badly wounded, the former quite seriously. They managed, however, to make their way to a nearby village where the local people courageously attended to their needs, and offered to transport them back to the city, where, thanks especially to the help of their young Chinese servant, they eventually arrived.

A second party of our missionaries, consisting of Misses Beckingsale, Thomas and Turner, Dr. Robertson, and Messrs. Ellison and Stanley met with similar maltreatment soon after they left the suburb, and were compelled to return under threats to their lives. Thanks, however, to the intervention of members of the Kuo-Ming-Tang, the more reasonable element in the revolutionary party, after a prolonged period of anxiety their safety was ensured.

Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Young, and their servant, got caught in the vortex of contending forces at Chung-Pu, and were in serious danger. Taking to the hills, they wandered about for ten

days, sleeping either on the roadside or in caves. Time and again a faithful Christian friend called Ts'ao, and kindly non-Christian villagers, ministered to their physical necessities. And eventually, their servant Liu-Chi-Wa and a friend from Honan, acting with great courage, managed to get the help of soldiers, who escorted them to Hsi-An-Fu in safety.

Rev. and Mrs. A. Shorrocks and Rev. J. Shields, shortly after the outbreak, moved from Fu-Yin-Ts'un to Hsi-An-Fu, where with the rest of the B.M.S. staff they remained for the next six or seven months, ministering to the multitudes of distressed people who thronged the mission compounds and hospital, seeking comfort and relief.

Dr. Robertson managed to reach the hospital in the city, but only after being hauled over the city wall with his messenger boy, by ropes. He had come from the east suburb at the call of his colleague Dr. Charter, who with Sister Watt was overwhelmed with hundreds of wounded soldiers and civilians—Manchus as well as Chinese. Amongst these were some members of the Ko Lao Hui (Elder Brothers' Society) who had been mainly responsible for the attacks on Manchus and missionaries. Later on Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Young arrived (Mrs. Young being a qualified doctor). Our medical staff of four doctors and one nurse then served as an Army Medical Corps in the city, and in the country around, where the fighting, which was waged incessantly, necessitated the setting-up of field hospitals, and the transport of wounded to the base at Hsi-An-Fu. Back and forth our medicals travelled as the exigencies of the situation demanded. Five improvised hospitals were set up in the city and at least six hundred in-patients and hundreds of out-patients were given regular attention by them and their Chinese Christian colleagues.

Amongst the Manchus who were afforded refuge from their would-be murderers in the B.M.S. residential and school compounds, was the daughter of the notorious Yü-Hsien (former governor of Shansi, who ordered the slaying of the missionaries in 1900).

The services then rendered to the distressed and wounded



GOSPEL VILLAGE VETERANS
(PASTOR SUN IS ON THE EXTREME RIGHT)

TIMOTHY RICHARD AND OTHER SHANTUNG PIONEERS (see page 89)





THE FIRST INTER-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT CH'ING-CHOU-FU IN 1912
(see page 89)

A GROUP OF SHENSI MISSIONARIES (see page 89)



people stood our missionaries in good stead throughout the disturbed and chaotic period which ensued. In May 1912, after the situation had settled down sufficiently to permit of Dr. Young and Mr. Shorrock's leaving Hsi-An-Fu for home, they were given a "royal" send-off by all sections of the provincial government and people as a mark of the gratitude and appreciation they felt.

Meanwhile the Rev. and Mrs. James Watson, with their two children, and the Rev. W. E. Comerford at Sui-Te-Chou; and the Rev. and Mrs. E. Borst-Smith and their child at Yen-An-Fu, waited pensively in these isolated northern outposts for reliable news of events in the South. Travel was dangerous, but the local situation in each city also had its perils and anxieties. This was particularly the case at Sui-Te-Chou, for on 10th December 1911 the townsfolk had to defend the city against an all-night attack by the dreaded Elder Brothers' Society. News had reached Sui-Te-Chou on 3rd December from T'ai-Yuan-Fu, that a relief expedition was on its way, and that the British Minister had advised all foreigners to leave for the coast. But as no further news of the relief party arrived, our missionaries had decided to leave on 11th December for the South, despite the known perils of the open road. Imagine their relief and joy, therefore, when in the afternoon of that day at four o'clock, three advance members of the expedition arrived, and the feelings behind Mr. Watson's first remark, "Praise the Lord you've come," indicate something of the strain through which he and his colleagues had come.

The relief expedition had been organized by the Rev. J. C. Keyte with the support of the British Minister in Peking. Mr. Keyte had just returned from furlough in early October, and on arriving in Peking heard of the plight of his colleagues in Shensi. It occurred to him that if a small group of mounted and armed men could be got together they might succeed in escorting our missionaries, especially those in the northern stations, to safety. He forthwith enlisted seven men, some of whom were already in T'ai-Yuan-Fu. The expedition set out from that city on 4th

December 1911, and after a hazardous and what might have been an ill-fated journey, arrived safely at Sui-Te-Chou as recorded above, on 11th December. They then proceeded south with the Sui-Te-Chou missionary party to Yen-An-Fu, which was reached on 16th December. By then, however, the Borst-Smiths, weary of waiting in circumstances which were described as "turning days into weeks", had taken to the road two days before, accompanied by a motley escort. News was sent ahead for them to await the arrival of the expedition at Kan-Ch'uan. This the Borst-Smiths were only too glad to do, as the dangers of the road were increasing the further south they went. On 18th December the full expedition rode in and the whole caravan proceeded without further incident to Hsi-An-Fu, which they reached in safety on 27th December.

Prolonged discussions then took place as to whether the whole of the missionary body then in the city should leave for the coast. It was finally agreed that Rev. A. Shorrock, who was carrying the burden of delicate and important official negotiations with the provincial government, and whose continuing presence would be a source of confidence and stability to the general populace, should stay, as indeed this stalwart veteran was determined to do! And his wife was of like mind, so she also stayed. Dr. and Mrs. Young and Dr. Cecil Robertson, still toiling day and night for the wounded, also felt unable to leave. It was, however, most advisable that some medicals should accompany the projected convoy, which comprised forty-one foreigners, including many women and children, and over one hundred Chinese. So Dr. and Mrs. Charter whose furlough was due, and whose strength had already been overtaxed by their extraordinary labours of recent months, consented, albeit unwillingly, to leave. The rest felt in honour bound to obey what was tantamount to official orders from Peking.

The convoy left Hsi-An-Fu on 4th January 1912, travelling eastwards to Shanchow, and then across a main battlefield of Imperialists and Revolutionaries (where hostilities were halted by both sides to allow the caravan to pass!) to Honanfu. A special

train chartered by Sir John Jordan, the British Minister, took them to Peking, where they were cordially welcomed on 17th January, forty-five days after the expedition had left T'ai-Yuan-Fu.

The B.M.S. staff in Shensi passed the following resolution with unanimity and enthusiasm:

"We, the members of the Shensi Conference of the English Baptist Mission, desire to place on record an expression of our high admiration for, and deep gratitude to, all the members of the Shensi Relief Expedition¹ for the noble and heroic way in which they have been prepared to sacrifice, not only their positions, but also their lives, in the attempt to help us; and for the unfailing courtesy, as well as courage, displayed in all their dealings with us."

The Society as a whole remains deeply indebted to those men who rendered such yeoman service to our beleaguered missionaries at that time.²

¹ The members of the Expedition were A. de C. Sowerby, son of our veteran Shansi missionary, who was appointed the leader; Prof. E. T. Nystrom of Shansi University; H. J. Fairburn and P. D. Evans of the B.M.S.; Prof. E. R. Long and Prof. Morgan Palmer of the Pao-Ting-Fu College; F. Warrington, son of a former professor of the Shansi University, and the Rev. J. C. Keyte who inspired the project.

² The detailed story of those thrilling days and months has been told by J. C. Keyte in *The Passing of the Dragon*, and by E. Borst-Smith in *Caught in the Chinese Revolution*, from which works this synopsis has been compiled.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

1. TIMOTHY RICHARD AND OTHER SHANTUNG PIONEERS.

Standing, left to right: Rev. E. C. Nickalls, A. E. Greening, J. S. Whitewright, R. C. Forsyth, S. Couling, J. P. Bruce. *Seated:* Dr. J. R. Watson, Rev. W. B. Hamilton, Dr. Timothy Richard, The German Consul, Rev. A. G. Jones.

2. THE FIRST INTER-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

Left to right, standing: Rev. John Bell, T. E. Lower, Dr. T. C. Paterson, Evan Morgan, A. G. Shorrocks, J. J. Turner, Dr. B. C. Broomhall, Rev. Donald Smith, Rev. E. W. Burt, Rev. A. E. Greening. *Seated:* Miss M. E. Shekleton, Miss A. Kirkland, Dr. Timothy Richard, Miss Jennie Beckingsale, Rev. J. S. Whitewright.

3. A GROUP OF SHENSI MISSIONARIES.

Standing (back row): Rev. F. S. Russell, Miss Nora Haslop, Miss Joan Williamson, Miss Marion Watson, Miss Constance Waddington, Mrs. Clement Stockley; *(second row):* Rev. H. W. Burdett, Mrs. Burdett, Miss D. Curtis, Rev. A. G. Shorrocks, Mrs. Shorrocks, Dr. Clement Stockley, Rev. J. Watson, Rev. William Mudd. *Seated (second row):* Miss A. Rogers, André Stockley, Miss K. M. Franklin, Miss K. Birrell, Mr. E. Phillips; *(front row):* Harold Stockley, Miss L. Dillow, Dr. Ruth Tait, Rev. John Bell, Rev. G. A. Young.

CHAPTER 7

ALL THINGS BECOME NEW (1912-25)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

THE change-over from a monarchical régime, which had persisted for over two thousand years, to a republican form of government, "of, by and for the people", was soon found to be more difficult than the enthusiasts among the revolutionaries had imagined. The proportion of men and women who could take an intelligent part in a popular election was extraordinarily small. Illiterates still formed about 90 per cent. of the population. Even among the educated, very few had any real conception of democratic government. For untold generations serious cleavages had existed between North and South, and provincial feeling ran high. All this militated against the early emergence of a united China.

The first attempts to inaugurate a National Assembly in March 1912 at Nanking, and to elect a President who would accept the restrictions of the provisional Constitution, produced some unfavourable portents. Sun-Yat-Sen, whom the vast majority honoured for his great and prolonged revolutionary labours, was the first choice for President. He, however, discerning the signs of the times, declined the honour, and in his place Yuan-Shih-K'ai, the former governor of Shantung, was elected. He was a strong military man, but cautious of extreme action, and inclined to proceed on evolutionary rather than revolutionary lines. He was also under suspicion for his treachery to the Reformers of 1898. Sun-Yat-Sen was a Southerner, Yuan-Shih-K'ai a Northerner. In these circumstances a clash was inevitable, and it soon came. In the first half of 1913 Sun-Yat-Sen and his southern party rebelled against Yuan-Shih-K'ai's domineering and un-

constitutional acts. This revolt was crushed in its incipient stages, and Yuan-Shih-K'ai felt himself so strongly established in his position that after maintaining a semblance of parliamentary government for a year, he once more betrayed his trust by restoring the monarchy and declaring himself Emperor in 1915. In December, rebellion, starting in Yun-nan, became so widespread and threatening that Yuan-Shih-K'ai cancelled the monarchical decrees. But before specific action could be taken, he died in June 1916.

His demise was followed by ten years of civil war, and the rise of the war-lord régime, when literally "every man's hand was against his neighbour", and all attempts to create a strong central government and a unified country proved unavailing. Many of the war-lords were bandits and irresponsible upstarts, out for nothing but to "enlarge their rice bowl". Others were high-minded men of serious intent, who, caught in the maelstrom of seemingly unending civil strife, endeavoured to maintain order and promote reform in their own territory, or to raise disciplined and patriotic armies. Amongst these were Yen-Hsi-Shan, governor of Shansi, and Feng-Yü-Hsiang, known for some years as the "Christian general". But these were exceptions, and the Chinese people suffered terribly from this war-lord régime of terror and extortion. In some parts of China the farmers paid their taxes for scores of years in advance, to maintain these "bandit" chiefs and their disorderly levies.

During this period, however, China had not only to contend with internal troubles. Difficulties in her external relationships increased. There were clashes with Britain over Tibet, with Russia over Mongolia, and in Manchuria with Japan who, in 1915, with some military help from Britain, had captured the port of Ch'ing-Tao (Tsingtau), and assumed all the political and commercial privileges which the Germans had previously enjoyed in Shantung. Then, taking advantage of Europe's preoccupation with the First World War, she presented China with her notorious twenty-one demands, which if accepted would have brought Shantung and the eastern sea-board under her power; would have

made Manchuria and Mongolia virtually her colonies; and given her a large measure of control in China's government and industrial life. As it was, China, then disunited and weak, was compelled to accede to some of these demands, with the result that her hatred of the Japanese people was intensified.

In 1917, China, partly to ensure her political future and protection from Japanese aggression, declared war against Germany and the Central Powers. Active participation, however, was confined to the sending of large battalions of coolies, numbering about 200,000 in all, and the raising of funds for the Red Cross and other beneficent purposes.

Certain advantages in the political field accrued to China as a result of this action. At the close of hostilities she was given a seat at the Peace Conference, which afforded her a platform for the ventilation of her many grievances. She also received some rather vague promises of help towards the attainment of her national aspirations and the restoration of lost sovereign rights.

Much of this was, however, offset by the fact that at the Versailles Conference, Japan was confirmed, at least for the time being, in her special position in Shantung, an action which the Chinese resented as exasperating and humiliating in the extreme. She was encouraged, however, by Germany's enforced surrender of all the special privileges she had formerly enjoyed in China, such as her territorial concessions, her share in the Boxer Indemnity Funds and the like, and this paved the way for the possibility of similar action voluntarily by other Powers. Russia, having herself become a republic in 1917 and appreciating China's sensitiveness on such matters, greatly enhanced her prestige at this point by voluntarily surrendering her 'concessions'. And, what was still more important, China had become a member of the League of Nations.

The rising nationalistic spirit of the Chinese people at intervals during this period assumed an anti-foreign bias, particularly after 1919, as widespread agitation continued for the revision or abolition of the so-called "Unequal" treaties, and the creation of new international political instruments which would acknowledge

China as a free democratic republic justifying a changed status *vis-à-vis* the Western Powers. With a view to meeting this situation, the Nine-Power Conference was called at Washington in the winter of 1921 and 1922. The nations represented were the United States, who had suggested the Conference, Great Britain, Japan, China, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Portugal. The Conference made many sympathetic responses to China's claims and aspirations, which offered considerable relaxation of Western controls, and the surrender of some former rights and privileges. The Conference also made promises of further substantial concessions of this kind in the future. In spite of that, and particularly because Japan refused to abandon certain important economic interests in Shantung, China remained unsatisfied.

The concern of Missionary Societies in the issues of this Conference is revealed in a statement issued by the Conference of British Missionary Societies in November 1921. It was signed by the representatives of twenty-six British Societies with major interests in China, including the B.M.S. The more important extracts from this statement are as follows:

"British Missions are directly concerned in all questions of international agreement which affect the rights and well-being of peoples. They are not national or political in aim or in principle, nor are they subject to Government control.

"They are the expression of the deepest interest which the people of Great Britain have in the Far East.

"They are an existent force contributing materially towards shaping the sentiments, ideals, and good relationships of the nations concerned in the Washington Conference."

Then after summarizing the educational and literary, medical and relief activities of British Missions in China, the statement proceeds:

"National and social evils have been strenuously combated by Christian Missions. In particular they have worked for the suppression of the opium traffic, and are unanimous in urging now that the contraband trade in opium and its derivatives should be suppressed.

"Christian Missions, whilst standing for definite Christian beliefs, desire and

would claim for men of all faiths full liberty of conscience, and equal political rights.

"They are in no sense political organizations, but they do include in their motive the substantiation of all the rights to which the manhood and civilization of nations entitle them, for only thus can peace and goodwill be secured."

This statement not only received the approval of the B.M.S. Home authorities, but was fully endorsed by their missionaries on the field. It can, therefore, be taken as a representative expression of B.M.S. opinion on the attitude of our missionaries to British Government policy *vis-à-vis* China.

Between 1919 and 1922, Russian influence greatly increased in China. The "friendly" acts of Russia after the First World War, and the intrigues of clever politicians like Karakan, Joffre and Borodin greatly influenced Sun-Yat-Sen, the Southern leader, and even Feng-Yü-Hsiang who was then still a powerful factor, though not the supreme one in the North. For a time it seemed as though the whole of China, ablaze as it was with nationalistic zeal, would turn Communist. Russia's apparent sympathy, expressed as it was in a number of practical ways, appealed greatly to patriotic Chinese, while the seeming indifference of other Western Powers threw them by comparison into an unfavourable light. The students who by this time had become distressed by the disunity of their homeland, and the humiliation of China's "semi-colonial" status *vis-à-vis* the West, and deeply saturated with Russian Communist propaganda, began to play a prominent part as a powerful and aggressive body of public opinion.

The country continued to be divided politically between the Northern and Southern factions. By the end of 1924 Chang-Tso-Lin, the "war-lord" of Manchuria, had become the dominant personality in the North, his influence indeed extending as far south as Shanghai. Sun-Yat-Sen, after many vicissitudes, had also re-established himself as leader of the South. There seemed some hope, now that power was chiefly concentrated in these two outstanding personalities, that national unity might be achieved. With this in view Chang-Tso-Lin invited Sun-Yat-Sen to a conference at Peking, but unfortunately before a settlement could be

reached Sun-Yat-Sen died on 12th March 1925, shortly after dictating his memorable "last will and testament", a document destined to play a vitally important part in stimulating the Chinese nationalistic spirit of the ensuing decade.

2. SOCIAL CHANGE AND MISSIONARY OPPORTUNITY

It is remarkable that in the circumstances outlined above, the Chinese people should make great progress in almost every sphere of their national life. It is also remarkable that amid the welter of almost incessant civil strife, and the upsurge of the nationalistic spirit, characterized, as has been noted, by anti-foreign demonstration at times, missionaries should have unparalleled opportunities for service, and the Chinese Church should make noteworthy advance. Latourette estimates that between 1914 and 1924 the Protestant Church increased its membership by between 60 per cent. and 70 per cent. and the Roman Catholic Church by 50 per cent.

For some years after the revolution everything Western became the vogue: dress, languages, social customs, educational methods, political ideas, and the rest. The ways in which this new spirit affected missionary work are indicated below.

The provisions of the new Republican Constitution conferred religious freedom on all Chinese citizens.¹ This was an epochal event, as it now became possible for Christians to take up Government appointments. Many well-qualified men who had been educated in Christian colleges readily took advantage of this to enter upon high office, and march with the vanguard of the reforming forces of the nation.

The study of Western subjects assumed a place of ever-increasing importance in the curricula of schools, colleges and universities, with the result that missionary educational institutions,

¹ The original constitution of 11th March 1912 read, "All citizens shall enjoy religious liberty." This was revised on 1st May 1914, to read, "Within the limits of the law, citizens shall enjoy religious liberty", and yet again on 14th May 1917, the clause in the constitution was altered to read, "Citizens of the Republic of China enjoy the liberty of venerating Confucius, and within the limits of law, of choosing their religions." See Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, footnote, p. 691.

which hitherto had catered almost solely for the Christian community, were besieged by crowds of non-Christian students clamouring for entrance. The admission of these brought certain difficulties, but at the same time created a new and fruitful field of evangelistic endeavour.

The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. also became most popular institutions. They attracted large numbers of students and were patronized by the official classes. The prevailing passion for learning English was an undoubted "draw". But the attendance of non-Christians at Bible classes and religious lectures was extremely gratifying, as was the presence of some of the members at church services. The introduction of this new element into congregations, apart from the fresh hope it inspired, revealed the need for a new type of preacher and pastor, who could cope intellectually as well as spiritually with the changing situation. It also emphasized the need of raising the academic standard of all our Chinese church leaders.

Religion was now widely publicized as an essential element in the moral and spiritual regeneration of the people, and Christianity was recognized as having a distinctive contribution to make in this sphere. Officials of the new régime encouraged Christian institutions, while many enlisted the advice and help of missionaries and Chinese church leaders in their efforts to renew, socially and morally, the face of the land.

Unfortunately during this disturbed period, the traffic in opium, morphia and other narcotics, instead of decreasing, as had been planned in 1907, greatly increased. Attempts were made, however, by local governments, some very seriously, as in Shansi, others admittedly a little half-heartedly, at suppression. Missionaries co-operated with the officials in many places in establishing and administering branches of the Anti-Narcotic Society, which played a prominent part in arousing public opinion, and in promoting control of the trade.

Gambling, which for centuries had been one of the main pre-occupations of the people's leisure hours, also came under the ban of the Government. Open-air sports and games were advocated

as an antidote for this, and officials supported the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in sponsoring big athletic meetings at important centres. Missionaries interested in youth work took advantage of these increased opportunities for friendly contact with students and officials to promote evangelistic work amongst them.

The life of women and girls was completely transformed during this period. By Government decree girls were not only to be given primary education, but to be allowed access to schools of higher grade, including colleges as well. Girl students began to share in the general social life of the colleges, partaking even in open-air games and sports. The "small lily feet" of the girls and women, highly esteemed as a matrimonial asset in former days, were now abhorred, not only by the girls themselves, but by their possible marital partners. This imparted a great stimulus to the anti-footbinding campaign, in the promotion of which Christian women had taken such a prominent part in the early days. Gradually Chinese women emerged from their seclusion in the home to take their part in almost every sphere of public life. The professions were now open to them. Many went abroad for their education. They engaged in secretarial and even police duties. Thanks largely to the influence of a Baptist leader, Mrs. Herman Liu, of Shanghai, the Women's League of China came into being, to sponsor women's movements of all kinds, but especially for temperance, better homes and political and social rights.

This revolution of women's life which missionaries had long ago advocated and done much to promote, gave them extraordinary opportunities now. Christian schools and colleges, even universities, had large enrolments of girls and women students. Special women's institutes for the wives and daughters of officials were organized in many places, and short-term courses for married women in literacy and domestic subjects formed more and more a normal part of the missionary programme.

Women were given greater responsibility in the Church, as deacons or group leaders, and improved training facilities were afforded for women evangelists and teachers.

Serious attacks were made on the problem of illiteracy. In this campaign missionaries had long been prominent, in the devising of new and simpler phonetic systems and scripts, and in the promotion of a colloquial style of writing. In 1907 they had produced a version of the Scriptures in the "popular" as opposed to the "scholarly" language. While Dr. Hu Shih, a non-Christian, is deservedly called the "Father of the Chinese Renaissance" in this realm, it should be noted that a Christian, Dr. James Yen, also made an outstanding contribution to Mass Education in these years. Dr. Yen developed his ideas when in France with the Chinese coolies during the First World War, but took a most prominent part in the campaign for "literacy" and rural reconstruction after his return to China in 1920—notably at Ting-Hsien in Ho-Pei, and in the province of Hunan. Books, in simple style, and dealing with subjects affecting home-life, hygiene and public health, economics and social and political responsibilities, were published, as well as newspapers and magazines, all of which rapidly became popular. This campaign, in which missionaries and Chinese Christians eagerly shared, enhanced our evangelistic opportunities. In connection with Churches and other Christian institutions, large numbers of adults, both men and women, were enrolled in "literacy" classes. In these the reading of the Scriptures figured prominently. Evangelistic messages were given, and excellent spiritual results accrued.

Other Government efforts were directed at reform of the prisons, where—if anywhere—reforms were needed. The work of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, publicized by the Christian Literature Society, coupled with the personal advocacy of missionaries, inspired many of the changes which were now introduced. Model prisons sprang up in the provincial capitals and other centres, and in these the reformatory rather than the punitive principle became the vogue. The new buildings erected were specially designed for the purpose, being well lighted and ventilated. Good and sufficient food was provided; prisoners could ask for more and get it! Warmth and good clothing; educational courses; useful and interesting employment; recreation,

all were features of the new prison régime. One wondered at times whether these measures served as a deterrent or an incentive to crime! Missionaries and Chinese Christians were invited to preach in the workrooms; Scriptures were placed in the cells, and on occasions, especially in the women's section, private interviews with individuals were permitted. Some interesting conversions occurred.

The friendliness of the Chinese official and educated classes at this stage made possible the exchange of visits and hospitality between them and the missionaries, which led in many instances to close personal friendships; opened up unusual opportunities for evangelism; and promoted co-operation in social and moral reform, between officials, missions and the Church.

As these changes and new opportunities affected our B.M.S. work in all three provinces in more or less the same way, the foregoing may be regarded as a general introduction to the more detailed account which follows.

3. THE B.M.S. MAKES NOTABLE ADVANCE, 1912-25

a. Shantung

We have noted that only minor disturbances accompanied the revolutionary change of government in Shantung in 1911. But officials of the old régime naturally lost their posts, and some of the more prominent among them, intimidated by threats to their lives, took refuge, together with their families, in missionary homes and compounds. The opportunities thus afforded for more intimate contacts bore spiritual fruit later on.

A few politically-minded Christians in Chi-Nan-Fu organized a new independent church, emphasizing that it was entirely free of foreign domination and control. This caused unrest in the Shantung Christian community at large for some years, creating a situation which called for tact and patience by missionaries and Chinese church leaders. These were happily forthcoming, and by the grace of God this new movement which threatened to

exercise a strongly divisive influence was steered into the channel of God's increasing purpose, and eventually harmonious relationships between the new and older churches were fully restored.

The World War of 1914-18 had serious effects upon all our work in China. But this was particularly true of Shantung. Resentment against the Allies for permitting the Japanese to assume the rights formerly held by the Germans in the province, was directed against our missionaries who for a time fell into official and popular disfavour. Even among the Christians some anti-British feeling was aroused. But this gradually died away, especially after displaced German missionaries had been welcomed in the homes of our missionaries, and it became known that funds for their relief were being received from British churches. Christian impartiality and love had won a victory.

In 1917 the British government decided to recruit a large Chinese labour force for the Western Front, and appealed to British missionaries for help. The B.M.S. missionaries who responded were Dr. E. H. Edwards and the Revs F. Harmon, J. C. Harlow, P. J. Smith and E. R. Fowles from Shansi; Dr. J. R. Watson and the Revs. H. Payne, A. G. Castleton, G. Fisk, W. E. Comerford, A. J. Garnier, W. P. Pailing and F. S. Drake from Shantung. Some of these undertook administrative duties in Shantung connected with recruitment and arrangements for the support of the families of the men while they were away, while others accompanied the coolies to France, to serve as officers of the labour battalions or as Red Cross or Y.M.C.A. workers.

About 70,000 Chinese were recruited in Shantung alone. The services rendered by our missionaries in this special work were greatly appreciated, not only by the British Government, but especially by the coolies and their families. Many opportunities for evangelism occurred as a direct outcome of this, which were eagerly "bought up", both in France and in China during and after the war.

But the withdrawal of so many of our experienced missionaries from their customary tasks, combined with other factors arising from the war situation, such as difficulties of transport

on the high seas, lack of recruits, and financial stringency, to mention but a few, seriously limited our activities in every part of the field.

In the medical sphere, however, there were some important developments. By 1915 or so the prejudices of the people of Chou-Ts'un, referred to previously, had been overcome, largely as the result of the medical work done at Chou-P'ing and Ch'ing-Chou-Fu. So in that year a new hospital was built in the east suburb of the town in the vicinity of the railway station. This was equipped with seventy beds, and served both men and women patients. It was called the "Foster hospital", in memory of the donors, Mr. Charles Foster and family, of Cambridge. The medical staff available did not permit of the manning of both the Chou-P'ing and Chou-Ts'un hospitals, so the former was closed in 1916. From that time, Chou-Ts'un became the chief centre of general B.M.S. medical work in Shantung. Dr. A. A. Lees and Dr. S. E. Bethel arrived in 1919 to strengthen the staff, and this enabled Drs. Watson and Paterson to serve alternately at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, where the hospital was reconstructed in 1922. Progress was also made during this period on the nursing side of the work at Chou-Ts'un. In 1916 Sister Constance May inaugurated nursing training, and an organized Nursing School was established by Sister M. S. Walker in 1923. At Pei-Chen, our most northerly outpost, a dispensary was opened under the supervision of a Chinese trained at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu.

In the educational sphere, the Shantung Christian University in Chi-Nan-Fu made great progress. Ten Missionary Societies, British, American and Canadian, decided during this period to co-operate in staff and funds with the founding Missions, viz., the American Presbyterians (North) and the B.M.S. And in 1925, the Canadian Government authorized the University to confer degrees in the faculties of Medicine, Arts and Science and Theology, under the auspices of the University of Toronto. Boarding schools for boys and girls were started at Pei-Chen—and those at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu and Chou-Ts'un continued to make headway.

Innovations were made in the evangelistic sphere also, inspired

largely by industrial developments. At Chou-Ts'un a special B.M.S. institute was erected in the city, organized largely on Y.M.C.A. lines and staffed by our missionaries, which was designed to meet the educational, social, moral and religious needs of the ever-increasing number of young workers in the factories, shop-assistants and clerks who poured into the city from the surrounding countryside. This Institute became also a rallying centre for the coolies as they returned from France. Many of these took up work in the factories, and proved helpful to the evangelistic side by their spontaneous testimonies to the friendly assistance they had received from our missionaries during their war service.

Similar work was undertaken at Ta-Huai-Shu, a suburb of Chi-Nan-Fu, where the existing Soldiers' Institute, which because of the transfer of camps to other areas had ceased to fulfil its original purpose, was adapted for social and evangelistic work among factory workers. Eventually this Institute became the home of a newly-organized Baptist church, while it continued to serve the educational, recreational and spiritual needs of the general community.

Between 1922 and 1925 our work in the country districts was greatly hampered by civil war and widespread disorder. But towards the end of the period, new buildings were erected at Po-Shan, an important mining and industrial centre, which served as church, school and Institute. Here, thanks mainly to the initiative of one of our Chinese leaders, the Rev. Chang-Ssu-Ching, real progress in every department of this varied work was recorded.

Pei-Chen, located on the northern bank of the Yellow River, was the central residential station of the Northern Association of the Shantung Baptist Union. This Association covered a very large area with a population of about 1,200,000. In 1920 there were 1,400 church members, of whom 700 were women, in this field. Many of our highly respected pastors, church leaders, and most stalwart peasant Christians came from this Association.

New experiments were made in various parts of our Shantung area with tent-missions during this period, which produced very

encouraging results. And the Church as a whole, pursuing its former well-defined policy of co-operation with the Mission, made such good progress that in 1925 there were over 7,000 members in good standing.

b. Shansi

Our missionaries returned to Shansi in the spring of 1912 after a short period of evacuation following on the revolution of the previous autumn. But from then until 1920 their numbers suffered serious depletion. No less than sixteen, including wives, either resigned or were transferred. The Rev. Arthur Sowerby, who had rendered yeoman service in establishing and fostering the Shansi church from its earliest days, an outstanding preacher, as well as a sound educationist and able theologian, left to undertake important literary and tutorial work in Peking, the latter mostly in the families of high-ranking officials. The Rev. J. J. Turner, our oldest and most experienced pioneer, notable for his work in the famine years, and the ablest of preachers in Chinese, retired "officially" in 1920. But he continued to reside in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, where for many years he gave much valued help in preaching and in an advisory capacity. Happily, too, Dr. E. H. Edwards, of deservedly wide repute amongst the people as "the beloved physician", continued his much appreciated work in the hospitals. In 1917 the Rev. Frank Harmon, senr., was transferred from Shantung to help fill the gaps in the senior ministerial ranks. After 1920 a number of new recruits arrived, rendering it more possible to take advantage of the many new opportunities arising from the remarkable friendliness of the officials, and a greater spirit of receptiveness of the gospel message amongst the people as a whole.

During the winter of 1917-18 pneumonic plague broke out in the north of the province and numerous deaths were reported. The plague spread rapidly, and threatened the whole of North China. For a period of four months practically the whole of the B.M.S. staff in Shansi, together with medical and other missionaries from other parts, including Peking, actively responded to

the urgent appeal of the officials to save the province from the ravages of this dire disease; and with the help of some of our Christian Chinese, succeeded in stamping it out. When the task was completed, the Governor, Yen-Hsi-Shan, in thanking the missionaries and Chinese Christians for their services, acknowledged the deep impression which their spirit had made upon him, and avowed that henceforth he would devote himself without reserve to the welfare of the people. He thereupon publicly challenged his fellow-officials to support him in a new campaign of social reform. Remarkable results ensued in the spheres of popular education, public-health, afforestation, communications, anti-narcotics, industry, stock-raising and agriculture, and there was a noticeable improvement in public and private morality. These reform measures brought Shansi into the limelight, and Yen-Hsi-Shan was everywhere lauded as "The model Governor". In promoting this new policy he sought the advice and co-operation of missionaries, calling them frequently to his yamen for conference, or inviting them as his guests. As missionaries on such occasions passed through that front courtyard of tragic and sacred memory, they could not but contrast their lot with that of their martyred predecessors, in 1900.

This new relationship of friendliness and co-operation between officials and missionaries created unusual opportunities for evangelism amongst the educated classes, both in T'ai-Yuan-Fu and other centres in the province. As the Y.M.C.A. had proved itself to be an effective medium for this type of work in other large cities, the B.M.S. decided in 1913 to open a student branch in T'ai-Yuan-Fu. Two large buildings were erected by Arthington funds, one specifically designed for student work of the Y.M.C.A. type, and the other for a museum and lecture hall on the lines of the Whitewright Institute in Chi-Nan-Fu. The B.M.S. seconded missionaries for this special work, and the International Y.M.C.A. also appointed secretaries who proved to be most co-operative and efficient colleagues.

A Board of Management comprising a majority of Chinese framed and directed the general policy. Four Chinese secretaries,

members of our Baptist Church, were appointed. Religious activities figured prominently in the programme, consisting of Bible classes, lectures, Sunday worship, epilogues after English classes, and special missions by both American and Chinese evangelists. And the usual routine of language classes, games, sports, concerts, library-reading-room, etc., was well maintained. The membership grew to more than 800. The buildings were erected by Arthington funds, but as the work progressed the Y.M.C.A. took over full responsibility for the Institution. Money was raised locally for the buildings and the original amount returned to the Society for the erection of a new Boys' Middle School, in 1921.

This student work under Y.M.C.A. auspices provided a good example of self-support and self-government, and the churches received both encouragement and stimulus from it.

Most of the co-operative activities of the Church and community centred in the Y.M.C.A. and its counterpart on the women's side referred to below. The Headquarters of the Shansi Anti-Narcotic Society were located in the Y.M.C.A., and provincial sports meetings, including, on one memorable occasion, the North China Athletic Games, were organized under its auspices.

In 1923 the Edwards' Memorial Institute, a beautiful building in Chinese architectural style, was officially opened in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, by the wife of the Shansi Governor, in the presence of Miss Emily Kemp, the generous donor. This, as the name implies, was erected as a memorial to her sister, Mrs. E. H. Edwards, whose sobriquet of "the living Buddha" was a remarkable tribute to her gracious personality and her benign influence among the women of Shansi.

This Institute was the fruit of many years' work, in which the wives of our missionaries had taken a major share, amongst the wives and daughters of officials, and other women of social standing. As the work developed, B.M.S. women missionaries—amongst whom were Misses Ada Sowerby and Lois Chapple, and Mrs. H. V. Wenham, *née* Miss Margaret Angus—were appointed as secretaries, with Chinese women colleagues. Activities

were conducted on the usual Y.W.C.A. lines. A large measure of self-support was achieved and marked spiritual success resulted amongst the two or three hundred members.

Later on, the International Y.W.C.A. at the invitation of the B.M.S. took over the Institute, but our women missionaries continued in close co-operation with it.

Meanwhile the T'ai-Yuan-Fu Boys' Boarding School had been transferred to new, more commodious and well-equipped buildings on the Hsing-Hua-Ling site. A new Girls' Boarding School was also built in the vicinity. Both schools had much larger enrolments than formerly, and encouraging spiritual results accrued.

Boarding schools were also opened for boys at Hsin-Chou and Kuo-Hsien in the north, and at Wen-Shui in the south-west, all of which were soon filled to capacity. "Feeders" for these central schools were provided by a small number of village schools strategically placed.

During the World War of 1914-18, our medical staff in Shansi was sadly depleted, and, working under great strain, suffered grievous losses in consequence. Two of our young doctors died—John Lewis in 1916, after seven years' service, and George Edwards in 1919—after only four years on the field. Both had laboured heroically in extremely trying circumstances, and were held in the highest respect by Chinese and foreigners alike. Dr. George Edwards had played a pioneer and prominent part in the anti-plague campaign. Fortunately two Chinese graduates of the Medical School in Chi-Nan-Fu, Drs. Yuan and P'an, came to the rescue and manfully held the fort until missionary reinforcements arrived in the persons of Dr. K. Ford (1920) and Dr. C. I. Stockley (1921), after the war in Europe was over.

The new Women's Hospital was formally opened on the Hsing-Hua-Ling site during 1913, but no woman missionary doctor was available until 1920, when Dr. Marjory Edwards (daughter of our veteran medical missionary in Shansi, and sister of Dr. George Edwards) arrived. In the meantime the work of the Women's Hospital was supervised by the men doctors, but

responsibility for routine activities was carried by two nursing-sisters, notably Miss E. A. Rossiter (1911) and Miss V. G. Jaques (1916), both of whom served for long periods with conspicuous devotion and efficiency. Chinese women evangelists and a small band of Christian nurses helped them to keep their spiritual ministry well to the fore. This hospital soon gained a widespread reputation for loving and effective work, especially in midwifery, a large number of Caesarian sections being performed every year. In 1921, an extra block for maternity work, and a Chinese Nurses' Home were erected in memory of Drs. J. Lewis and G. K. Edwards.

The training of nurses and medical assistants formed an important part of the work of both hospitals, one of the three nursing-sisters available during this period giving supervision to the nursing side of the Men's Hospital. The first graduation ceremony for nurses was held in 1919.

Unfortunately, in 1924, a large part of the Men's Hospital was gutted by fire. Dr. E. H. Edwards, then over seventy, once again came to the rescue, returning to T'ai-Yuan-Fu from retirement in the homeland to supervise the restoration and enlargement of the property, to accommodate eighty in-patients, and, incidentally, making a very generous private contribution to the cost.

In 1925 a new venture was made in connection with this hospital, by the appointment of Mr. R. H. P. Dart, a layman, as evangelist and business-manager. This not only relieved the medical staff of the burden of much administrative work, but contributed greatly to the effectiveness of the evangelistic activities.

At Tai-Chou in the north, Dr. T. Kirkwood, formerly of the L.M.S., opened a small hospital in 1912 in Chinese buildings. But ill-health led to his resignation in 1915, and this terminated what had promised to be a most useful venture in the expansion of our medical work.

Throughout this period at Hsin-Chou, dispensary and most useful first-aid work was maintained by ministerial missionaries and their wives.

In 1924, the new Martyr Memorial Church was opened in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, on the site of the former C.I.M. premises in Tung-Chia-Hsiang. This, like the Women's Institute, was built in Chinese style. It had a seating capacity of about 800. When the boarding schools were in session the church was crowded on Sundays. At other times it was usually more than half-full. Chinese preachers frequently occupied the pulpit, though not until nearly the end of this period was a full-time Chinese pastor appointed.¹

The older church on Bridge-head Street and the street chapel adjoining, attracted large crowds, and closer attention was paid to the gospel message, especially when missionaries were preaching. On the special day of prayer called by the Government in April 1913 the provincial governor and other high-ranking officials attended service in this church.

Preaching bands of missionaries and Chinese Christians, both men and women, visited the model prison in the city once a week, and the surrounding villages on Sundays.

The plan to open Wen-Shui as a residential station could not be fully implemented, owing to the growing demand on the small missionary staff to administer the rapidly developing institutional work in T'ai-Yuan-Fu. So in 1923 our work in this whole south-western district, including the cities of Chiao-Ch'eng and Wen-Shui, was handed over to the American Board Mission, which had long and well-established work in the area.

For similar reasons our work at Shou-Yang where, owing to the prejudices and fears of the people arising from the terrible events of 1900, progress was almost heart-breaking in its slowness, and where for many years only one missionary couple, Rev. and Mrs. J. C. Harlow, had been in residence, was handed over in 1919 to the American Brethren Mission, which had begun work in the province in 1908 and had a large staff and funds available for extension work.

At Hsin-Chou our staff usually numbered between six and

¹ This delay was not due to the hesitation of missionaries, who from 1913 had been urging the Church to appoint and support a Chinese pastor.

eight during this period. But at Tai-Chou it was rarely possible to station more than two or three for any appreciable length of time.

Our missionaries in these northern stations were "in journeys off", visiting the numerous out-posts, organizing tent-missions, and times of "retreat" for church members and inquirers at special seasons. Central schools continued to function at Hsin-Chou and Kuo-Hsien, and in the former city a women's school, usually with twenty to twenty-five women in residence, made a valuable contribution to church development.

In the district around Hsin-Chou the work at Liu-Chia-Shan, which had sheltered our refugee missionaries in 1900, was specially encouraging, as it was at Shang-Ssu, a small mountain village, where the membership advanced from one to thirty-four in three years, twenty-two being baptized in 1923.

Largely under the inspiration of Rev. S. Henderson Smith an Adoption Society and Orphanage was organized in Hsin-Chou, under the auspices of which about two hundred children were received and placed in good homes, many of them Christian, prior to 1923. The local magistrate took a keen interest in this project and provided funds for it.

Chinese evangelists, both men and women, took a major share in district work of the Province. These averaged about twenty in number, and were given the best training possible in the circumstances. The Rev. F. Harmon conducted a three-year course for men who had received Junior Middle School or equivalent education. Others were sent to the C.I.M. Training School at Hung-Tung, or to similar Institutions of the American Board Mission. Summer schools for all evangelists were held annually for some years, in preparation for which textbooks were prescribed which formed the basis of teaching and examinations during the school session. These men and women evangelists, in spite of this somewhat elementary and irregular training, rendered good service, and showed remarkable fidelity and perseverance in the difficult times which lay ahead.

One of the chief reasons why Chinese pastors were appointed

relatively late in our history in Shansi was that church members were few, numbering only about 1,000 in 1925, and most of these were poor. The missionary staff were also unwilling to recommend men to the pastoral office until the Chinese Church was ready and able to support them, and this proved difficult.

However, a few students from the Boys' Middle School at T'ai-Yuan-Fu proceeded to the Shantung Christian University at Chi-Nan-Fu for higher education in Arts and Science, and Medicine, and one, Y. C. Li (who later entered Regent's Park College) for Theology. A few girl students also went to Peking for further training. All these returned to Shansi to give much-needed service in school or hospital, and Y. C. Li took up for a time the pastorate of the T'ai-Yuan-Fu church.

There was a general revival of interest in religious matters throughout the province during these years. This was due primarily to the example of the Governor and other officials who were specially interested in the study and promotion of religion. Most of them appreciated the work of the missionaries and the Church. Some indeed read the Bible regularly. But in general they put first the study of the Confucian classics and the Buddhist scriptures. To further these objectives, a large cathedral-like edifice was erected in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, called "The Hall of Self-Examination", where on Sundays and special occasions, all officials, teachers, and government employees were expected to attend for religious exercises. Famous visitors, like Dr. Tagore¹ of India, Dr. John Dewey and Dr. Paul Munroe of America, gave lectures in this hall, and at times local missionaries were invited to present the Christian point of view, to the crowds of important people who assembled there.

In connection with this movement, a new society, called "The Cleanse the Heart Association", which had branches in every important city of the province, was organized by a coterie of high-ranking officials. Meditation on the Buddhist pattern, and expositions of all religions, including Christianity, characterized

¹ Dr. Tagore was attacked by Chinese youth movements for his emphasis on religion. He lectured in T'ai-Yuan-Fu in 1924.

the meetings. Other syncretic or eclectic societies sprang into being at this time, which accorded equal honour to Christ, Confucius, Buddha, Laotzu and Mohammed. Missionaries were occasionally invited to address these gatherings, and to speak, not only about Christ, but about Moses, Isaiah or John the Baptist, all of whom the members of the societies professed to honour and revere.

The officials in T'ai-Yuan-Fu also sponsored over a prolonged period a weekly conference of all religions, at which representatives of different faiths were invited to expound constructively their specific beliefs and practices. No criticism of other religions or discussion was allowed. But the addresses given were printed and widely distributed at public expense. This led to a number of interesting inquiries of the missionaries, from educated Chinese, as to the distinctive nature of Christianity.

A few of these officials privately confessed their faith in Christ, but, to the best of my knowledge, only one, a returned student from England and former student of the Shansi University, was baptized and joined the T'ai-Yuan-Fu church. Two others who had studied in England, professors in the Shansi University, also joined the Church, and a small number of people of this type frequently came to worship, but made no public profession of their Christian faith.

In 1924 an important change was made in Mission-Church relationship by the formation of a Provincial Association composed of equal numbers of foreign and Chinese representatives, to consult and plan for all departments of work. A similar change was also made in the composition of District Associations (which took the place of former Station Committees), membership of which hitherto had been confined to the foreign missionary staff. This change contributed greatly to improved relationships between missionaries and Chinese leaders.

It will be seen from this review that our Church in Shansi made real but not spectacular progress during this eventful period of twelve or thirteen years.

c. Shensi

The period 1912 to 1925 in Shensi was characterized by almost continuous disturbance, due to political and military feuds, and on account of this the governorship of the province changed hands no less than five times during these years. The revolution of October 1911, as we have seen, was accompanied by indescribable acts of violence and barbarity, particularly in the city of Hsi-An-Fu, and this was followed by lawlessness and banditry, so widespread and so severe that communications were disrupted and trade brought at times to a standstill. Travel became unsafe and life insecure. Military adventurers stalked through the countryside instilling terror or hate into the hearts of the people. Hsi-An-Fu and San-Yuan became hotbeds of rivalry and conflict. Rev. A. G. Shorrocks describes the first part of this period as "amongst the worst and most disturbed years we have ever had", and the latter part of it, as "characterized by rebellion against all authority, exaggerated enumeration of wrongs suffered at the hands of foreign Powers, and bitter resentment of the same; intolerance of all religion, and a proud ignoring of China's manifest weakness and state of anarchy". And yet, he writes as a summary, "For the Mission these years have been years of miracle and grace, and through them all the work of God has gone on and prospered. Both in our own Mission and in that of others, those added to the Church have more than doubled in number."

Some details follow to fill in this general picture.

For the B.M.S. in Shensi this upheaval had serious staffing consequences. Four of the missionaries who had formerly worked in the province were transferred to Shantung, and worse still, three outstanding members of the Shensi staff received their "home-call" during 1913. Dr. Cecil Robertson, who had laboured so strenuously and selflessly through his less than four years' service, and whose utter devotion to the Chinese sick and wounded had gained him widespread affection and admiration, died of typhus on 16th March. The story of his short but spiritually fruitful life

has been well told by Dr. F. B. Meyer. Then Dr. Stanley Jenkins, another "beloved physician", fell a victim to the same dread illness on 6th April, after nine years of equally devoted and widely appreciated service. Dr. Richard Glover has written a fascinating biography of this truly great man. As a token of the gratitude and appreciation felt by the Chinese for the work of these two loyal followers of the Great Physician, the Shensi Provincial Government donated the site in the city of Hsi-n-FAU on which the existing B.M.S. hospital now stands. It was erected in 1917 in Chinese style, with separate blocks for men and women, and appropriately designated "The Jenkins-Robertson Memorial Hospital". It had accommodation finally for 120 patients.

The same year Miss Jennie Beckingsale died, after thirteen years of faithful service among the women and girls, by whom she was greatly beloved. Her loss was described by Mr. Shorrock as irreparable.

These staffing losses by death and withdrawal, together with the prevalent disorder, led to the sorrowful abandonment of the project to occupy the northern stations of Yü-Lin-Fu and Sui-Te-Chow, which had been undertaken with such hope and promise a few years before. Fortunately this did not mean the end of missionary work in that remote field, as the American Board Mission, operating from Fen-Chow-Fu in Shansi, undertook to staff the area with Chinese workers. It was decided to retain Yen-An-Fu as a B.M.S. residential station, but later circumstances rendered it impossible to maintain adequate missionary staff there. This station became the headquarters of the Communists for many years.

In 1914 the notorious brigand White-Wolf ravaged the whole area of B.M.S. work, and menaced the city of Hsi-An-Fu itself. And in 1916 a rebel army surrounded the provincial capital, threatening it with pillage, lust and slaughter once again. As the rebel soldiers marched through the east suburb to enter the city, they streamed past Mr. Shorrock's house. He writes, "I was surprised and relieved to hear some of them calling me by name, and

to see them plant themselves at our gate to prevent looting and violence." The memory of what this veteran had done in 1911-12 along with other B.M.S. missionaries was still fresh in the soldiers' minds, and proved to be an invaluable asset at this time. In fact on this occasion our missionaries were called upon to mediate between the rival forces, and such success attended their efforts that the Governor, whom the rebels had determined to oust by force, quietly evacuated his post, and the city was saved from dire calamity.

And referring to troubles which beset the cities of San-Yuan and Yen-An-Fu in 1918, Mr. Shorrocks writes, "In January San-Yuan was the scene of civil war, once more of rebels and Government troops. Our two doctors, Young and Charter, decided to divide forces, the latter joining the rebels! while the former remained with the Government army. Both rendered distinguished service to the wounded of the rival forces, while Bell and Watson acted as intermediaries between the two sides, and finally saved the situation from getting completely out of hand. Further north at Yen-An-Fu, Donald Smith and Fred Russell, by their mediation between the attacking and defending forces, saved the town from the customary horrors of temporary occupation by marauding forces, and were hailed as benefactors."

These are but a few of many similar incidents which happened in Shensi during this period of warring factions.

In 1921 Feng-Yü-Hsiang, the "Christian" general, took over the city of Hsi-An-Fu and installed himself as governor of Shensi. He left the next year, however, to join forces with the northern war-lord Wu-P'ei-Fu. Feng-Yü-Hsiang at that time was seriously disgruntled with Western nations, "reputably Christian" as he was accustomed to say, because of the findings of the Washington Conference of 1922, which he considered had failed to do justice to China. In consequence his attitude to Christianity became lukewarm, and incidentally led to a wave of anti-foreign feeling and some demonstrations in Hsi-An-Fu and San-Yuan. This made it impracticable for our missionaries to have much contact with him. The "Puritanic" ways of his troops,

however, came as a welcome surprise to the oppressed people of the city and district.

In the midst of all this confusion, the Mission made astonishing progress. During this period the staff of the B.M.S. usually consisted of ten married couples and eleven single women. These gave a lot of time and energy to the rapidly-growing institutional work in boarding schools, hospitals, and training schools for preachers and teachers. But the senior members of the staff, notably Mr. Shorrocks and Mr. James Watson, had to devote much attention to the delicate and at times difficult problem of Mission-Church relationships, and to negotiations with constantly changing government officials, tasks which demanded great tact and skill, which both possessed in rich measure. And every missionary had to carry administrative responsibility for some department of work.

But they shared as fully as possible with their Chinese colleagues in the promotion of a vigorous and enterprising evangelistic programme, and the development of church life in the cities and country districts. Preaching bands, using the tent method in some instances, traversed nineteen counties. In twenty-seven centres regular evangelistic work was carried on, radiating into the villages around. And in 126 places, mostly small towns and villages, well-organized church services were regularly conducted.

The more important events of these years in Mission and church circles are outlined below.

Immediately after the revolution, a politically-minded group of Christians in Hsi-An-Fu, like their brethren in Chi-Nan-Fu and T'ai-Yuan-Fu, tried to organize a church that would be completely independent of the Missions. This movement was sponsored by non-Baptists, whose motives and attitudes excited serious misgiving in the minds of our missionaries and Chinese Church leaders. However, a tense situation was relieved by the choice of a Baptist as first pastor. He was a man of deep spiritual insight, of exemplary character, and a great friend of our missionaries. After a somewhat turbulent beginning he succeeded in

restoring harmony, and co-operation with the Baptist and other denominational churches in the city became practicable.

Co-operation with the Y.M.C.A. on lines adopted in T'ai-Yuan-Fu and other B.M.S. centres was inaugurated in Hsi-An-Fu in 1914 and under the leadership successively of Revs. J. C. Keyte, E. F. Borst-Smith and F. S. Russell, continued to reach the rapidly-growing number of students in the city, most of whom were anxious to learn English and to have contact with Western people. Many of them were also keen to study Christianity. As this work developed it was taken over by the National Y.M.C.A., but B.M.S. missionaries resident in the city continued to help.

For the major part of this period the Baptist church work in the city made gratifying progress. In 1923 the Church supported two Chinese pastors, a superintendent deacon and four primary schools. In 1915 Rev. and Mrs. John Shields were transferred to Wei-Nan some forty miles to the east of Hsi-An-Fu, where the Christian community grew rapidly, and a fine church building was erected entirely by subscriptions and labour of the local folk.

Progress in other areas was likewise encouraging. The membership of our Shensi churches doubled itself, within this unsettled period of fourteen years, reaching the gratifying figure of 2,686 in 1925, of which the Gospel-Village area (Fu-Yin-Ts'un) claimed 960.

Remarkable progress was made in women's work, for which a special centre was established in the city, where Miss M. E. Shekleton (d. 1925), Miss Jennie Beckingsale (until her death in 1913) and other single women of like mind and spirit conducted a busy and enterprising programme of visitation, Bible-classes and services of various kinds. In 1918, for example, Miss Shekleton visited over 900 homes in the city. Miss A. M. Lewis, a young recruit of great promise who arrived in 1913, died eight months later.

The girls' school in Hsi-An-Fu flourished first under Mrs. Shorrock's care. She was followed in the office of Principal by a goodly succession of single women missionaries, who had some first-class Chinese women teachers as their colleagues. In 1914

day-scholars were admitted for the first time. This led to an enlarged evangelistic opportunity amongst their families.

The school at Fu-Yin-Ts'un which had been in the doldrums for some time, gained a new lease of life in 1923, thanks largely to the inspiration of the Rev. William Mudd, who induced the local churches to find five-sixths of the finance necessary for its revival and maintenance.

In 1924 a new secondary school for boys was opened in Hsi-An-Fu with a boarding capacity for eighty students. At first responsibility for this was assumed by the Rev. James Watson, who had supervised the building work. But he was soon succeeded by a very capable Chinese principal.

In the province as a whole the B.M.S. conducted eight higher primary schools, four of which were for girls, and fifty lower primary schools for both boys and girls. The great majority of these schools were financed out of Chinese church funds, and, as they were usually centres of evangelism and church life as well, they contributed greatly to spiritual progress.

In 1914, a training school for pastors, evangelists and teachers was opened in Hsi-An-Fu, under Mr. Shorrock's care. Twenty students were enrolled, of whom seventeen finished a three-year course. Four of these took up pastoral work, the others all engaging in teaching or evangelistic work under church or Mission auspices.

The city hospital in Hsi-An-Fu derived the bulk of its routine expenses from local sources, and continued its ministry of healing amongst the city population, and throughout a wide area in the province. This wider ministry frequently involved the doctors in long journeys to care for missionaries of other Societies.

The medical staff underwent many changes in this period. Women doctors were scarce in those days. Mrs. Fairburn (*née* Dr. Paula Maier) served for a short spell from 1918. But a long interval occurred before Dr. Ruth Tait was welcomed in 1925 as the first fully-qualified single woman doctor in Shensi. Meanwhile a number of nursing sisters served for shorter or longer periods and assisted the men doctors. Amongst these also many

changes occurred. Sister Helen Watt married Dr. T. Scollay in 1913, and Sister Jessie Smyth resigned in 1921. They were, however, replaced by Sister L. L. Dillow, and Sister F. Major, who arrived in 1920, and the well-established reputation of this hospital was enhanced by them all. Chinese doctors like Dr. Li Jen and Chang Chih Ch'eng rendered them invaluable assistance, serving with outstanding loyalty amid many anti-foreign demonstrations in the city. An opium refuge was opened in 1923 to accommodate thirty patients, all of whom were healed and converted.

At San-Yuan the medical work continued with some intermission throughout this period, under the supervision of Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Young (1905-22), Dr. G. A. Charter, who resigned in 1920, and Dr. T. Scollay until his death in 1918. The death of Dr. Andrew Young in 1923 deprived the B.M.S. of one of its truly saintly medical missionaries.

After serving as a general missionary in the Congo under R.B.M.U. auspices for eight or nine years, Dr. Young trained for medical missionary work and after qualifying was accepted by the B.M.S. for China in 1905. His Chinese surname "Glory", aptly symbolizes his character and career, by both of which he glorified the Master he so closely followed and so faithfully served. His life story has been sympathetically written by his colleague the Rev. J. C. Keyte. A Chinese doctor, Li Jen, took full charge of the hospital after Dr. Young's death, and with only occasional help from missionary nursing sisters, discharged his duties with tenacity and efficiency on the medical and evangelistic sides of the work, declining many much more lucrative offers of government service.

At Yen-An-Fu medical work was opened by Dr. and Mrs. T. Scollay, in 1914, but unfortunately, the exigencies of staffing needs elsewhere soon led to their transfer, and this promising new venture was never revived.

A number of new recruits arrived for the general work during these years. But the demands of new institutions in the capital and rapidly developing work at San Yuan, Wei-Nan, Fu-Yin-

Ts'un and Yen-An-Fu, absorbed the energies of all available staff, and no further geographical expansion was possible.

Dr. and Mrs. R. Fletcher Moorshead and Dr. Arnold Ingle visited Shensi as a medical deputation from the Home Society in 1919, and made some far-reaching proposals for developments, which, unfortunately, because of the prevailing disorder could not be fully implemented.

The year 1925 marks the end of an era for our work in Shensi as in other parts of our field, for from that time onwards Chinese Nationalism and Communism became new and increasingly important factors in the general missionary situation.

d. Formation of the Inter-provincial Conference (I.P.C.)

An important development in Mission administration on the field occurred during this period. Prior to 1912 the administrative work of the B.M.S. was conducted by provincial conferences composed of all missionaries in full standing then at work in Shantung, Shansi and Shensi. The B.M.S. missionaries on the staff of the Shantung Christian University also met as a group to administer their business affairs. Each unit had its own secretary, who corresponded direct with London, and its own treasurer.

But in October 1912 on the recommendation of the Home Committee, a new administrative organ, representative of the whole China field, came into being. It was called the Inter-provincial Conference, and in the beginning was composed of three representatives from Shantung, Shansi and Shensi, with one delegate from the Shantung Christian University, and one from the Christian Literature Society. As time passed, the provincial representation was increased to four, the Shantung Christian University representation to two, and the I.P.C. secretary and the China Treasurer became *ex officio* members. This new organization, which later elected its own small Executive, proved to be a valuable asset to the Mission, in framing a united policy for the whole field, in distributing the allocation from home, and in locating missionaries in accordance with changing needs.

Normally the full Conference met once in three or four years, at different centres, and the Executive once every year, except when the Conference itself was called.

e. Formation of the National Christian Council (N.C.C.)

The most important development in the sphere of Inter-denominational Mission and Church relationships during this period occurred in 1922, when the National Christian Council was formed, with a membership of 100, the majority being Chinese. Further reference is made to this in Part II (p. 215).

CHAPTER 8

PERPLEXED—BUT NOT IN DESPAIR (1925-37)

I. MISSIONS IN THE POLITICAL MAELSTROM

SUN-YAT-SEN died in March 1925, as related in the previous chapter. He was a sincere patriot, and a professed Christian. He was born near Canton in 1866, and is believed to have been the son of a Christian colporteur. He received his education in Christian schools in Hong Kong and Hawaii, and was baptized while resident on the Hong Kong compound of the American Board Mission in 1884. He studied medicine in Hong Kong and Canton, partly under Protestant missionary auspices, and graduated in 1892. For a time he practised as a doctor in Macao, but was expelled from that colony by the Portuguese, who objected to Chinese practitioners. From that time on, he devoted himself with tireless energy to revolutionary activities. This involved him in long years of exile, in America, England and Japan, and prevented him from closely identifying himself with the Chinese Church. He evidently retained his Christian beliefs throughout his life, and before his death he requested to be buried with Christian rites.

In his person and work he is generally considered to have incarnated the true spirit of Chinese nationalism, and to be worthy of the ascriptions later accorded him, of Father of the Revolution, and Founder of the Chinese Republic.

His last will and testament was adopted by his followers as "the chart and compass" of their future political voyagings. This mentions a number of books attributed to his pen. But one, entitled *The International Development of China*, is omitted, possibly because it stressed the importance of China's co-operating with foreign nations, culturally and economically, provided this

could be conducted on a basis of mutual respect and political equality. This book was dedicated to his British friends Sir James and Lady Cantlie, to whom he acknowledges he owed his life. It is couched in much more moderate terms than his better-known work, *The Three Principles of the People* (usually interpreted as Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism), which some say may not have been entirely the work of his own hand.

It seems highly probable that if his followers could have carried out his ideas as a whole, untrammelled by internal party strife and Russian interference, China would have developed along different lines from those which ensued, both in her domestic and foreign politics.

He was aware, as he died, that "the work of the revolution was not yet accomplished". He knew that the country was dis-united, and that "China had not yet attained a position of freedom and equality among the nations". He is reputed to have whispered with his last breath, "Struggle . . . Peace." Whatever defects Sun-Yat-Sen may have had, there is no doubt that he had exercised a valuable restraining influence in the political field. Soon after his death, however, the extremists of the major parties threw the country into greater confusion than ever.

The age-long cleavage between North and South still persisted as a divisive factor in the struggle for control of the government. But more important even than that was the emergence of Communism. The Communist Party had been organized in China in 1921, and prior to this Chinese students in France and Germany had deeply imbibed Communist ideas. But it was not until the summer of 1925 that "Nationalist" (either "Right-Wing" or "Left-Wing"), and "Communist" became prominent as distinguishing Party labels, and that ideological rather than geographical considerations began to dominate the political scene.

The active intervention of Russian agents in China, during the preceding years, had contributed greatly to this significant change in the political atmosphere, which by 1925 had become heavily charged with explosive dynamite.

On 30th May 1925, in the International Settlement at Shanghai,

some Chinese were shot dead by British police and military, in the course of demonstrations by Chinese students and workers against labour conditions in Japanese factories. This, and a somewhat similar incident near Canton, were exploited by Communist agitators to inflame the nationalistic feelings of the Chinese people into active hostility against foreigners, particularly the British. Anti-British demonstrations, in which students played the major role, were staged in every important centre. British goods were boycotted, and slogans with a decidedly Communist flavour were posted or "yelled" everywhere, the more prominent of which were "Religion is the dope of the people", "Christianity is an instrument of Western imperialism", and "Missionaries are the running-dogs of Western capitalism". In the initial stages of this fresh "furore" the Nationalist and Communist parties remained under the one flag (of the Kuo-Min-Tang or Republicans) and were united in their demands for the abolition of the unequal treaties, the restoration of China's sovereign rights, and the recognition of her equal status, politically, with the Western Powers.

It was felt that in this critical situation some public statement of the position and attitude of the Missionary Societies would be of value.

So in November 1925 the B.M.S. General Committee, on the recommendation of the China Sub-Committee, passed the following two resolutions prepared by the Standing Committee of the Conference of British Missionary Societies, on 6th October, in line with similar action in U.S.A. on the understanding that they would be made public, viz.:

"1. The undernamed British Missionary Societies working in China wish to make it known that they do not desire that the legal rights of their missions and missionaries in China should in future rest upon existing treaties between Great Britain and China, and in particular upon the so-called toleration clauses in these treaties dealing specifically with missionary work, and they desire that their future rights and liberties should be those freely accorded to them by China as a Sovereign Power and mutually agreed upon in equal conference between China and other nations."

"2. The undernamed British Missionary Societies note with satisfaction the announcement of His Majesty's Government of their readiness to join in steps towards a comprehensive revision of existing treaties between Great Britain and China. So far as the interests of missions and missionaries are concerned they would welcome the abolition of the present articles relating to extra-territoriality, and the substitution for them of such provisions for the administration of justice and the protection of the life and property of British nationals as may be mutually agreed upon in equal conference between China, Great Britain and other powers."

The Societies approving of these resolutions were the British and Foreign Bible Society, the China Inland Mission, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodists, the United Methodists, the L.M.S., the B.M.S., the English Presbyterians, the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association, and the Zenana Missionary Society of the Church of England.

The B.M.S. forwarded these resolutions to our secretaries in China. Our missionaries in Shansi and Shensi promptly notified the Home Society of their full approval of them, and took steps to give them due publicity within and without Christian circles. Our Shantung missionaries, while finding themselves in general accord with the spirit and purpose of the resolutions, were hesitant of declaring themselves immediately in favour of the abolition of extra-territoriality, on the ground that the disunited and unsettled state of the country rendered it unwise at that stage to do so. It was, however, agreed by the great majority of B.M.S. missionaries in each area, that the action taken was timely and appropriate, and salutary in its effect.

Representative bodies in China of all the British Societies which signed the preceding document expressed their approval of its main proposals, with emphasis on particular points such as a reference to Article 1 of the Washington Conference of 1921-2, viz., that all the Powers had agreed to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China; that revision of the old treaties should be subject to the foreign governments concerned being satisfied that they were

dealing with an effective, united and stable government in China: that the Chinese government be asked to ensure that the religious liberty clause in the Republican constitution be implemented, and that it re-define the status and relationship of missionary work.

Some groups took the opportunity to declare that missionaries had come to China and remained there with no political purpose; that they were ready to accept such a status and opportunities for Christian witness as were freely accorded them by the Chinese government; that they considered that it was no longer advantageous but prejudicial to the progress of the Christian movement as a whole to retain the clauses relating to extra-territorial rights and the protection by foreign governments of missionaries and Chinese Christians.

Some urged that for missionaries to continue to work on the old basis was not in accord with Christian principles. A few deprecated the superiority complex of foreign missionaries, agreed that the treaty relationship had been a source of much misunderstanding, and that it was no longer necessary. Many groups agreed that the urgency of treaty revision and the abolition of the extra-territoriality and religious toleration clauses should be brought to the notice of the British government, and that it was important to make the attitude of missionaries public in China itself.

A few British missionary groups, including the majority of our Shantung staff, hesitated to express themselves on the extra-territoriality question, feeling that it affected the foreign business community more than themselves, and that it should be left to the discretion of the British Government to decide.

The attitude of the great majority of American and Canadian missionary groups was in line with that taken by their British colleagues, although a few called attention to the need for China to set her own house in order, deprecated the violent methods in vogue in the country, and refrained from expressing themselves on the toleration clauses in the treaties, as these affected Chinese Christians rather than themselves. On this last point British

missionary groups were also in general agreement. Only in one or two instances did missionary groups refuse to express themselves on the major question, on the ground that the matter was entirely political and should be left to governments to adjust.

It is of special interest to British Baptists to note that an associate missionary of the B.M.S., the late Dr. Harold Balme, was appointed by the Conference of British Missionary Societies, with the cordial support of British and American Boards of Christian Colleges in China, as an unofficial adviser of the Missionary Societies, to keep in touch with the Commission on Extraterritoriality, and represent the missionary point of view to the British delegation on that Commission. The Shantung Christian University, of which Dr. Balme was then president, granted him special leave of absence for this purpose. His services were much appreciated by the Commission and the majority of missionaries. But sections of the British Press in China and some missionaries criticized him for his advocacy of the abolition of these rights.

As far as Chinese Christians were concerned, their general attitude is reflected in that of the missionary groups in China, of which in the main they formed a component part. Those who met separately expressed themselves in favour of treaty revision, though they were appreciative of the value of the treaty clauses in the past, both as they related to missionary propaganda and the protection afforded to those who had professed the Christian faith. They were confident that the Chinese republican government would, as far as practicable, implement the religious liberty clause in the constitution, and considered it worth while to accept whatever risk was involved in the abandonment of the toleration clauses, as that would emphasize their sympathy with Chinese nationalist aspirations and vindicate their genuinely patriotic spirit.

In 1926 the two major political factions in the country separated, and, temporarily adopting the titles of Right and Left Nationalists, set up their respective governments, the former at Nanking, the latter at Hankow. Eventually, during 1927-8, the Right Wing gained the ascendancy. Chiang-K'ai-Shek became its recognized

leader, and was appointed Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the reorganized Nationalist Government. The rival government at Hankow was eliminated, and the Russian agents who had been prominently identified with it were repatriated.

Nevertheless the Nanking Government pursued a markedly anti-foreign policy for some time.

During this preliminary period of political confusion, the Nationalists seized the British concessions at Hankow and Kiu-Kiang, British troops and marines incidentally showing remarkable restraint at the former place. Communist agitators also became particularly active in denouncing missionaries and Chinese Christians as secret agents of the imperialistic powers. Some were killed, many were kidnapped and held for ransom, or were otherwise maltreated by unruly mobs, usually led by students. Serious damage was sustained by mission and church property in many parts of the country. The foreign authorities at Peking, fearing a recurrence of the terrible events of 1900, strongly advised all their nationals, including missionaries, to move to the coast. It is estimated that by July 1927 about 5,000 of the total force of over 8,000 Protestant missionaries then in the country either left for coastal ports or home.

As far as the Missions and the Church were concerned, the situation was seriously aggravated by certain actions of the Nationalist Government, some of which are outlined below.

New educational regulations issued in 1928 required all foreign-controlled schools, colleges and universities, which wished to be recognized by the Government (a prerequisite if students in them were to become eligible for service under Government auspices), to become registered institutions. This of course involved willingness to conform to the new regulations. The more important of these were that the educational institution concerned should have a truly educational aim, that at least two-thirds of the members of their governing body should be Chinese, and that principals or presidents should be of Chinese nationality. There was little in this to which the Missions could take exception. But the further requirements that no religion should be taught in primary schools,

and that religious exercises in middle schools, colleges and universities should be "optional" and entirely "voluntary" in character, aroused considerable discussion and some apprehension in missionary and Christian circles. This matter is more fully discussed in Part II (pp. 226 f.).

Then after Sun-Yat-Sen's death, the rise of the cult of "Sun-Yat-Sen-ism", on the pattern of Leninism in Russia, aroused further concern. His body was embalmed, placed in a glass coffin, and conveyed to Nanking in 1929 by special train, to be laid in a specially prepared mausoleum on the slopes of Purple Mountain (in close vicinity to the Ming Imperial Cemetery), with the idea that it might become a national shrine.

Sun-Yat-Sen's photograph, surmounted by the national flag, and with a large printed copy of his last will and testament, were required to be hung in every school and public institution. Once a week, all students and teachers, and all government officials, civil and military, had to assemble before his photograph, observe one minute's silence, make three bows, and sing the national anthem. During the ceremony his will was read.

Little objection could be taken to this act of public homage to a great national leader in itself. But because as time passed it was seen to be part and parcel of the policy of the National Government to unify by force the political thought of the people, considerable opposition was aroused in Christian and non-Christian circles. Freedom of thought is germane to the tradition and genius of the Chinese people and these efforts to force them to conform to the ideology of the one-party government were widely resented. Controversy among missionaries and Chinese Christian leaders was also aroused as to whether or not some aspects of the weekly memorial service were sacrilegious. Many Christian leaders were hauled off to Party headquarters for opposition to these new measures, and given summary treatment if they argued for freedom of thought or conscience in regard to them.

Considerable numbers of missionaries left China on account of these events.

Meanwhile Chiang-K'ai-Shek was struggling to unite the

country by military means. The northern war-lords were either opposed to him, or sitting, somewhat threateningly, on the fence. So in 1928 he launched an expedition to the North, and in June entered Peking. He then induced the Manchurian war-lord, Chang-Tso-Lin, to retire to the north-east, and succeeded in "neutralizing" other great war-lords like Yen-Hsi-Shan of Shansi and Feng-Yü-Hsiang sufficiently to give the country a semblance of political unity.

But the old military rivalries soon reasserted themselves, and the seed sown by the Russian agents among students (who were rapidly becoming a vocal and powerful factor in the nation), as well as among other intellectuals, and the working classes, speedily germinated, and the whole country was once again involved in the throes of military, ideological and political strife.

Nanking was proclaimed the capital of the country in 1928, and the former capital Peking was given a new name, Peiping, which means "Northern Peace". This move served to enhance Chinese nationalist feeling. For one thing Nanking was the capital of the last purely Chinese dynasty (the Mings), and for another foreign nations must perforce transfer their headquarters there from Peking, a place associated in the minds of patriotic Chinese with foreign legation guards and other humiliations arising from the Boxer settlement.

During the first few years of this period, foreign Powers made a number of important and friendly political gestures to China's nationalistic aspirations. Amongst these was the return to China of some former "concessions", "open ports", and "leasehold territories"; the surrender of control of tariffs (1929); the recognition of the right of Chinese to seats on the Councils of International Concessions and the return of the balance of the Boxer indemnity money either outright, or subject to certain conditions.¹ The balance of the British share, amounting to £11,186,547, was entrusted to a Joint Board of Trustees to be

¹ In 1922, the B.M.S. General Committee approved the return of the British share of the balance of the Boxer Indemnity Fund, for the development of university education in China, and for post-graduate studies by Chinese in other countries—the fund to be administered by special trustees,

used for constructive work, educational or other, that would be mutually beneficial to China and Great Britain. But the vexed question of "extra-territorial rights" proved more intractable of solution. In 1926 a special Commission appointed to consider the matter reported that "these rights could not be surrendered until there was adequate security from executive or military interference in the civil and judicial administration".

However, as there seemed little hope of satisfying foreign Powers on this point, the Chinese government took unilateral action in 1931, repudiating these and other special rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by foreigners under the provisions of the unequal treaties, and declaring all such rights to be null and void as from 10th January 1932.

Naturally the Powers concerned resented this action. Acute differences of opinion also arose within the missionary body on the issues involved, and this resulted in further reduction of the missionary ranks.

During these critical years the New Thought Movement, based on a materialistic philosophy, led by two outstanding Chinese scholars, Hu-Shih and Ts'ai-Yuan-P'ei, which had received fresh impetus from visits by John Dewey from America and Bertrand Russell from Britain, began, about 1919, to gain ground rapidly among students, and a new virility was imparted to the anti-Christian movement throughout the country.

This anti-Christian Movement had been launched in Shanghai, in April 1922, to offset the influence of the meetings of the World Student Christian Federation which were being held then in Peking. Its main tenets were that Science and Religion were mutually incompatible, that Christianity was allied with Capitalism and Imperialism, and that the Christian educational movement in China was a device of the Western Powers to denationalize large numbers of the Chinese people. The leaders of this Movement seriously questioned the values of Confucianism and other ancient politico-ethical and quasi-religious systems, for the modern age, and its followers indulged in iconoclastic activities against Buddhist and Taoist temples in many places.

On the one hand this was a tribute to the growing influence of Christianity in the country. On the other, it represented a serious challenge to its claims. Buddhist leaders also, under the stimulus of the challenge from the Christian and materialistic camps, made strenuous efforts to revive their faith by initiating lay orders, and engaging widely in relief measures. Their Swastika Society (akin somewhat to the Red Cross), did extremely valuable work in these years of widespread distress.

All these movements aroused lively discussions in the Press and among intellectuals generally as to the nature and relationship of the various religions of the world, and led to the rise of a number of syncretic societies, which challenged missionary and Church leaders to fresh thought regarding the distinctive and unique character of the Christian faith.

On 1st December 1927, Chiang-K'ai-Shek married Miss Sung-Mei-Ling, a Christian woman eminent in public affairs, and thereby linked himself with a remarkable Christian family, which included Madame Sun-Yat-Sen, Dr. and Madame H. H. K'ung and Dr. T. V. Sung—all of whom were highly influential in the Nationalist Party. Then in 1930 the Generalissimo himself joined the American Methodist Episcopal Church in Shanghai.

During 1934 he and his wife jointly launched the "New Life Movement". This was designed on the one hand to counter the economic promises of the Communists, and on the other to challenge the nation, then rapidly breaking away from its ancient ethical moorings, to a new moral crusade. The basic principles of this Movement were derived from Kuan Tzu, a famous Chinese philosopher of the seventh century B.C. and were termed "the four pillars of the nation", viz.:

1. Self-respect and respect for others.
2. Correct conduct and a sense of duty.
3. Honesty in all things.
4. Moral sensitiveness or a sense of shame.

In some respects this movement was extravagantly Puritanic, and in others superficial even to triviality. But essentially it repre-

sented a sincere effort at moral reform in the hope that by renewing the allegiance of the people to the ancient Chinese standards of virtue, a new vigour might be imparted to the nation's spirit, and enable it to resist Japan's threat to its sovereignty, which was then looming menacingly in Manchuria and the North.

The Generalissimo and his wife travelled widely promoting the campaign, seeking everywhere the co-operation of missionaries and the Chinese Church, which they regarded as essential to the success of the Movement. This co-operation was granted. Some of the known results were that wounded and disabled soldiers received better care and orphanages were set up in many centres for the tens of thousands of "warphans" as these young victims of the civil strife were called. Opium and morphia addicts were publicly discredited, but afforded every facility to break free from the habit. Some notoriously corrupt practices were eliminated (although the Augean stables were far from being cleansed), and a more responsible and active public spirit was created amongst the people at large.

During this period also, many changes occurred in the industrial life of the country. The beginnings of a modern factory system, and the rise of a politically-conscious labour class, largely under Communist influence, led to important adjustments in the social structure, and the inauguration of a new set of labour laws and regulations. This and the new "land-policy" of the Communists induced missionaries and Church leaders to think again of the social implications and expression of the Christian faith. It also encouraged the rise of some enterprising social-service schemes within the Church.

The Russians did a shrewd thing in 1925 when they set up in Moscow the Sun-Yat-Sen University, to which they invited Chinese students. In 1927 at least six hundred of these were enrolled, mainly from the provinces of Kuang-tung and Hunan. But a few students from our schools in Shansi also made their way there.

In 1928 the Communists entrenched themselves in Kiangsi province, where they established a veritable reign of terror, con-

fiscating land wholesale, and murdering landowners in great numbers. In November 1931 they set up a Chinese Soviet republic in that area.

For six years they defied all the efforts of Chiang-K'ai-Shek's forces to dislodge them. But in 1934 they were finally driven out, to begin their famous march of some six thousand miles by a devious and mainly mountainous route through South and West China, fighting as they went, and suffering enormous losses on the way. But eventually the remnants of this army, with their leaders, arrived in Shensi, where some interesting contacts were made by our missionaries with Chou-En-Lai (the present Foreign Minister of the Chinese Peoples' Republic). Shortly, however, the Communists were compelled to move northwards by the advent of the Manchurian armies of Chang-Hsueh-Liang which had been forced out of their homeland by the Japanese, and ordered by Chiang-K'ai-Shek to Hsi-An-Fu to displace the Communists, who then proceeded to make Yen-An-Fu (the most northerly outpost of the B.M.S.) their headquarters. Here they remained for some years, building up their strength, attracting huge numbers of sympathizers, chiefly students, and other Chinese "intellectuals" who had become thoroughly dissatisfied with the policy of the Nationalist Party.

There was a stalemate in the military situation for over a year (1935-6), and then towards the end of 1936 one of the most dramatic events of modern Chinese history occurred.

The Manchurian forces in Shensi, suspicious of the motives of the Generalissimo in ordering them to fight the Reds in this inhospitable part of the country, began to negotiate with their erstwhile enemies, in collusion with the Governor of Shensi. Rumours of this reached the capital, and Chiang-K'ai-Shek decided to proceed in person to Hsi-An-Fu to ascertain the real truth of the matter. To make a long story short, after his arrival at Lin-T'ung (a few miles to the east of Hsi-An-Fu) his headquarters were surrounded in the night of 12th December by forces of the conspirators. His bodyguard was slaughtered, and he himself was taken captive and imprisoned in Hsi-An-Fu.

It is generally agreed that the Generalissimo maintained his Christian character and political prestige during the ensuing altercations with his captors. Subsequent events suggest that he agreed to form with the Communists a united front against the Japanese (who between 1935-7 had established a puppet-régime north-east of Peking and had stationed strong forces in Peking itself), on condition that their armies would operate, under his leadership, as part of the Nationalist forces. Evidently he also granted an amnesty to the rebels. The Generalissimo was released on Christmas Day, 1936. His return to Nanking on that day accompanied by his humble and penitent captor, General Chang-Hsueh-Liang, to accept whatever punishment should be meted out to him for his crime, was a memorable event. The whole nation seemed to have gone wild with joy at the prospect of Nationalists and Communists at long last combining their forces to resist Japanese aggression. The scene for major conflict was now set, and on 7th July open hostilities began.

As far as the common people were concerned, this period was for them one of utmost confusion and suffering. Armies of brigand chiefs, comprised largely of disbanded and disgruntled soldiers, marched and counter-marched through the countryside battering themselves upon distraught villagers or townfolk. Heavy exactions were also made upon them, either for labour or food, from the armies of the Nationalist or Communist forces in their constant struggle for control of large tracts of territory.

2. THE B.M.S. IN THE POLITICAL MAELSTROM, 1925-37

The reader will have gathered from the foregoing section that this period was one of anxiety and danger, and in some respects of serious set-back for the Christian cause. It was, however, characterized also by some compensating factors, which contributed in marked degree to the indigenization of the Chinese Church, and the progress of Christian co-operation and Church unity.

a. Shantung

Immediately following on the heels of the Shanghai incident of

30th May 1925, students from our schools joined with those from Government schools and colleges, in parading the streets of the main centres of our work, to demonstrate their patriotic spirit. No attacks were made on B.M.S. missionaries or property at that time.

But during the northward march of Chiang-K'ai-Shek's forces in 1928 serious fighting between them and the Japanese in the vicinity of Chi-Nan-Fu gave the latter a good pretext for increasing their armed forces in the province. This move aroused intense anti-foreign feeling, not only against the Japanese, but British and Americans as well, because of their non-resistance to Japanese policy. Attacks were made on churches, Christian schools, and Chinese Christian leaders, including those connected with our own Society. The Shantung Christian University, located as it was in Chi-Nan-Fu, the focal point of the trouble at this time, came in for special attention by the agitators, and weathered the first outbreak of the storm with difficulty.

And before this agitation had quite died down, the situation was further complicated by the issue of the new educational regulations in 1928, referred to above (p. 127). There was considerable divergence of opinion in B.M.S. circles on this vexed question. Some thought it was better to keep elementary schools open, even though religious instruction was not allowed in the curriculum, assuming that this could be provided in other ways, and that Christian middle schools and the University should continue to function, accepting the "voluntary" as distinct from the "required" principle of attendance at religious exercises. Others disagreed, feeling strongly that conformity with the regulations would seriously jeopardize the Christian character and missionary purpose of our schools. Some amongst them were prepared, if necessary, to close them down rather than submit.

This problem arose in acute form during 1929 at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, when, during the meetings of the Shantung Baptist Union, the question was being discussed as to whether the important middle school located there should be closed down. Rumours spread into the city that a decision "to close" was immi-

ment. Thereupon a crowd of students, both Christian and non-Christian, burst into the meeting, seized and bound eight of our Chinese pastors, and led them away to the headquarters of the Nationalist Party where they were questioned and detained. Their release was eventually granted by the intervention of our missionaries. The violence of this outburst strengthened the hands of those members of the Baptist Union who were in favour of "closing", and finally the decision was reached not only to close the middle school at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, but most of the B.M.S. schools (apart from the University) in the province.

This drastic measure, taken in the heat of the moment, was regretted by the majority later on when the cost of this action to the general progress of the work became more clearly discernible, especially when it was seen that the closing of the "feeders" greatly reduced the number of students entering the Shantung Christian University which in its turn seriously affected the customary flow of potential leaders for Church and other Christian work.

In 1931 the Home Committee of the B.M.S. agreed to the acceptance of the new Government regulations on the understanding that full advantage would be taken of the religious opportunity which the "voluntary" principle afforded in the schools to which that applied; and that in the case of the elementary schools special arrangements would be made for religious instruction outside the curriculum. This was found to be practicable where the attempt was made, the local educational authorities generally proving quite co-operative.

The University registered with the Government in 1931, and a Chinese Christian was appointed as President. But the Theological School, which then had thirty-one students, of whom eight were women, in residence, and the Extension Department (Whitewright Institute) because their purpose was predominantly religious and evangelistic in character, were not included in this act of registration. They did, however, continue to function in close co-operation with the University.

Meanwhile other plans of an educational character were

made in Shantung to fill as far as possible the gap which had been caused by the closing of the former schools.

The school premises at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu were made the headquarters of a newly-organized Rural Education Department of the Shantung Baptist Union, under the leadership of the Rev. W. B. Chang, M.A. He assembled a group of 180 specially selected men and women from various church areas, who were given six months' training in literacy, religious instruction, home industries, pig, fowl and bee-keeping, public health, etc.

The students were then appointed as local leaders to promote these ideas in the Christian and non-Christian communities. In 1930 they were conducting courses of this kind in 113 centres with a total enrolment of 2,155 students. In 1931, 120 teachers were at work with 1,700 students under their charge. Summer Institutes were held annually at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu for the local teachers. A department of women's work was organized in connection with this new enterprise, with a woman director. In 1932, twenty-five students were in training, and work in the district was initiated at six centres, specially for women. This whole project proved to be a great success. It brought new life into our country churches, increasing the percentage of literacy amongst church members, improving their economic status, and by bringing our Christians into more regular contact with their non-Christian neighbours through literacy and other classes, greatly enhanced their evangelistic opportunities. An Industrial Bible School was organized at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu in part of the old middle school premises. This in 1933 had 60 students, 37 boys and 23 girls. The industrial courses comprised carpentry, iron-work, weaving, dyeing, etc. Special courses of two to three years' duration were begun in 1929 for the training of lay workers. In 1931 this school had twenty-four students, half of whom had been converted as a result of tent missions.

At Chou-Ts'un, instead of the former Girls' Boarding School, a Bible-training school was started in 1929. As the name implies, the main emphasis in the curriculum was on scriptural and kindred studies, although elementary instruction in other subjects was

also given. This school proved to be an excellent asset to the evangelistic and church work in the district. There was an average enrolment of forty-five during these years. The girls went regularly to about twenty village centres, two by two, in the course of each week, to conduct services in homes or in small village schools, which by 1933 had begun to revive under local church management. In that year the senior girls of the Chou-Ts'un Bible School were appointed as kindergarten teachers in these schools.

In church circles this was a most eventful period. For some years after 1928 it had become the practice for groups of extreme Nationalists and incipient Communists to organize special anti-Christian demonstrations on Christmas Day. In 1931 the Chou-Ts'un church was invaded by a howling mob during the Christmas service. Windows and furniture were smashed, Bibles and hymn-books torn and scattered, and the congregation brow-beaten and hustled out into the street. The Chinese pastor surprisingly escaped manhandling, as the crowd mistook one of the agitators, who was running off with the pulpit Bible under his arm, for him, and he received the severe beating they had planned that the pastor should receive!

Our work in the country districts suffered severely from attacks by bandits and other marauders, who harassed and scattered our Christians, seizing and holding for ransom those who were reputed to have means. Quite a number of our church-members had to sell their land to redeem their kinsfolk, and the Church, already poor enough, suffered still further impoverishment. Many were forced to seek refuge in Mission compounds in the cities.

The spirit of our Shantung Christians was once more put to a severe test. Some wavered in the face of persecution or succumbed to the specious propaganda of the Communists and left the Church. The great majority, however, proved steadfast. Although many village churches were burnt down, and there was considerable disruption of the usual church services in country places, our pastors and evangelists showed a fine spirit of determination,

travelling constantly through perils of bandit-infested country, and enduring all manner of hardship, to minister to their scattered flocks. Every brief interval of quiescence was seized to organize tent-missions, which continued to be one of the most effective methods of evangelism. In 1933, for instance, tent-missions were held in thirty centres, for periods of at least one week. One cannot speak too highly of our Chinese pastors, then nineteen in number. Circumstances necessitated that their already meagre stipends should be still further reduced. Yet as far as my knowledge goes, not one of them took up other lucrative employment, although, in accordance with previous practice, they spent some time in working their land.

It was, however, natural that in such circumstances the Church organization should be put to severe strain. Meetings of the District Associations and the Baptist Union could only be held at irregular intervals. Nevertheless continual progress was made in self-government and support. In 1933 the Shantung Baptist Union decided on its own initiative to join the Baptist World Alliance, and Rev. Chang-Ssu-Ching was appointed Superintendent of the whole Shantung field and General Secretary of the Baptist Union. Such elementary schools as had been revived were financed by the Chinese Church. In 1936 with a view to meeting the overhead expenses of the Baptist Union, the B.M.S. donated a piece of land near the city church, on which a new preaching-hall was built. Other buildings, shops, etc., were erected to be rented out, the proceeds from which were devoted to the maintenance of the Union's activities. The west suburb premises of the Society were likewise handed over to the Union for office purposes, and market garden projects, the revenue from which was devoted to the Central Funds.

Religious education now assumed a prominent part in the programme of church work. District schools or conferences, lasting three weeks or a month, were organized at strategic centres, with well-arranged programmes, and teams of speakers, including missionaries. In 1936, a conference of this character for the whole area met at Chou-Ts'un, which was attended by 170

delegates. Topics for group and general discussion included personal-evangelism, the Christian home, rural-uplift, the Church and youth, public-health and self-support. At the close, each member undertook during the year to endeavour to win one person for Christ, to study one book of the Bible, to make one new act of self-sacrifice, and to take up one new piece of Christian service.

Baptist women began to take a more prominent part in church life during these years. In 1932 special station classes for women to serve the whole field, were revived at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu after a break of nearly eight years. In 1933 a woman was appointed pastor of the church at Ch'i-Feng, being made responsible for all preaching and pastoral duties except presiding at the Lord's Supper and conducting baptisms. And in 1935 women were acting in this capacity in three of the Ch'ing-Chou-Fu pastoral districts.

As the result of the prevailing disorder during this period, large numbers of wounded soldiers and civilians were treated in our hospital at Chou-Ts'un, then under the care of Dr. Bethell, Dr. W. S. Flowers (1928) and Dr. R. Still (1935). There was also a serious outbreak of cholera during 1926 at Chou-Ts'un, when it is estimated that 80 per cent. of the sufferers who did not receive treatment in the Mission Hospital died, while 86 per cent of those who received treatment there were cured! In 1929 an X-ray plant was installed in this hospital, and nursing-training under the supervision of Sister Alice Wheal (1926) and Sister M. F. Logan, who was transferred from Chi-Nan-Fu in 1929, made excellent progress. The Provincial Government, during 1935, called on our hospitals at Chou-Ts'un and Ch'ing-Chou-Fu to play an important part in their public health campaign, and in 1936 Dr. Flowers was invited to act as consultant to the Government hospital in Chou-Ts'un. At Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, where our medical work, apart from supervision by Dr. Paterson until 1928, was maintained by two well-qualified Chinese doctors, with occasional visits from our missionaries at Chou-Ts'un, thirteen beds were added for women patients in 1931. Four years later a school of nursing-training was

opened (which was supervised in turn by Mrs. H. A. Emmott and Mrs. A. B. Light, both trained nurses). And in 1936 a scheme long devised by our Chinese colleague, Dr. Ching-I-Hui, came to fruition in the shape of a leper hospital. This was housed in excellent buildings provided by the local community, with accommodation for forty patients, and was financed by the Mission to Lepers and local contributions.

In 1933 an extension was made to the University Hospital in Chi-Nan-Fu in 1933, in the form of a new wing with excellent out-patient facilities and extra beds.

Extensive floods in mid-Shantung in 1935-6 necessitated relief work on the grand scale, a major share in which was undertaken by a joint Committee of Mission representatives, including the Roman Catholics. In all about 24,000 refugees were cared for in thirty camps.

Partial evacuation of our missionaries was necessary at intervals in this period, particularly during the years 1927 to 1929, when they were subjected to an intermittent barrage of threats and insults from political agitators. District missionaries particularly were often in peril from bandits and robbers. In view of the fact that the whole period was characterized by almost continuous unsettlement, it is gratifying to report that the membership of our Shantung Church in 1937 stood at 6,436. This was, however, a loss of several hundred compared with 1925, and represents the first serious set-back since 1900 in our Shantung work.

b. Shansi

Immediately after the Shanghai incident it became clear that British missionaries in Shansi were headed for trouble. As most of the missionary residences and institutions in T'ai-Yuan-Fu were concentrated in one area (i.e. Tung-Chia-Hsiang and Hsing-Hua-Ling), propagandists promptly dubbed this a foreign concession that should immediately be returned to China! Missionary houses were plastered overnight with such slogans as "Down with the British", or "Restore our rights". Our Middle

School joined with Government colleges in the city in a mass student demonstration. As the procession approached the Baptist church on Bridge-head Street, shouting the usual anti-foreign slogans, a halt was called and stones were hurled at the doors and windows. Our students thereupon left the procession in a body as a protest, and returned to the school, in the circumstances a brave act which cheered us all.

We had suspected for some time the existence of Communist "cells" in the Boys' School. But now these former secret agents emerged in their true colours. A few went to Moscow to study in the Sun-Yat-Sen University, and returned later to China as members of the Communist Propaganda Corps. Others of Nationalistic rather than Communist colour, entered the Military Academy of Chiang-K'ai-Shek at Whampoa.

In the years that followed Christian educationists were constantly harassed by strikes, boycotts, and never-ending demands for extra holidays to enable students to stage demonstrations against Chinese war-lords, traitorous Chinese officials and foreign imperialists. Teachers were threatened with violence by student agitators if they did not make examination questions easy, hand out the papers beforehand, or graduate the leaving class without examination at all, usually on the specious ground that students had "sacrificed their studies for patriotic reasons". Student Councils were formed in each school, which tried to direct affairs. Frequently they would demand the dismissal of some teacher, or even the principal, usually because he or she had endeavoured to exercise some form of discipline! Efficient education, either in Mission or Government schools, was impossible for some years after 1925. This factor, combined, with staffing difficulties, led to the final closure of the Boys' Middle School in T'ai-Yuan-Fu in 1928. The Girls' Middle School was also closed for a time, but re-opened later and continued with occasional breaks, until 1937.

In the province as a whole, order was fairly well maintained by the Governor until about 1935, when the Red armies became more active and daring. But he could not prevent student activities such as have been described above, nor altogether suppress

banditry, which caused trouble from time to time in the countryside. A tragic illustration of this occurred on 12th November 1928, when our recently-arrived recruit, Grace Mann, was killed by "roughs" as she was travelling to Hsin-Chou.

During the four years 1925-9, our work in Shansi suffered seriously by reduction in staff, either by transfer or resignation. In 1928 there were only three married couples and four single women missionaries available for the general work.

During these four years also there were two prolonged periods of evacuation of the missionary staff owing to the rising tide of anti-foreign feeling, generated largely by student agitation.

The deputation report of Rev. C. E. Wilson and Mr. W. Parker-Gray relating to their visit to T'ai-Yuan-Fu, in 1928, speaks of their being "saddened by the sight of empty residences; closed schools; and of other centres of work only occasionally used, due to the serious depletion of the staff".

The Church also passed through peculiarly difficult times. Pressure was exerted on some of our more prominent Chinese leaders to declare their opposition to foreign imperialist aggression, and to leave B.M.S. service. By a frank interchange of views between missionaries and their Chinese colleagues on the political questions involved, such tension as this particular situation created was eventually relieved, to the enhancement of their mutual respect and affection.

In these circumstances, it was natural that the process of devolution of administrative responsibilities, begun in 1923 by the creation of joint-councils and committees, should be accelerated and extended, and that the transfer of personal responsibilities from missionary to Chinese leadership, in church, schools and hospitals should be speeded up. During the two periods of missionary evacuation already referred to, many of our Chinese Christian leaders had withstood much opposition, both specious and terrifying. These experiences had given them new confidence in God and in themselves, and their missionary friends had come to a fresh realization of their capacity and worth as real colleagues and partners in the one enterprise of winning others to Christ.

Notable advance was made in church work in T'ai-Yuan-Fu in these years. In 1929, the Rev. Y. C. Li, B.A., who had taken a theological course in Regent's Park College, was invited as the first Chinese pastor of the city church. In 1931 he was transferred to a teaching post in the theological College in Chi-Nan-Fu and to assist in the Whitewright Museum. He was succeeded by an experienced Chinese pastor from Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, Shantung, who for the next three years led the Church well in pastoral and evangelistic work, with gratifying success, especially amongst young men. In 1933 a visit from the Bethel Evangelistic Band inaugurated a period of spiritual revival. And in the same year, there were seventy members of the Sisterhood connected with the city church. And the same year also, the Edwards' Memorial Institute was transferred to the Y.W.C.A., becoming a fully self-supporting institution with about 400 members.

In 1934 the male members of the Church formed themselves into groups dedicated to personal evangelism, who pledged themselves to pray and endeavour to lead three others to Christ. An experiment with tent-evangelism in the city was made in 1936, which yielded over a hundred enrolled inquirers.

This year was marked also by a visit of the Generalissimo and his wife to T'ai-Yuan-Fu in the interests of the New Life Movement. Fresh stimulus was imparted to the Church by both these events.

Although conditions in the countryside were far from peaceful, frequent visits to nearby villages were made by women missionaries and Chinese women volunteer evangelists. Some of these were students from the Women's Bible School, led by Mrs. John Lewis; others were members of the city church. In 1934 thirty-seven villages were visited by these evangelistic teams.

The Men's Hospital in T'ai-Yuan-Fu functioned with few interruptions throughout this period, under the care, first of Drs. C. I. Stockley and J. Jones, and then of Dr. H. G. Wyatt (from 1925), and Dr. C. V. Bloom (from 1931). In 1929 X-ray plant was installed and laboratory research work begun. In 1934 six male nurses graduated after a full course, and the following year a

dental department was opened. And a little later our doctors rendered much appreciated help in the establishment and work of a Government training-school which offered short courses to Chinese practitioners of the older type in the elements of surgery and public health.

The work of the Women's Hospital was also well maintained during these years. Dr. F. M. Edwards and Dr. M. Ellison both served until 1927, when the former resigned and the latter married Dr. Gordon King. In 1928 Dr. E. M. Clow arrived to fill the gap, and with the continuing help of Sisters Rossiter and Jaques, carried on its widely appreciated work in midwifery and surgery.

At both hospitals evangelistic work was prosecuted with vigour, and the spirit of loving and efficient service which characterized the medical work continued to make its own distinctive contribution to the building-up of the Church.

Rev. and Mrs. F. W. Price (the latter a fully-trained nursing-sister), maintained regular dispensary work at Hsin-Chou for the greater part of this period. And at Yü-Tz'u, twenty miles southeast of T'ai-Yuan-Fu under the supervision of a male nurse (Chinese), similar work was continued.

The years 1934-7 were characterized by much disorder. The Red armies began then to attack cities which had formerly been immune, and both hospitals in T'ai-Yuan-Fu were particularly busy caring for crowds of wounded soldiers and civilians. It was considered advisable for our missionaries to evacuate for short periods during these disturbances, but Chinese doctors and nurses kept the essential medical services going with loyalty and efficiency.

Girls' schools under Government auspices greatly increased in number in the province, especially in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, during these years. There was, however, a serious lack of suitable teachers for this work, and this afforded a good opportunity to graduates from our Girls' Middle School, which had registered in 1934, an eagerly welcomed opportunity to fill this gap. New openings for evangelism in the homes of these girls resulted from this work, and the number of Christian homes in T'ai-Yuan-Fu increased.

The general evangelistic work of the Mission in the Hsin-Chou, Kuo-Hsien, and Tai-Chou districts suffered considerable dislocation at times.

Amongst the women in the Hsin-Chou district, revival resulted from the visit of the Bethel Band, and a visit from the General Secretary of the Church of Christ in China—the Rev. Ch'eng-Ching-I in 1936—to these northern stations proved to be a source of great inspiration.

At Kuo-Hsien in 1933 a most encouraging innovation was made by the local church appointing its first Chinese pastor, the Rev. Ch'in Liang, of whom we shall read more later. At Fan-Ssu, further north still, the Church undertook the support of the local evangelist. In 1933 the training of evangelists was recommenced in T'ai-Yuan-Fu by the enrolment of a new class of thirteen students.

Considering the difficulties of these years it is gratifying to report that the membership of the Baptist Church in Shansi had risen to 1,221 in 1937.

c. Shensi

Shensi was involved in much more serious trouble than either Shantung or Shansi, during this period. The anti-Christian movement was particularly active in the latter half of 1925 and early 1926. So much so that the missionaries of the B.M.S. felt constrained to issue a manifesto, in line with similar action elsewhere, "asserting that they had no political motive in coming to China" and "reassuring their friends that they welcomed fresh investigation into the question of the 'unequal treaties'".

In spite of that, much persecution of Christians occurred and some of our Chinese leaders passed through a period of serious heart-searching regarding their relationships with the missionaries.

Fortunately, prior to all this, in the spring of 1925, the Mission and Church had made a big step forward in co-operation by the formation of the first United Church Council. This consisted of twenty-four members, twelve being missionaries elected by the former Provincial B.M.S. Conference, and twelve Chinese leaders

elected by the Church. This Council made a survey of the whole field, and outlined afresh evangelistic, church, and educational policy as a joint enterprise. The contributions for these purposes from the B.M.S. and the Chinese Church were pooled and administered as one fund for the whole of the work. Two Committees, one for evangelism and the other for education, were formed, each being composed of six missionaries and six Chinese. Medical work was administered independently of this Church Council; but its formation at this juncture proved to be a tremendous asset to both the Mission and the Church in the trying days ahead.

A few extracts from the 1927 report of our Shensi work throw much light on the current situation, viz.:

“An attempt to ‘buy off’ the assistant evangelist by promising him a much more lucrative pension than he was then receiving as stipend, completely failed. This evangelist, an old man of over 70, had been fearless (when others were a bit scared) in meeting the attacks of the students.”

“The Students’ Union in San-Yuan made several attempts to persuade the boys of the Mission School to join in the street demonstrations. But when they learned that one of the slogans to be shouted was: ‘Down with Christian schools’, they refused to take part.”

“In the Hsi-An-Fu Boys’ school, but for the loyalty of our teachers, there would have been a total collapse, as happened in some other schools.”

Concerning church members in general it was said: “It seemed at times as though the patriotic Christians would be forced to come out from communion with us, and have nothing to do with the Mission, on the ground that it was the main method of foreign propaganda.”

But a conference of Christian leaders in September 1925 decided amongst other things that:

1. There could be no withdrawal from fellowship with the “Mother” Society.

2. That any shame, insult, persecution or deprivation should be borne by Chinese and missionaries alike.

In addition several instances were reported of Christian teachers in Government schools, who, having been faced with the option of renouncing Christianity or leaving the school, decided without hesitation to take the latter course.

The hospitals at Hsi-An-Fu and San-Yuan were particularly busy ministering to the numerous wounded soldiers of the rival military factions. And while the anti-Christian demonstrations were at their height our missionaries in Hsi-An-Fu at Christmas paid special visits to prisons, and to widows and orphans, leaving small gifts for each person, as a token of God's greatest gift to mankind.

In 1926 Hsi-An-Fu was besieged for nearly nine months, during which thousands died of starvation. Fortunately all women on the B.M.S. staff (except Mrs. A. Shorrocks), and children had left the city "just in the nick of time", under the escort of Drs. E. R. Wheeler and H. G. Wyatt, who had journeyed from Shantung and Shansi for this purpose. The seven missionaries who remained were Rev. and Mrs. A. Shorrocks, James Watson, F. Russell, E. L. Phillips, and Drs. Clement and Handley Stockley. These held on manfully (though in imminent danger of starvation at times), affording a fine example of Christian fortitude and service. To the deep regret of all who knew her, Mrs. Shorrocks died during the siege. She was one of the most devoted, courageous and efficient of our missionary wives.

However, the continuance of disturbed conditions soon rendered the evacuation of the whole B.M.S. staff necessary, and when return to the province became feasible in 1928, their numbers had been seriously depleted by transfers and resignations.

Those who returned to Hsi-An-Fu were met by a new and difficult situation which had developed in their absence. A group of Shensi Christians had persuaded the Baptist Church to sever its connection with the United Church Council, and to assume control of all B.M.S. property. However, by firm and tactful hand-

ling of the crisis by missionaries and loyal Chinese Christian leaders, harmony was eventually restored, and a new start made in mutual respect and affection.

The anti-Christian movement persisted through 1928 and 1929, directing its activities particularly against Mission-controlled schools, in which every instance of discipline by the missionary or Chinese staff was made a pretext for violent action. Our veteran leader Mr. Shorrock "came under fire" on this ground, and two of our Chinese teachers were arrested in 1928 for a similar reason. This movement spread also into the country field, where in spite of the prevailing disorder, our Chinese evangelists persevered with their tent-mission work. Two of these were killed in 1928 as they courageously pursued their cherished task.

In 1929 widespread famine in the Hsi-An-Fu plain added greatly to the existing confusion and distress. This was immediately followed by epidemics of typhus and famine fevers—the ravages of which were so great that no less than two million out of the six million people living in the affected area are said to have perished. Our medical and other staff did their utmost to alleviate suffering, but communications were so bad that supplies ran short, and this rendered their task extraordinarily difficult.

In 1932 yet another outbreak of famine occurred in this region, this time accompanied by cholera, which claimed thousands of victims. The B.M.S. hospital staff in Hsi-An-Fu was giving injections at the rate of two hundred a day.

These outbreaks of famine and pestilence compelled many of our Christians to migrate to the north of the province, where conditions were not so severe.

Both missionaries and Chinese colleagues were busily engaged in relief work for some years. They opened an orphanage in the old hospital premises; the Home Society contributed £1,525 towards relief funds and, under the auspices of the International Famine Relief Association, but largely on the initiative of our Shensi missionaries, an enterprising irrigation project was launched in the Wei-Pei area, which brought new hope and life

to the people of five counties mostly in the B.M.S. field of operations. The scheme was operating fully in 1934.

The arrival of the Red armies in the province in 1934, and the transfer of their forces into the Yen-An-Fu area, cut our B.M.S. field into two sections, one in the north controlled by the Communists and the other to the south by the Nationalists. This rendered contacts with our brethren in the Yen-An-Fu district impossible for a considerable time. In spite of that the Church in the area rose valiantly to the challenge of Communist domination.

No B.M.S. missionaries had resided in that district since the lamented death of Rev. Donald Smith in 1922. But by that time the church of 200 members—of whom eighty lived in the city—had become self-reliant and largely self-supporting. Later, however, soldiers consumed one of their main sources of income—in the shape of a flock of sheep!—and this necessitated some financial help from the Society for a time.

After the Communists entered the city, they permitted church services to be held for a time, but stopped open-air preaching. Shortly afterwards they took over practically all our premises, hospital, school and residences, and turned the church into a lecture hall, leaving only one courtyard for the accommodation of the Christian staff. Later on the church premises were severely damaged in an air-raid. This compelled our Christians to move out to one of the numerous cave villages two miles away where they dug out a new cave-church, transported the baby organ and other church furniture from the old premises and resumed their services!

In 1934, Pastor Sun-Han-Ch'ing, one of the original Shantung emigrants, who had served the Church there with loyalty and devotion for over forty years, died at Fu-Yin-Ts'un. Two years prior to that the B.M.S. had sent him a special letter of appreciation for his courageous leading of the Church during the trying years of 1926-9. Pastor Sun was a real Baptist stalwart who stoutly resisted all efforts of the New Adventist sects in the area to wean our local Christians from their mother church.

At San-Yuan and Fu-Yin-Ts'un, women's schools figured largely in the programme of work, and the Women's Bible

School at the former place made an important contribution during this period. In 1934 there were twenty-three students in training, sixteen of whom became honorary evangelists. The development of this kind of service is a marked feature of our work in all three provinces about this time. In the districts round San-Yuan between 1931 and 1935, tent-missions were held at frequent intervals, on occasions for forty days at a time. After this, Communist raids on small towns and villages brought this work to a halt. In many districts north of Hsi-An-Fu it was impossible to hold baptismal services for some time because of this.

The year 1934 in Hsi-An-Fu stands out "as a year of sweet harvest, after the bitterness of many, many years". For then the Church in the city and district experienced a thrilling period of spiritual revival. As a result an evangelistic campaign was launched, bands of men and women travelling into the nearby districts for preaching and visitation. A group of fifteen volunteers conducted a mission in the city hall of Hsi-An-Fu, over a thousand inquirers being listed as a result, and on 6th and 7th October, no less than 278 were baptized.

Chiang-K'ai-Shek and his wife visited Hsi-An-Fu in 1935 in connection with the New Life movement. This gave fresh impetus to the forward drive of the Church. The Christian Fellowship in the city attracted some forty well-educated young men for Bible study and Christian service, and there were notable conversions of a few former Communists.

In the country field as a whole, one of the most fruitful enterprises of these years was the setting up in 1935 of a Religious Education Board. This organized numerous literacy classes in small towns and villages primarily for Christians, only 50 per cent. of whom were literate, but also for non-Christians. Sunday schools were opened at thirteen centres, in which 521 scholars were enrolled. In the general campaign fifty men and women teachers volunteered their services and the movement brought new life into our country churches.

The medical work in Hsi-An-Fu was regularly maintained throughout this period, although numerous changes occurred in

the staff, both of doctors and nursing sisters. Drs. B. C. Broomhall (who left in 1929 to return to Shansi), C. I. Stockley (who resigned in 1928) and A. A. Lees (who resigned in 1931) all made valuable contributions in a very difficult time. Dr. H. G. Stockley, who arrived in 1924, and Dr. J. Menzies Clow, who arrived in 1929, carried on with the able assistance of two or three well-trained Chinese doctors, and a number of nursing sisters. Most of the latter, however, either through marriage or other reasons, rendered only short terms of service. The one exception was Sister F. Major, who developed a splendid school of nursing training in these years.

The hospital served both men and women patients, and the service of women doctors was a most welcome and valued feature during these years. Dr. Ruth Tait, from 1924 onwards, and Dr. Elizabeth Clow (the wife of Dr. J. M. Clow) from 1929, made their own contribution to the women's side of the work. Special evangelistic efforts in the Hsi-An-Fu hospital resulted from the appointment of a ministerial missionary for this aspect of our medical work. X-ray was installed in 1933, and the Young Memorial block for maternity patients was built. As the result of a suggestion made by Madame Chiang during her visit in 1935, an opium refuge for forty addicts was opened nearby, over which our medical staff exercised some supervision. A school for the blind was also opened under the auspices of the city Baptist Church at this time.

In spite of the upheaval caused in 1936 by the entry into Hsi-An-Fu and district of the Manchurian armies to displace the Communists, a summer school lasting ten days was held in the provincial capital; retreats were organized in five centres for Christians and inquirers, and special classes for lay workers were held at four places, the emphasis in the curriculum being on the conduct of services, personal evangelism, teaching illiterates and Sunday school methods.

Women's work everywhere progressed, and began to assume a much greater prominence in the plans of the Synod and district Associations.

In 1937 a new church was built at Wei-Nan by the labour and gifts of the local Christian community. In this year the membership of our Shensi church stood at 3,274, a gratifying achievement in view of the disturbed state of the province throughout these years.

The difficulties through which the Mission and Church had passed resulted in much greater understanding and sympathy between Chinese Christian leaders and our missionaries—a factor that was to play a vital part in the still more difficult times that lay ahead.

d. The wider field

It will be useful at this point to turn to the wider field of Church and Mission relationships, and indicate some interesting developments which vitally affected all B.M.S. work.

The National Christian Council launched a special Campaign in 1929, in response to the growing challenge of the Anti-Christian movement. This campaign, for which Chinese Christians were primarily responsible, aimed at spiritual revival within the Church, beginning with the individual Christian, and at doubling the membership of the whole Church within five years. Although the last objective was not achieved, Christians throughout the country gained fresh confidence as a result of the efforts made. The Home Missionary Movement, already in existence, also received considerable stimulus from this campaign, especially in Yunnan province.

During this period also, the Church of Christ in China gradually assumed definite shape. Its first General Assembly, representing churches of sixteen different denominations, met in October 1927 at Shanghai. The Shantung Churches associated with the B.M.S. affiliated themselves with this United Church in December 1927, and shortly afterwards our Baptist Churches in Shansi and Shensi followed suit. Progress in co-operation and towards Church unity was one of the more significant gains of these troubled years.

CHAPTER 9

PERSECUTED—BUT NOT FORSAKEN (1937-45)

AFTER the outbreak of hostilities on 7th July 1937, the Japanese forces advanced rapidly to occupy the north-eastern provinces as well as Shansi and Shantung. Later, the territory along the Yangtzu as far as Hankow, and the southern provinces bordering on the sea, fell under their sway. The Chinese armies were ill-equipped, with practically no navy, and very little air-support, so they could do little but "sell space to buy time". Notable resistance was offered for a time at Shanghai, at Kuo-Hsien in Shansi, and at T'ai-Erh-Chuang in Shantung. But in face of ever-increasing pressure the Chinese forces gradually withdrew to the west.

It is estimated that about fifty million Chinese trekked away from the zone of enemy occupation during the first two years of war, in conformity with the Chinese government's "scorched-earth" policy, to find new homes in the western provinces. (Shensi received hordes of these refugees.) What the Chinese people suffered from Japanese occupation in the early months of war has been vividly told by others, and I spare the reader the details of those days of terror, slaughter and rapine. However, it is only fair to say that some Japanese officers did their best to observe *Bushido* (their knightly code of honour), particularly after the situation had settled down in any one place. But millions of the Chinese people chose the hazards of the long trek to the remote and unknown west rather than live under Japanese control. Thousands of families took to the road: parents carrying their small children; teenagers tugging at their younger brothers and sisters; others trundled wheelbarrows (popular in Shantung), some of which were piled high with bedding and odds and ends

of furniture, tools and utensils; others bore women, especially the older generation with bound feet, and sick folk perched on the top or immersed deep in the baggage.

Trains, as long as they continued to run, were crowded to bursting point. The roofs of the carriages were thick with people, bundles, carrying poles, barrows, even goats and sheep. The platforms and steps of the coaches were packed with passengers and baggage, some of the more venturesome perched precariously on the buffers, hanging on at the sides by the window frames, or even suspending themselves underneath the carriages. Along the Yang-tzu, steamers were similarly overcrowded—with no regard to the Plimsoll line.

In the military sphere, the Japanese advance from the north and east was stemmed in Honan and Kiangsu by letting loose the waters of the Yellow River, while the mountain ranges of Yunnan halted further incursions from that direction. Chinese guerrilla tactics, both on the dividing line between the two armies and within the occupied zone, prevented the invaders from fully exploiting their victory.

By the end of 1938 China was divided roughly into two halves, one the "Occupied Zone" in the north, east and south, and the other, what came to be called "Free China", in the west and north-west. In Free China, Ssu-Ch'uan became the key province, where Ch'ung-King was made the war-time capital. It was frequently heavily bombed, but the people rose, undaunted, time and again to rebuild it from the ruins.

Students of all grades, with their Chinese teachers and professors, migrated in great numbers to the west to continue their work in improvised buildings, with little educational equipment, or on over-crowded campuses of existing Institutions, merging their staffing and other resources.

Considerable quantities of machinery were also transported by road or river from the east, and industrial enterprises of the small factory or workshop type contrived to produce the essential material goods for life and the conduct of the war. In this the Industrial Co-operative Movement (under the lead of Rewi

Alley of New Zealand), and the Bailey Schools, to both of which the Rev. J. B. Tayler of the L.M.S. made a notable contribution, played a major role.

Large numbers of Christians joined in this great trek to the west. For them, especially the leaders of the Church, and those engaged in Mission institutions, the advance of the Japanese created a situation of profound perplexity. If they decided "to go" they might be charged with cowardice, while a decision "to stay" might involve them in suspicion of collaboration with the enemy. Not all could go. Family circumstances, health, business or other personal interests, decided the question for many.

A number of those engaged in Christian Higher Educational work were left with no alternative. In line with Government policy all the major colleges and Christian universities moved to the west, and it was obvious that as many members of the staff as possible should accompany the students. Five Christian universities, including "Cheeloo", were amalgamated for the war period on the campus of the West China Christian University at Ch'eng-Tu. Most of the Chinese teaching staff went with them, but as far as "Cheeloo" is concerned most of the missionaries remained in Chi-Nan-Fu, until 1942, to improvise measures of education for students who had remained behind.

The Headquarters staffs of the National Christian Council, the Church of Christ in China, and most of the Christian publishing houses, including the Christian Literature Society, also transferred to the west.

Missionaries were also considerably perplexed as to what to do. Although many Christians had moved away, larger numbers, either from free choice or of necessity, remained. In the circumstances the great majority of missionaries felt it incumbent upon them to stay in the Occupied Zone, to do all that was possible for the harassed and distressed people. However, the Japanese contrived to make the position of missionaries untenable, and by the end of 1939 all our missionaries in Shansi were compelled to leave. Some of them were transferred to Shantung or other provinces where, although the Japanese were in occupation,

missionary work could still be carried on. Others proceeded to the west in response to clamant calls for missionary help.

However, the Pearl Harbour incident of 8th December 1941, which brought Great Britain and U.S.A. into the war against Japan, made missionaries of those two countries enemy aliens—so although the Japanese permitted them to remain, little effective work could be done, as they were mostly confined to their homes. In August 1942 they were all transferred to Shanghai, Wei-Hsien, or other segregation centres, to be interned in March 1943 until the end of the war.

Shensi escaped invasion, although it was frequently threatened, and Hsi-An-Fu was heavily and repeatedly bombed. After Great Britain and U.S.A. had entered the war, they posted large air-force contingents in Shensi, which effectively checked the advance of the Japanese in that direction.

On 11th January 1943, Great Britain and U.S.A. signed treaties with China, formally renouncing their extra-territorial rights, and other privileges which the "unequal" treaties had conferred upon them, and recognized China (or at least that part of it which was then "Free"), as of equal status with them in the political and diplomatic spheres.

Then, after the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Japanese forces surrendered on 15th August 1945—and the war was over.

a. Shantung

Shantung province was invaded from the north and east during December 1937. Ch'ing-Chou-Fu fell to them without serious incident. But Chou-Ts'un was heavily bombed on Christmas Eve, and the B.M.S. hospital and residences suffered serious damage. During this onslaught, however, Drs. W. S. Flowers and Ronald Still, and Nursing Sister M. F. Logan, aided by their Chinese colleagues, especially the theatre-sister—Ting-Hsi-Ming—acted with courage and composure.

Chi-Nan-Fu, after some desultory artillery attacks and light bombing from the air, was occupied in the early morning of 27th

December. Then followed a week of terror and confusion, which brought crowds of panic-stricken refugees to Church and Mission compounds and residences. Missionaries suffered only minor inconveniences.

But the Chinese did not escape so lightly. Shops were looted. Homes were broken into. Men were beaten and impressed for coolie labour. Women were maltreated. The arrival of senior staff officers gradually brought order out of chaos. But over 80 per cent. of the city population evacuated.

Japanese officers and officials showed consideration to foreigners, and in the cities soldiers acted in a fairly friendly manner to missionaries and Chinese Christians. In Chi-Nan-Fu large numbers of Japanese troops visited the Whitewright Institute, listened attentively to short evangelistic addresses, and accepted copies of the Gospels in Japanese. Quite a few of the soldiers were Christian and some attended Chinese church services. On one memorable Sunday two stayed behind for Communion in our Baptist church.

In the countryside the utmost confusion prevailed. Chinese guerrilla bands raided enemy outposts, and Japanese soldiers retaliated by attacking villages and small towns. Regular church and evangelistic work became impracticable. But Chinese pastors and local Christian leaders did their utmost to carry on. The Chinese secretary of the Shantung Baptist Union, Rev. Chang-Ssu-Ching, was conspicuous for his unwearied efforts to keep in personal touch with isolated groups of our country Christians.

Missionaries found it practically impossible between 1938 and December 1941 to undertake country journeys. But in Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, Chou-Ts'un and Chi-Nan-Fu they maintained church and educational work, including Bible training, and important services for Christian and other refugees. Our hospitals at these three centres were tremendously busy caring for casualties brought in from the countryside.

The Christian University in Chi-Nan-Fu carried on for a time with a greatly reduced staff and small student body. Then it was transferred to Shanghai for a short spell. Later on again

most of the Chinese teaching staff and students moved to Ssu-Ch'uan province and settled in Ch'eng-Tu, where in co-operation with other evacuated Christian universities, they continued their work until the end of the war. The University hospital and the Whitewright Institute also continued to function within the limitations prescribed by Japanese occupation, until December 1941. During this period some of our missionaries suffered maltreatment at the hands of Japanese military. Eventually in August 1942, after having been compelled to sell their goods at one-fifth of the market price, all were removed to Shanghai, or other segregation centres.

It was not until after their release from internment in August 1945, when Rev. F. S. Drake and Mr. E. L. Phillips returned to Chi-Nan-Fu towards the end of that year, that the stirring story of how our Christians in Shantung had fared in the three years of their absence was made known.

The Whitewright Institute had been kept open. Most of the former Chinese staff had been allowed to carry on under a superintendent appointed by the local Japanese-sponsored Chinese government. But no public preaching of the Gospel had been allowed and the large and important Bible exhibit had been transferred to the neighbouring Baptist church. The old gateman of the Institute, a loyal servant of the Mission for nearly forty years, named T'ien-Wen-Chih, was reported "missing believed dead". So was the Baptist general secretary of the city Y.M.C.A., Cheng-Fang-Ch'iao.

Our missionaries learned that a small group of Japanese pastors had occupied the B.M.S. residence on the Institute compound, and that they had been generally helpful. (This was true also of Ch'ing-Chou-Fu and Chou-Ts'un.) They had, however, compelled the various denominational churches in the city and province to unite and elect a leader who would be held responsible for the good conduct of all the members. The Rev. Lo-Shih-Ch'i, who had somehow contrived to continue his work as Dean of the University School of Theology, was the designated leader of the church in Chi-Nan-Fu. He had several times endured "ques-

tioning" and imprisonment, and had been a veritable "tower of strength" to the local Christian community.

In the west suburb preaching hall, three of our single-women teachers had maintained a popular-education school for girls, while they themselves resided on the premises, providing one instance of many of outstanding courage on the part of our Baptist women during this period.

The two Baptist churches in the city had made gratifying progress, the trial of their faith having enhanced the spirit of Christian comradeship within the fellowship.

The University buildings had been converted into a Japanese military hospital, the church being used as a go-down for stores. The general library and laboratory had been stripped by local rowdies prior to the Japanese military occupation. But a member of the Institute staff, Rev. Ch'i-Te-Hsiang, succeeded in rescuing the theological books and transferred them to the Institute. Chinese doctors and teachers from the University Medical School had also succeeded in transferring the X-ray plant and other valuable scientific equipment to the local municipal hospital, where between 1943 and 1946, helped by Chinese nurses, they had installed sixty beds, treated over 100,000 patients and delivered 435 babies.

At Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, Dr. Ching-I-Hui had heroically maintained the work of the hospital, despite constant bullying and threatening from both the Japanese and the Communists, and the endurance with other members of the hospital staff of a period of imprisonment. Pastor Meng-Lo-Shan had been waylaid and murdered on the street for refusing to give a false certificate of church membership to a Chinese informer in Japanese pay. Our single-women evangelists had loyally stuck to their posts, maintaining services for women in circumstances fraught with peculiar peril for them. The former Boys' School had come under local Government control, but continued to function as a co-educational institution under the supervision of another Baptist stalwart, Wang-Chün-T'ang.

At Pei-Chen in the north, Pastor Wang-Shou-Li, an aged

veteran, almost blind, had steadfastly held on through thick and thin, despite the looting of the whole property and destruction of many of the buildings by the Communists. They carried him elsewhere as a captive, but somehow or other he escaped and returned at once to the B.M.S. compound, "to preside over the ruins", as Mr. Drake graphically described it. Later he sent home a story of remarkable deliverances, all of which he joyously ascribed to the providential care of our Heavenly Father.

The Rev. Chang-Ssu-Ching had contrived to re-organize the Mission School at Pei-Chen, with 150 children, and had assumed charge of a Government school at Chang-Tien, where by holding together a large group of boys, many of whom were Christian, he had made a splendid contribution to the stability and future of the Church.

This stirring story of "triumph in adversity" convinced those of us who were privileged to listen to it, that our Chinese Christian leaders had been truly faithful to their high calling, and although many of them had been brought very close to the starvation line, they had done all that was feasible in the circumstances "to feed the flock of God" committed to their care.

b. Shansi

The Japanese invaded Shansi in the summer months of 1937, from the north. The total B.M.S. staff then in the province numbered eight¹ and were all assembled in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, where during the first week in November they were subjected to a prolonged spell of artillery fire and bombing by the investing Japanese forces. They sheltered with large numbers of Chinese Christians and others, in hastily improvised dug-outs, and all providentially came through unscathed, although some had narrow escapes. Heavy damage was sustained by the Men's Hospital and the nurses' residence. The Japanese armies entered the city on 8th November and for a time all were involved in a

¹ Viz. the Rev. F. W. Price, then Local Secretary for Shansi, Dr. Ellen Clow (whose mother was living with her at the time), Drs. H. G. Wyatt and C. V. Bloom, the Rev. and Mrs. V. E. W. Hayward, Miss Beulah Glasby and the Rev. S. R. Dawson.

complex and dangerous situation which called for tact, courage and persistence on the part of our missionary negotiators—principally the Rev. F. W. Price, who acted for the group in most of these delicate matters.

Meanwhile our Chinese brethren in the north had suffered severely. In that area, the Chinese forces stoutly resisted the advance of the Japanese, particularly at Kuo-Hsien. However, the city eventually fell, and the Japanese wreaked terrible vengeance on the local population. Twelve of our brethren, including two evangelists, a teacher and two deacons, who had stayed in the city throughout the siege, were seized on the church compound by Japanese military, and, on the pretext that they were Chinese soldiers masquerading as civilians, were bound and taken with scores of others outside the city, to be mown down mercilessly by machine-gun fire.

Our pastor, the Rev. Ch'in Liang, narrowly escaped a similar fate. He was also on the church compound when the Japanese entered. They seized and bound him, and were about to lead him away with the others, when he, as Mr. Madge relates, "who is naturally rather a timid man, found courage to say, 'You can kill me if you like, but I will not leave this place'—(the church where he was accustomed to preach Christ to the people). To his surprise they released him."

Early in 1938, some Shansi missionaries who had been detained at the coast, returned to T'ai-Yuan-Fu, and it was then prayerfully decided to re-occupy the northern stations. Mr. and Mrs. Madge thereupon proceeded to Tai-Chou, Mr. Dawson to Kuo-Hsien, and Mrs. J. Lewis and Mr. and Mrs. Hayward to Hsin-Chou. The whole countryside, however, was swarming with Chinese guerrillas.

On 4th May 1938, in the course of a motor journey northwards to take supplies and reinforce the Madges at Tai-Chou, Dr. Harry Wyatt, Miss Beulah Glasby and their Chinese chauffeur were killed near Kuohsien by Chinese guerrillas, who mistook them for Japanese. Dr. Wyatt was shot as he was helping the wounded Chinese chauffeur to shelter. Rev. and Mrs. Vincent Jasper, who

were with the party, were seized and bound, and only saved from execution by the last-minute intervention of an officer who recognized them.

After the bodies of Dr. Wyatt, Miss Glasby and the chauffeur had been recovered by Rev. R. Dawson, who was then residing at Kuo-Hsien, they were conveyed under Japanese military escort to T'ai-Yuan-Fu, where after a memorial service, during which many remarkable tributes were paid by Chinese Christians, they were interred in the Martyr Memorial Cemetery.

In the summer of 1939, the Japanese attitude stiffened against our Chinese Christians, whom they suspected of collaborating with the local guerrilla forces, and also towards our missionaries, who, they asserted, were conniving at these "nefarious" activities. As a result, anti-Christian and anti-British demonstrations were staged throughout the province, and caused serious trouble in each of our stations.

At Tai-Chou, on 23rd June, in the temporary absence of Mr. and Mrs. Madge, the Mission premises were entered by gendarmes who searched the place, took away photographs and documents, and cleared the premises of all Chinese staff. The Madges returned the next day, to face some trying experiences and anxiety, relieved in part by their Chinese servants, and the kindness of some Chinese police. After being repeatedly warned by the Japanese and Chinese authorities that they could no longer guarantee their personal safety, they left on 29th June with sad hearts for T'ai-Yuan-Fu. For they had been much encouraged by many signs of God's blessing during their short stay in Tai-Chou, in spite of the difficulties. After their departure our premises were looted, and later occupied by the local military, partly for hospital purposes.

At Hsin-Chou, the Haywards, Mrs. Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. J. Henderson-Smith and Miss L. Chapple had tried to maintain work in the city and district. But early in 1939, the city evangelist and the Mission language teacher were put under arrest, and imprisoned for five months, on no specific charge. They were frequently "questioned", half-starved, and subjected to very severe

treatment. But they were eventually released on 11th May, and their first act after this was to call the local church together, to rehearse God's goodness to them, during their imprisonment, and to join them in thanking Him for their deliverance.

The spirits of our Christians at Hsin-Chou were greatly stimulated by this incident, and a short period of rich blessing ensued, leading to a number of baptisms in the city church and in the district as well.

But in mid-July, anti-British demonstrations occurred accompanied by threats both to missionaries and their servants (some of whom were arrested), and widespread intimidation of Chinese Christians. Negotiations with the local officials, both Japanese and Chinese, made it obvious that they were unable to guarantee the protection of either foreign lives or property. So, with great reluctance, our missionaries left Hsin-Chow and proceeded to the coast on 6th August.¹

During May 1939 Chinese Christian leaders in T'ai-Yuan-Fu were repeatedly told they would suffer severely unless they left the British Mission. Most of them, however, loyally carried on. Then in June a Chinese, who was a member of a visiting evangelistic band, was arrested by Japanese gendarmes as a suspect, on our Baptist church premises. It is believed that later he and another, possibly the Chinese pastor who had organized the mission, were beaten to death.

Worse was to follow. For on Sunday, 16th July (henceforth known as "Black Sunday") after the morning service in the Martyr Memorial Church, Chinese police and Japanese gendarmes cordoned off the whole congregation, numbering about two hundred, and drove them in lorries to the Chinese Police Headquarters. All were "questioned". Forty-six were detained, but released after some of them had been beaten, and all had been "warned". But sixteen of our more prominent brethren, in-

¹ At this time the B.M.S. staff in T'ai-Yuan-Fu comprised the following, viz., the Rev. and Mrs. V. Jasper, Dr. E. M. Clow, Miss F. Coombs, Miss E. Pentelow, Sisters E. A. Rossiter and V. G. Jaques, Mr. R. H. P. Dart, and the Rev. and Mrs. H. T. Stonelake, who in spite of their having "officially" retired, had returned at this critical juncture to take up again their cherished task in Shansi.

cluding evangelists, hospital-staff, nurses, and members of the church and congregation, were taken to Japanese military headquarters and definitely charged with complicity in Chinese guerrilla activities in the neighbourhood. All were bound and beaten, and some were tortured to extract information or confessions. It is understood that all, except one, our evangelist, Wang-Chin-Chang, whose story is told below, were eventually released.

While all this was proceeding, personal servants and others connected with the Mission were so seriously intimidated that they began to leave for their homes in the countryside. Any who insisted on remaining were put under arrest. The missionaries were thus deprived of domestic help, and all the Mission institutions, including the two hospitals, had to be closed.

In mid-July, anti-British demonstrations by Chinese youth-groups, doubtless instigated by the Japanese, were staged in the city, and our missionaries were subjected to insults and threats. Although the Chinese Governor showed himself friendly, it gradually became clear to our missionaries that it would be in the best interests of the Chinese Christians if they withdrew. So after taking all possible steps to ensure the safety of the property, and notifying the officials, both Chinese and Japanese, they left in two parties for Peking,¹ between 4th and 8th August.

Some of our Shansi missionaries, thus displaced, proceeded to other spheres of service, either in Shantung, Shensi or further west. Others stayed in Peking for a time, hoping to maintain contact in some way with their Chinese colleagues in Shansi, engaging meanwhile in the work of other Societies. A few returned home for furlough, and the Rev. and Mrs. H. T. Stone-lake proceeded to Jamaica to render a period of much valued service.

Some news, albeit scanty, did trickle through during the next six years, and this brought to light the thrilling story of Mrs. Hsü-Ling-Tsao (better known as Nurse Chang), who, having

¹ It was learned that afterwards all B.M.S. property was occupied by Japanese military or business firms—and that the Martyr Memorial Church was used for a cinema.

graduated as a fully-trained nurse in our Women's Hospital, became matron of the T'ai-Yuan-Fu orphanage in 1924 when a beginning was made with four children in Chinese buildings donated by Dr. E. H. Edwards. Gradually the numbers increased to fifty, and extra buildings were erected, largely by donations from local Chinese Christians and friendly officials. As the orphanage property was not specifically listed as belonging to the B.M.S., the Japanese allowed Mrs. Hsü to continue her work. As the missionaries left, she had promised them that "as long as God gave her an orphan to care for" she would stand by. And "stand by" she did, although threatened with eviction many times; and although other church leaders had left the city in face of dire threats, Mrs. Hsü, with the help of God and her daughter Lin-Lo, carried through a truly remarkable piece of Christian service. She was often at her wits' end to protect and feed her children. But in her own words, "The grace of God was sufficient" and "prayer prevailed to meet every need", and they were all brought safely through. Mrs. Hsü planned as well as prayed, travelling sometimes as far as Peking, soliciting aid for her large family. As the children grew older she also found suitable employment for them.

She also became, under God, the mainstay of the city Baptist community. The orphanage was the centre of the church's life during the period of Japanese occupation. The congregation gradually increased, until by 1945 over two hundred were meeting there regularly, and seventy-two were added to the church.

Wang-Chin-Chang was one of our older evangelists, who in his earlier years had served his preaching apprenticeship in the difficult sphere of Shou-Yang, under the guidance of the Rev. J. C. Harlow. He was, as already noted, one of the sixteen who were detained by the Japanese in T'ai-Yuan-Fu after the incident of 16th July. Apparently he had made himself conspicuous by his courageous and Christian bearing, while he and his colleagues were being severely beaten. So the Japanese singled him out for special treatment. After torture they endeavoured to extract

from him confession of his complicity in Chinese guerrilla activities, and an admission that he must now obey the Japanese Emperor who was now in control of that part of China. This Wang steadfastly refused to do, and such evidence as is available suggests that this was accompanied by his testimony that Jesus Christ alone was entitled to his supreme homage and obedience. After several months of the severest treatment he was barbarously done to death. The author of *Ways that are Dark* suggests that Nero's lions would have starved in China. But this incident and others of like character which are recorded in this book are a sufficient rejoinder to that.

After being released from internment, Mr. R. H. P. Dart and the Rev. E. Sutton-Smith returned to T'ai-Yuan-Fu in December 1945, and were followed shortly afterwards by others. It was only then that details of the experiences through which our Chinese Christians had passed during the missionaries' absence became available.

Unfortunately the church in T'ai-Yuan-Fu for a variety of reasons had split into "two camps", one composed mainly of church members of an older generation—the other of newly-gathered and mostly youthful Christians. The impasse was partially resolved by agreeing that the older group should continue to worship at the Martyr Memorial Church, while the others should make the older church on Bridge-head Street their centre. Eventually, our missionaries succeeded in creating a more harmonious spirit and in inducing co-operation between the two groups.

During the spring of 1946 Dart and Smith visited the northern stations. They learned that worship had been maintained with more or less regularity in the city of Hsin-Chou. But as the mission premises, including the church and the street chapel, had been occupied by the Japanese, services had been held in Christian homes, chiefly that of Mrs. Tung, one of many Baptist women who showed outstanding devotion and loyalty during the period of Japanese occupation. Obviously, however, little in the way of organized church life had been practicable in the interim. For

during this visit of our missionaries six deacons were elected, the first action of its kind for over six years.

At Kuo-Hsien they found that all Mission premises had been occupied by the Japanese, and were in a sad state of disrepair. But here again, as at Hsin-Chou, one of our women, Mrs. Liu-Ying, the respected leader of the church, had arranged for worship to be regularly conducted in her home. Christians in the country districts around had been scattered. Bibles and hymn-books were scarce everywhere, even in the city. This need was to some extent being met by the memorizing and chanting of Scripture passages.

At Yuan-P'ing, a former out-station from Kuo-Hsien, the church had suffered a severe set-back. Many of the members had succumbed to persecution and left the church. Others had been drawn away by the "Tongues" and other "spiritual" movements.

At Tai-Chou conditions were more encouraging. Although many members of the church had defected, owing to pressure of various kinds, others had experienced a revival of their faith and zeal. All Mission premises here, as elsewhere, had been occupied and damaged by the Japanese. But these had been repaired by Christian voluntary labour, and were again available for worship. Pastor Ch'in Liang (referred to above), had resided here for a time, and in order to maintain himself and family, had assumed charge of the senior section of the local Government Boys' School, and had enlisted another Christian to supervise the Junior section. So the whole of this large school had been under Christian influence for some years. The effects of this were manifest in the enthusiastic welcome given to our returning missionaries, by over a hundred of the students, and the interest they showed in their message.

They heard also that, thanks to Ch'in Liang's influence, a village head-man who had formerly been bitterly hostile had repented and joined the church.

Fan-Ssu, our most northerly outpost, had for some time been the scene of almost continuous conflict between Nationalist and

Communist troops, and the people had passed through gruelling experiences. However, over seventy Christians gathered to welcome Dart and Smith, once again in the home of a staunch Baptist woman, Mrs. Kao. It was learned that, later on, the Communists had deprived her of home, possessions and all rights of citizenship for refusing to divulge the whereabouts of her husband. But although this reduced her literally to beggary, she continued loyally to witness for Christ.

Summarizing the general situation as it existed in Shansi when our missionaries returned there in 1946, they said, "there had been a scattering and decrease of the membership in country districts; a maintenance of worship at city centres, and a development of that spirit of independence in the Church that remained, which we have all longed to see, a spirit that will need fostering and wise guiding in the future."

c. Shensi

Although Shensi province escaped actual invasion the Japanese Air Force bombed Hsi-An-Fu city at frequent intervals between 1938 and 1942. The B.M.S. hospital suffered extensive damage and one Chinese nurse was killed. Two of our houses were partly destroyed, and the Rev. and Mrs. F. S. Russell and Miss C. E. Waddington had the narrowest escapes from death in the ruins. The preaching hall in the city and the roof of the east suburb church also were badly damaged. The cost of repairing the latter was met by the Chinese Church to the extent of £600.

Refugees from other provinces poured into Shensi. All our compounds were overcrowded with them, as were the churches in each residential station. For several months after the outbreak of war all B.M.S. staff was engrossed in the work of relief. Schools likewise were filled to overflowing. Those in Hsi-An-Fu eventually had no less than 1,500 on their books, the majority of whom were exiles.

As the city hospital was unusable after the bombing, medical work was transferred to the former Boys' School buildings in the east suburb, where the staff was overburdened with war casualties

and patients. And to add to their burdens, the Provincial Medical College insisted on sending a number of their students to fulfil their internship there. At the same time there was a serious shortage of medical supplies, and Bibles. This was remedied in part by the successful issue of an adventurous journey undertaken by the Rev. W. S. Upchurch, to and from Shanghai.

Some Christians among the refugees gave valuable help in pastoral, evangelistic and teaching work. A united evangelistic campaign launched in Hsi-An-Fu in 1939 resulted in 100 baptisms.

The Girls' Boarding School was evacuated to Mien-Shan, 200 miles to the south of the provincial capital, in 1938, during a threat of impending invasion of the province from the east. For this reason also, most of our missionaries evacuated in 1943-4, some proceeding further west to Kansu where they continued their work in association with the C.I.M. Others returned to England. And in 1945, another threat of this kind still further depleted the available staff. This situation was remedied the next year, by the return of many senior missionaries and some recruits.

The Christian Fellowship Centre in Hsi-An-Fu maintained a variety of enterprising activities, mainly under the leadership of Rev. George Young. Bible classes were started in many government colleges, from which eighty conversions were reported in 1945. The Bible-training Institute connected with the Fellowship organized a series of special evangelistic efforts, in which amplifiers were used. Worship conducted in English on Sunday evenings drew an average congregation of fifty, including a number of men from the U.S.A. 14th Air Force encamped near the city.

Women's work in the city also produced most encouraging results.

The Rev. and Mrs. Keith Bryan were stationed at Wei-Nan between 1940 and 1943, where good progress also was made. A new church was erected, entirely by Chinese funds, and at Min-Chia-Ts'un, in the neighbourhood, a rural experimental centre was developed, under the care of a Chinese evangelist, who had been specially trained at Nanking for this work.

At San-Yuan, the co-educational school continued to have an enrolment of about 300. The Bible school, in which the Rev. Feng-Pao-Kuang, a refugee from our Shantung field, and Miss D. J. Curtis took major responsibility in these years, had twenty students. Other Baptist refugees from Shantung, e.g. Mrs. Liu-Feng-Lan of the Whitewright Institute, and a Chinese nurse from T'ai-Yuan-Fu, rendered timely help in this district. The pastor of the San-Yuan church, Li-Meng-Kang, and the chairman of the Synod, Mr. Wang-Yun-Pai, stood by faithfully through the many vicissitudes of this disturbed period.

At Gospel Village the serious economic situation which characterized this period compelled pastors and other church-workers to engage in industry or other pursuits to eke out their inadequate stipends. This naturally was detrimental to their pastoral and evangelistic work, at a time when a number of so-called "spiritual" sects, most of which had been introduced by refugees, were exercising a seriously divisive influence in our churches, which suffered some decrease in membership in consequence. The rise in the cost of living also made it impossible for the Boys' School managers to maintain the former commendable policy of self-support, and that necessitated an annual grant from the Home Committee of £400 for the next few years. But the number of students increased to over 300 in 1945.

The economic situation in Shensi during this period created serious problems of living for both missionaries and Chinese co-workers alike. For a considerable time our missionary staff had been cutting down their rations, selling their personal possessions, and piling on clothes to save fuel, in order to avoid making special appeals to the Home Society. It soon became clear, however, that these measures were detrimental to health and efficiency and the Home Committee readily made such adjustments as were practicable in personal allowances and the general allocation.

These anxieties, upheavals and hardships seemed to bind missionaries and their Chinese colleagues more closely together. This was expressed somewhat quaintly by a Chinese pastor, who, in summarizing the effects of the war experiences on his colleagues,

remarked, "Those who had been dead in prosperity, had become alive again in adversity."

d. B.M.S. missionaries in new spheres in "Free China"

Some of our missionaries who were compelled to leave Shansi in 1939 proceeded forthwith to Shantung, where they filled important staffing gaps at our central stations, until the summer of 1942, when with other colleagues they were transferred to Japanese internment camps.

Others from Shansi went to West China. The Rev. V. E. W. Hayward was in Kuei-Chou province from 1940 to 1944 (Mrs. Hayward being there also for part of the time), engaging in church, evangelistic and teaching work mainly amongst students and Chinese officials, and served for a time as executive secretary of the Kuei-Chou Committee of the Church of Christ in China. He also took part in a protracted and successful mission to government colleges in a wide area, under S.C.M. auspices, and in relief work for large numbers of refugee children. In 1944, with the approval of the Society, Mr. Hayward accepted for one year the onerous post of director for Kuangsi province of U.N.R.R.A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association). At the close of hostilities he was appointed British Secretary of the N.C.C. in Shanghai.

The Rev. and Mrs. V. Jasper settled in Yun-Nan-Fu, an important centre of the Home Missionary Movement of the Church of Christ in China. Here, in addition to taking part in church and school activities, Mr. Jasper shared in a special evangelistic effort to reach the thousands of tin-miners in the area. He also took up an appointment with the British consular authorities for a time, being specially responsible for relief work among the hordes of refugees from Burma fleeing before the advance of the Japanese there.

Dr. W. S. Flowers, who had been in England on furlough from Shantung, served with distinction as leader of a British Red Cross unit to China, between 1942 and 1946. This unit, comprising

twenty-two doctors, nurses and other staff, after a short spell in India caring for Chinese wounded retreating from Burma, set up its headquarters first at Ch'ang-Sha, the capital of Hunan province, where from July 1942 until May 1944, they treated thousands of Chinese wounded soldiers, and sick and refugee civilians, and also trained Chinese nurses. Then, evacuating hurriedly in face of an unexpected Japanese advance, and after a perilous trek of thirty-six hours, they reached Lo-Yung, near Heng-Yang, where in primitive buildings they set up a hospital accommodating 1,600 sick and wounded. Once again they had to leave, and eventually arrived in Kuei-Yang where they co-operated in relief work (referred to above), until U.N.R.R.A. took it over.

This epic of Christian endurance and service was deeply appreciated both by the British and Chinese authorities.

In 1945, Dr. Flowers rendered valued assistance to B.M.S. missionaries in Shanghai on their release from internment. Then, as secretary of the Medical Missionary Council of the N.C.C., while retaining his connection with the British Red Cross, he made an important contribution to the rehabilitation of missionary hospitals all over China, including those of the B.M.S. in Shantung, Shansi and Shensi.

Five B.M.S. missionaries, viz. Dr. J. Menzies Clow and the Revs. R. Dawson, W. S. Upchurch, W. G. D. Gunn and B. F. Price, accepted commissions with the British Military Mission to China, serving between 1942-6 in a variety of capacities, in which their knowledge of the Chinese people and language proved to be of great value in a mission both delicate and important. The Commanding Officer of the Mission paid a very high tribute to the quality of their services, when the work was completed. Incidentally Dr. J. M. Clow was awarded the M.B.E. for his share in it. These men had some unusual opportunities of preaching the gospel in the course of their duties, and assisted many missionaries in isolated places, by transporting much-needed supplies.

e. B.M.S. missionaries in Internment camps

Thirty-four B.M.S. missionaries, and eighteen of their children, were interned by the Japanese from March 1943 until September 1945, an experience resulting from their determination to stay with their Chinese Christian friends in Shantung, as long as possible. The great majority were in camps in or around Shanghai. Most of our single women were sent to Yang-Chou, and Mrs. T. W. Allen and her three children were interned in Manila on their way home.

The experiences of our missionaries in internment have been graphically narrated in the book, *Through Toil and Tribulation*, of which the following is a bare summary.

Needless to say, all internees endured great discomfort, much anxiety and many privations. Naturally also, much of their time and energy was absorbed by routine camp duties, cooking, cleaning, mending, and making-do in all sorts of ways. But they also found full opportunity to continue their vocation, in teaching, lecturing, conducting worship, organizing Bible-classes and religious discussion groups, and providing the very necessary medical services. After their release, many tributes were received from non-Christians who had lived cheek-by-jowl with them for two-and-a-half years, for their stimulating contribution to the general morale, by their cheerfulness, discipline, and readiness to serve in any and every capacity for the welfare of all.

After their release the majority, as urged by the Home Committee, returned home for much-needed rest and recuperation. But by agreement with them all, the Rev. F. S. Drake and Mr. E. L. Phillips returned to Shantung, and Mr. R. H. P. Dart and the Rev. E. Sutton-Smith to Shansi, to re-establish contacts with our churches, and restart such co-operative work as was possible.

f. Chinese Christians in exile

Little account has been given of our Chinese Christians who left their homes and former spheres of service to endure eight

years of exile in the far west of the country. Most of them were separated from their families, husbands from wives in many instances. Continually anxious for the welfare of their kinsfolk in the occupied zone, they found general living conditions hard and their presence in that part of China resented by their own countrymen. The great majority emerged from this bitter experience with credit to themselves and to the Christian name. Some indeed testified that suffering and privation had deepened their spiritual life. But it has to be confessed that a few, very few, succumbed to the peculiar temptations of their lot and failed to maintain their Christian integrity.

Practically all our former Chinese co-workers in Shantung and Shansi found opportunities to continue in active Christian service. Doctors and nurses participated in Madame Chiang's work for orphans, or in military or civil hospitals. A number of our former teachers engaged in general relief work or taught in the Bailey Schools under the auspices of British United Aid to China. Very few indeed of our pastors and evangelists migrated. But those who did so rendered service of importance, a few instances of which are given below.

The Rev. W. B. Chang, M.A., formerly professor on the "Cheeloo" staff, left Chi-Nan-Fu early in 1938, and made his way to Shensi, where, under the auspices of the International Christian Service Council, he organized an outstanding piece of relief work for tens of thousands of wounded and distressed soldiers. This led to his being invited by Chiang-K'ai-Shek to become director of a project to "civilize" the border tribes in the north-west, which, while primarily designed to bring them politically within the orbit of the Nationalist government, also offered them important medical, educational and general welfare services. Mr. Chang accepted and was authorized to appoint the staff, estimated to be about seventy in number. He forthwith enlisted many graduates of Shantung Christian University, doctors, nurses, teachers, agriculturists, literacy and co-operative experts, as well as some evangelists and pastors.

In the beginning, two-thirds of the expenses were provided

by the Government, the other third being contributed by the Church of Christ in China and its affiliated Missionary Societies. But gradually the work became less expansive in scope and more Christian in character, and the bulk of the money required was derived from Christian organizations.

The project then became known as the Border Mission and carried on evangelistic work amongst the Tibetan and Burmese border tribes, including the Lolos, the Miaos, and the Ch'iangs. The Headquarters were at Hsi-Ch'eng, a city formerly occupied by American Northern Baptists. Later on, the Church of Christ in China formally adopted the whole project, to which the B.M.S. allocated both missionaries and finance.

Another of our Baptist leaders, the Rev. Y. C. Li, former pastor of the T'ai-Yuan-Fu church, migrated with his wife first to a district in the far north-west, familiar to readers of Miss Mildred Cable's book *Through Jade Gate*, where he engaged for a time in church and evangelistic work. Next they moved to South-west Shensi where Mr. Li took part in a Mission amongst evacuated Government students. Later again he taught in the Boone Library College in Ch'ung-king, while his wife acted as secretary of the Y.W.C.A. in the city.

T. H. Sun, one of our former Pei-Chên schoolboys who later became one of our most enterprising leaders, migrated with the staff and students of Cheeloo University, and in the capacity of Dean of Studies during the period of exile in Ssu-Ch'uan, made a much appreciated contribution to the stability and progress of Christian higher education throughout the years of Japanese occupation.

CHAPTER 10

CAST DOWN—BUT NOT DESTROYED (1946-52)

I. RENEWAL OF CIVIL WAR—COMMUNISTS IN CONTROL

IMMEDIATELY after the surrender of the Japanese, the old cleavage between the National and Communist parties emerged once more. All attempts by General Marshall of U.S.A. and others to avoid this rupture and to persuade the leaders of both sides to form a coalition government failed, and the struggle for control of the country was revived with greater intensity than ever.

The Communist forces were first in the field in Manchuria, and with the connivance of Russia seized such Japanese war equipment as the Russians had not removed. When the Nationalist armies arrived later, the better-armed Communists besieged them for a time in some of the war-stripped cities, and eventually compelled them to beat an ignominious retreat to the south.

It should be noted that the Nationalist party had gradually become increasingly totalitarian in their policy, and more and more ruthless in suppressing opposition. Chiang-K'ai-Shek had proscribed the "Democratic League", and executed some of its popular leaders. This cost him the support of large numbers of former left-wing Nationalists who joined the Communist camp, and disturbed the minds of Christians who had hoped for better things.

Unfortunately also for the prestige of the Nationalists they had introduced into their ranks a number of "high financiers" and militarists, long discredited by the general public. This, too, shook the confidence of Christian leaders. These factors, coupled with the general war-weariness of the people, and the attractive social programme and sacrificial spirit of the Communists, deprived the Nationalists of the support of many former adherents.

Numerous defections from their armed forces occurred, and considerable perplexity was excited in Chinese Christian circles.

The renewed Civil War pursued a desultory course for over three years, Shantung being seriously involved in hostilities. But during the spring of 1949 the Nationalists were completely routed, and as a last resort the remnant of their forces evacuated with their leaders to occupy Formosa, the Pescadores and other off-shore islands.

The Communists thereupon proceeded to establish themselves as the Government of the country, and on 1st October 1949 inaugurated the Chinese People's Republic.

2. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE NEW SITUATION

The Communists were now in power, and Christian leaders, realizing that the Church must live and bear its witness under a régime which they and Christians generally regarded as hostile to all that they believed, and of which they had their reasonable fears and suspicions, began to think of ways and means to enable them to meet this new and unprecedented situation.

After the formation of the new Government, a draft Constitution was drawn up which promised religious freedom to all. Naturally this greatly relieved the minds of Christians everywhere, and encouraged some leaders to think of the possibility of co-operation with the new Administration in some form.

The Communists, on their part, naturally had their suspicions of the Church. Christian leaders had been prominently connected with the Nationalist Party, and Christians as a body, until very recent days, had been sympathetic with the policy of Chiang-K'ai-Shek, who was their sworn enemy. They knew that their materialistic "ideology" was anathema to the Christians. Further, they suspected the Chinese Church, because of its close connection with the foreign Missionary Movement, of a bias in favour of the imperialism of the West.

One, therefore, need not be surprised that when the Communists had gained control of the Government they should

“press” the Christian Church to declare its attitude to the new régime.

Naturally the Communists in the beginning were anxious to gain the support of all sections of the Chinese people. So, in calling the first meeting of the People’s Political Consultative Conference to consider the New Constitution, they made it as representative as possible. With this in view, they included among the invited non-Communist delegations five representatives of the Protestant Christian Church. It is important to note that these were nominees of the Government and not the elected official delegates of the National Christian Council, or of any other Christian body. They were Y. T. Wu, former editor of *T’ien Feng*, a leftist Christian magazine, and Publications Secretary of the Y.M.C.A.; Dr. T. C. Chao, director of the Yenching School of Religion, outstanding Christian leader and theologian, and at that time one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches; Miss Cora Deng, General Secretary of the Y.W.C.A.; Mr. H. Y. Chang, at that time editor of the Christian Farmer magazine (since deceased), and Liu Liang-Mao, of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A.

Later on in October 1949, a letter signed by eighteen leading Chinese Christians¹ was addressed to the Home Boards of all Missionary Societies.

As this letter probably represents the considered, and as far as practicable in the circumstances, the uninhibited opinion of this representative group of Christian leaders, it is quoted fairly fully, in the extracts given below, viz.:

1. There does exist some deep-rooted feeling on the part of the Communists, that the Chinese Church has been intimately related to imperialism and capitalism.
2. It is a fact that the Christian Church in China has in the past

¹ Including presidents of Christian Colleges, the general secretaries of the C.L.S. and the Council of Christian Publishers, of the Church of Christ in China, the Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A., the assistant secretary of the General Synod of the Anglican Communion, some well-known Christian laymen and others.

been entangled with the unequal treaties imposed on China under duress.

3. And that it (the Chinese Christian Church) did enjoy certain privileges arising therefrom.
4. It is also a fact that the Churches in China have had close connection with the Churches in Britain and America in personnel and financial support.
5. It is also a fact that the church life and organization here in China has been modelled after the pattern in Britain and America, and that traditions of denominationalism have been imported and taken root.
6. Much of the church administration is still in the hands of missionaries, and in many instances church policies are still determined by the Mission Boards abroad.

Other statements follow, which for convenience, are sectionalized as follows:

I. Affirmations

1. "We do realize and so wish to assert that missionary work in China never had any direct relationship with government policies."
2. "Mission funds have always been contributed by the rank and file of common, ordinary Christians and church members."
3. "Missionaries have been sent here for no other purpose than to preach the Christian gospel of love and to serve the needs of the Chinese people."
4. "The central Christian motivation will not and can never be questioned, *but*,
5. "These other social implications [probably referring to the items in Section I above] can very easily give rise to misunderstanding and accusation."

II. Realizations

1. "We do realize that many of our missionary friends and many of the leading members of Mission Boards have been aware of the unfortunate political involvements in the past and have done what they could under the circumstances towards their correction."
2. "We also realize that you do sincerely believe in the establishment of truly Chinese indigenous churches, controlled and administered by the Chinese Christians."

And, as a summary of all that is written above:

3. "The time has come for us to re-double our efforts in making our policies articulate and unmistakable, and to make concrete plans for their realization."

III. Challenges

1. "We are not unmindful of the challenges and difficulties lying ahead in a more fundamental way. Just how the Christian gospel can be witnessed to in a clime that is, by virtue of its ideology, fundamentally materialistic and atheistic, presents a challenge stronger than ever before."

2. "Whatever the external clime may be, the burden falls on us Christians to demonstrate the efficacy and sufficiency of the gospel as exemplified by the life of Christ."

3. "That the gospel is in itself both efficacious and sufficient and will stand on its own truth."

4. "Many of the methods may be time-worn. Some of the channels to which we have been accustomed may be closed."

5. "The challenge is to find other methods that are timely and other channels that are lying open."

6. Then follows a challenge to greater sacrifice on the part of missionaries and Chinese Christians, to forget our differences, "to unite our efforts in truly creative work", and a reminder that Christians cannot remain aloof from politics for ". . . the Church as an institution and Christians as citizens in society must find ways in which they can perform their Christian functions and discharge their duty to society at the same time".

7. "In areas of social service and education we shall have to accept the leadership of the government and conform with the general pattern of service. Just how the new adjustments are to be made is for the Chinese Churches to determine. We have our privileges as Christian believers. We also have our duties to perform as Chinese citizens and Chinese social organizations."

IV. Future relationships between the Chinese Church and Missionary Societies

"The authority of policy determination and financial administration must pass over to Chinese leadership wherever it has not yet taken place. Definite steps must be taken for its realization. The principle of self-support must be reiterated and steps taken for its final consummation."

The writers assert that "there is nothing in principle which makes the future position of the missionary untenable, or renders his service unnecessary. On the contrary there is a definite challenge to work and serve under adverse circumstances, and to bear witness to the ecumenical fellowship. Even though

circumstances may render active participation difficult, the mere presence of the missionary will give articulate expression to the Christian quality of our fellowship, which transcends all differences and defies all obstacles."

Some of the difficulties facing the missionary in the future are then outlined, including the necessary physical and mental readjustments that might be demanded; the deprivation of administrative opportunity; the necessity to have an open mind, and have due sympathy with, and endeavour to understand, the social and political trends now operating in China; readiness to accept a lower standard of living than that to which he has been accustomed, and in which austerity will be the rule; to accept restrictions of travel, and to face up to the possibility of living apart from his family.

"Regarding financial support, there is nothing in principle that prevents its continuance. It is understood that Mission funds are still welcome, provided no strings are attached."

V. Convictions

And lastly, they expressed their conviction, that "the Christian Church will have its due place in the future Chinese society and will have a genuine contribution to make" and that "the Chinese Church will not emerge from this historical change unaffected. It will suffer a purge, and many of the withered branches will be amputated. But, we believe it will emerge stronger and purer in quality, a more fitting witness to the gospel of Christ."

In the same month (October 1949) the N.C.C. issued a Message to all Christians in China, which acknowledged the great social contribution which the Missionary Societies and the Church associated with them had made to China, but urged that this would need to be expanded with greater intensity, and that all such service would have to be rendered under the leadership of the new People's Government, and be more co-operative in character. It stressed the need for all Christians to accept criticism, and engage in acts of self-examination, in an effort to uncover past faults and repent of them. It also urged the need of more better-trained leaders for the Church, and for all within it to engage in self-denying service and earnest prayer

to bring society as well as individual citizens under the leading of God.

As the situation changed and Government pressure upon the Church increased, the public statements of Christian leaders also changed in character and emphasis.

In June 1950, the Foreign Minister, Chou-En-Lai, held an important conversation with a number of Protestant leaders in Peking, in which he outlined the condition on which the New Government would permit the Christian Church to continue the practice and propagation of its faith.

Following on these preliminaries the People's Political Consultative Council adopted the Constitution and Plan of Action, which together became known as the "Common Political Platform". This led to the issue of a Christian Manifesto on the whole subject of relationship between the Government and the Church, drafted in 1950 by a small group of left-wing Christians, who had first submitted it to Communist leaders for approval. It was circulated far and wide and, after receiving the signatures of thousands of Christians throughout the country, it was adopted by the National Christian Council and published as its official statement of policy in November 1950. There were no foreign missionaries present at the meeting of the N.C.C. when this matter was discussed. But as far as the writer's knowledge goes, this particular document, with possibly some minor changes, remains the official statement of relationship subsisting between the Communist Government and the Chinese Church, as accepted by the authorized representatives of both sides. It is therefore a very important statement, and so is presented in summarized form as follows:

1. *Purpose*

"It is our purpose in publishing the following statement, to heighten our vigilance against imperialism, to make known the clear political stand of Christians in the new China, to hasten the building of a Chinese Church whose affairs are managed by the Chinese themselves, and to indicate the responsibilities which should be taken up by Christians throughout the whole country in the national reconstruction in New China.

2. *The Task in General*

“Christian Churches and organizations in China give thoroughgoing support to the Common Political Platform, and under the leadership of the Government oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and take part in an effort to build an independent, peaceable, unified, prosperous and powerful New China.

3. *Fundamental Aims*

“The Church must teach the evils of past imperialism, especially American imperialism, which is plotting to use the Church for its own ends. The Church should oppose war, and uphold peace, and support the Government’s land policy.

Through self-criticism, austerity measures, and through reform of itself, the Church should instil a patriotic and democratic spirit among its members and aim at self-reliance.

4. *Concrete Methods*

“(a) The Church must work out concrete plans for self-reliance and rejuvenation.

“(b) The Church must work for a deeper understanding of the nature of Christianity itself, closer fellowship and unity among denominations, cultivation of better leadership, and reform in Church organization.

“(c) The Church must carry on anti-imperialistic, anti-feudalistic and anti-bureaucratic-capitalistic education, together with such forms of service to the people as productive labour, the teaching of an understanding of the New Era, cultural and recreational activities, literacy education, medical and public health work, and care of children.”

It is understood that one prominent Chinese Christian leader refused to sign this document. It is probably true also that large numbers refrained from signing, or signed under some sort of pressure. There is no doubt that its publication at that time made it much more difficult for missionaries to remain in China, and that it placed Chinese Christians, who wished to remain loyal to their missionary friends, in a most invidious position.

In 1951 the Communist government called a special conference in Peking to discuss issues arising from the freezing of American assets in China. Christian leaders were invited to attend this conference. They were instructed to repudiate all financial support from abroad, and told that all Christian institutions receiving

American money must be transferred to Government control. They were also pressed to denounce Imperialism within the Church; and to repudiate any church members who evinced reactionary tendencies.

As a result, large numbers of Christians were haled before People's Courts for trial and punishment. And meetings, in which Christians denounced one another for imperialistic or reactionary attitudes and actions, multiplied throughout the country.

From 1950 onwards missionaries began to leave China in ever-increasing numbers. Actions taken by local officials regarding the taxation of Mission property, the interpretation they put upon the Government's order that the Chinese Church must become "indigenous", and interference in one form or another with the relations of Mission and Church, gradually but surely rendered the position of missionaries untenable. By the end of 1952, practically the whole of the Protestant missionary force, and very large numbers of Roman Catholic missionaries, had left the country.

Two events of importance, which concerned the Chinese Church as a whole, occurred during these years.

The first was the calling of the fifth meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China at Soochow in the autumn of 1948. This was the first full meeting of the Assembly for twelve years, and was therefore a notable occasion. Delegates came from almost every part of China, and some even from Sumatra and Singapore. The theme of the Assembly, viz.: "We reaffirm our faith", was, in the circumstances, most significant, as was its main "finding", namely, that "in the spirit of its reaffirmation of faith in God, and in reliance on Him, this Assembly expresses its apostolic determination *to maintain the work of the Church whatever happens.*"

The second was the launching of a forward movement in 1948 by the National Christian Council, which outlined plans for three years' advance in every part of the land.

3. THE FINAL CHAPTER OF OUR B.M.S. STORY, 1945-54

The declared policy of the B.M.S. throughout this further disturbed period was that their missionaries should continue their work in co-operation with the Chinese Church, for as long as they and their Chinese colleagues considered it useful to do so. Our missionaries on the field at this time were few, and included a number of recent recruits. But wherever they were located, in Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, at Shanghai in the far West, or elsewhere, they did their utmost loyalty to carry out this policy.

But for the reasons already adduced it gradually became quite clear to our Chinese Church leaders and B.M.S. missionaries as well that the interests of the Church as a whole would be best served if they (the missionaries) left the country, and plans were made in each area to that sad end.

a. Shantung

Shantung was a major area of conflict between the Nationalist and Communist armies during 1947-8, and this rendered the rehabilitation of our work extremely difficult. This was true especially in the country areas where the Communists showed themselves bitterly hostile to the Church, and made our pastors one of the main targets of their propaganda. Christians were dubbed "reactionary, feudalistic and capitalistic". Seven out of eight pastors in the Ch'ing-Chou-Fu district and large numbers of other Christians had to flee for their lives to Chi-Nan-Fu, where the situation was under firmer control. Worship was banned altogether in the northern and western sections of our Shantung field, where pastors and other Church leaders displayed outstanding heroism and loyalty. But our country churches were fighting for their lives, and so grim was the struggle that some of the numerically smaller causes died out. Some leaders disappeared without a trace, after being imprisoned and tortured. Many of our Christians and some of our ablest leaders evacuated to Shensi and other western regions.

In Ch'ing-Chou-Fu city the situation became so tense that the

Bible school students had to be transferred to Chi-Nan-Fu. But Wang-Chün-T'ang, veteran and a true stalwart of the Faith, kept the Shou-Shan Industrial School going with its four hundred boys and girls for over two years. Likewise, Dr. Ching-I-Hui, although continually harassed by the Communists, and in spite of his being imprisoned with his staff for a time, managed to sustain the medical work, serving both the Communists and those more friendly disposed, without discrimination. However, in 1948, both the Kuang-Te hospital and the school were taken over by the Communist authorities, and the few B.M.S. missionaries then remaining left the city for other spheres of service.

In the Chou-Ts'un area the situation developed even more seriously. The hospital had been left practically in ruins as a result of the fighting. The church premises were also badly battered, and work by our missionaries became impossible. So the medical staff withdrew to Chi-Nan-Fu, after having made plans for some work to be carried on by Chinese. This, however, proved unsatisfactory. After the missionaries had left B.M.S. property was thoroughly looted. Services were, however, continued in the ruined church. But educational work soon became impracticable, and the Middle School was transferred to Chi-Nan-Fu.

At Chi-Nan-Fu conditions were more stable. Here, the University, under the leadership of its Baptist president, Wu-K'o-Ming, had reassembled after the war on the old campus. But the available staff was quite inadequate to cope with the rapidly increasing number of students which rose to about 850 by 1951. Of these, 300 registered as Christians. Many of the students openly professed Communist sympathies, but the evangelistic opportunity amongst them was remarkable.

The work in the University hospital and Medical and Pharmacy Schools was revived, with the help of funds from U.N.R.R.A. on the initiation of Dr. Flowers, and by the practical assistance of Dr. R. Still, and Sister Alice Wheel from Chou-Ts'un. They were, however, compelled to leave in 1949-50 by the interference of the Communists, and took up work elsewhere.

The Theological School, in which the Rev. F. S. Drake took a major part, struggled manfully to maintain itself against fierce Communist opposition, which was directed particularly against the Principal, the Rev. Lo-Shih-Ch'i, and the purpose of the school which in 1950-1 had forty students in residence. In the latter year, however, the Communist Government, in pursuance of its new policy of concentrating Higher Educational work in a selected number of regional centres, transferred the Theological School to Nanking. Rev. Lo-Shih-Ch'i, although he had not yet satisfied completely his Communist inquisitors as to his political reliability or "sincerity", was allowed to accompany the students, not, however, to continue as Principal, but as "clerk of works", his teaching opportunity being limited to pastoral theology.

The Schools of Arts and Science were also transferred to other centres and affiliated with Government Institutions, and finally the whole of the University buildings were taken over for use as a Government Medical College.

The Middle School adjoining the University also continued to function. Over 450 students were enrolled in 1951, and over 70 per cent. of the staff were Christian.

The Whitewright Institute and Museum remained open under the supervision of a Government appointee, and continued to attract huge crowds. Over 200,000 visitors, about half the number of former years, were recorded in 1950. The B.M.S. Bible School which had been transferred from Ch'ing-Chou-Fu was housed in the Institute buildings, and continued to function under the aegis of the Shantung Synod of the Church of Christ in China. Twenty students completed a three-years' course during this period and in 1951 there were still thirty students in residence. The Rev. F. S. Drake was also associated with this department of work.

The two Baptist churches in the city flourished for a time, their congregations being swollen in the earlier years of this period by refugees from the countryside. But from 1949 onwards, church attendances seriously declined, due largely to the demand made

upon all Christians to attend political meetings, rallies, and indoctrination classes, which were mostly held on Sundays, often at the customary time for worship.

In the circumstances outlined above it was all the more encouraging that the Shantung Baptist Union was able to meet in Chi-Nan-Fu at the end of 1947, and that forty delegates attended. During 1948 over one hundred baptisms were recorded in our Shantung field. The Shantung Synod of the Church of Christ in China assembled at Ch'ing-Tao in November 1948 for the first time in thirteen years. Twelve Baptist and Presbyterian Associations were represented. Emphasis was then being laid on social services by the Church, so this Assembly made plans for graduates of the Synod Bible School to take up work in social service centres at Chou-Ts'un and elsewhere.

In 1950 the Shantung Synod set up its central office in Chi-Nan-Fu. But the next year the freezing of American money made it difficult to maintain an effective Headquarters staff, and prevented the implementation of a number of enterprising projects which had been planned. But B.M.S. missionaries reported that at long last "the Shantung Synod had become a really united Church".

However, all B.M.S. missionaries left Shantung in the spring of 1951. According to reports received in 1952, worship was being maintained, with considerable difficulty, at centres like Chou-Ts'un, Po-Shan, Chih-Ch'uan and Chou-P'ing.

b. Shansi

In Shansi during 1946-9 a small staff of eight of our missionaries wrestled with all manner of difficult situations. Dr. and Mrs. Handley Stockley, aided by Mrs. E. Madge and Mrs. J. Mudd, restarted the medical work for men and women in the T'ai-Yuan-Fu Men's Hospital. (The Women's Hospital was too dilapidated for use.) This involved much reconstruction work on the buildings, but thanks to assistance from the British Red Cross, and other relief funds, some kind of order arose out of the chaos

in which the Japanese had left the place. The training of nurses was restarted and regular services were conducted in the wards and in the out-patient department with the help of both sections of the local Chinese Church.

In the Bridge-head Street church, a new baptistery had been installed, and during 1947 there were forty-four baptisms, twenty-four of the candidates being men. The orphanage under Mrs. Hsi's care continued its ministry without a break. Teaching and evangelistic work in Government Schools and Colleges and in the Y.M.C.A. was undertaken by our missionaries, with encouraging results.

At Hsin-Chou the Christians had repaired the city premises. During a visit paid to the city by Mrs. John Lewis, in 1948, sixteen baptisms took place, all the candidates except two being young people. Mrs. Lewis wound up her report of this visit with the words, "Here we were cheered by a truly self-supporting, self-governing, live Church".

Further north at Kuo-Hsien, it was learned that the pastor of the local church, Rev. Ch'in-Liang, whose thrilling escape from death in 1937 has already been referred to, had passed through further bitter experiences. Rev. E. Madge writes concerning these as follows: "Ch'in-Liang had been appointed one of two overseers of our Church in Shansi by the brethren in 1946. But in an attempt to reach his family, who were reported to be in distress at Kuo-Hsien, he was captured by the Communists. During the period of revived civil war, financial stringency had compelled him to take up a local government appointment with the Nationalists so that he might continue his pastoral work in the city. This in the eyes of the Communists was a hostile act. Although at the time of his capture he was told he could take nothing with him, friends who saw him being led away say he was clasping his Bible under his arm. He was detained in solitary confinement for several months, after which he was transported with hundreds of others to 'slave labour' in the mines. He was seen wearing chains. But he got out a message to his family, in which he asked for the prayers of the Church, that God would

use him for the comfort of the other prisoners." And in conclusion Mr. Madge writes, "The last report our missionaries had of him was that he has been killed."

Still further north in the cities of Tai-Chou and Fan-Ssu, the Church continued to maintain worship throughout this disturbed period though in extremely difficult conditions.

In 1948 the Communists gained full control of the province. After this, little effective work was possible, and it became clear to our missionaries that it would be in the best interests of the Chinese Church if they left. But first they made the most satisfactory arrangements possible for the handing over of the property. The hospital in T'ai-Yuan-Fu on which so much labour and expense had recently been expended to restore it to Christian usefulness was handed over to the local government on a three-year agreement, and the remainder of the B.M.S. property was transferred to a committee of the provincial Synod of the Church of Christ in China.

On 19th July 1949, our missionaries took leave of their Chinese brethren, cheered by their assurances that "with God's help they would continue to witness faithfully to Him".

c. Shensi

From 1946 onwards the reinforcement of our Shensi staff made it possible to continue work in the three main centres of Hsi-An-Fu, San-Yuan and Fu-Yin-Ts'un until the spring of 1951.

In Hsi-An-Fu, church and evangelistic work was most encouraging for a time. The city church added over a hundred to its membership in 1947. Christian broadcasting services were conducted at fortnightly intervals, and visits were paid to factories and prisons by preaching bands. A summer school for students was held in 1948 at which 107 decisions for Christ were recorded.

Dr. and Mrs. S. Henderson-Smith and Sister Grace Stageman had arrived in 1946 to reinforce the medical staff, and the hospital buildings in the city were completely restored and officially reopened in August 1948. Departments for children and out-

patients were added, and the beds increased to 120. The materials for reconstruction were secured after tremendous obstacles had been overcome and in definite answer to prayer. The Baptist Church at Tilehouse Street, Hitchin, raised £2,697 for this work as a war memorial, and £4,000 was donated from Relief funds. The number of out-patients averaged about 900 a day, a third of whom were poor or absolutely destitute. The Nursing Training School, under a Chinese Principal, had sixty students.

The story of Lee-Hai-Feng, won for Christ in this hospital, as told by Rev. F. S. Russell, is worthy of a place in this record. "Lee-Hai-Feng was a very wealthy man, but he and his wife were slaves to the opium habit. I gave him a copy of the New Testament which he read. The story of the rich young ruler greatly disturbed his mind. In response to his eager inquiries as to what he should do, I told him that loyalty to Christ meant the surrender of all that hindered, such as opium, and if need be, wealth. Mr. and Mrs. Lee entered our hospital. Both were cured of the opium habit, soundly converted, were baptized and joined the Church.

"Thereupon their wealth was entirely devoted to Christ. Mr. Lee set up a knitting and weaving factory in his ancestral home, to relieve and maintain over fifty famine refugees. He organized a Christian Community centre on a co-operative basis, and rehabilitated over a hundred impoverished farmers. Then he decided that his entire energies and resources should be devoted to direct evangelism. In 1949 his latest venture is a brightly-coloured gospel-cart bedecked with texts. Inside is a microphone and loud-speaker which makes it possible to preach to several thousands in the public parks. He is being mightily used of God. His humility and evangelistic zeal are a tower of strength to the Church in Shensi, and to all who know him. To come into his presence is a benediction. What a transformation from the emaciated opium addict of twenty-two years ago, to the fervent-evangelist of to-day."

The Middle School in Hsi-An-Fu in 1948 had over 700 students on its registers, and in that same year when it became a co-educational

tional establishment twenty-two Bible classes were regularly conducted in the School, the attendance and spirit being equally encouraging.

In the early summer of 1949, the change-over from Nationalist to Communist control was attended by much disturbance, and it was thought advisable for some B.M.S. missionaries to leave. But after a short interruption all work was restarted. In August of that year the Hsi-An-Fu District Church Council appointed ten pastors and evangelists who promised to support themselves in the Pauline tradition. A summer school attended by sixty-three evangelists was also held. And a new Baptist church was opened in the north-east of the city, where the membership had grown in a few years from five to 130, with a Sunday school of over 300 scholars.

During 1950, however, Communist propaganda and pressure checked much of this promising progress. Bible teaching was prohibited in schools. The Boards of our schools and hospitals were confronted with new regulations demanding the inclusion of students, servants and even cleaners on Committees of Management. The numbers of students in our city schools and hospital out-patients rapidly decreased in numbers. Chinese Christian leaders, however, continued in loyal co-operation with our missionaries. The Chinese superintendent of the Mission hospital, Dr. Yeh-Sui-Ho, maintained its Christian character against all sorts of opposition, and a special mission in the hospital yielded sixty decisions for Christ.

At San-Yuan conditions were also promising for a time. Rev. and Mrs. W. Mudd, veterans of the Shensi mission, returned to the field in 1947 to meet the urgent needs of the Bible Training School. They received a great welcome from the staff and the fifteen students then in session. Four of these graduated, after a three-year course, in 1950, and at least twenty others, many of whom were local lay leaders, completed a special one-year course in 1951. One of these, named Fang, went on for further training to the Theological College, connected with the West China Christian University at Ch'eng-Tu. In view of the special

circumstances existing at that time, the following account of this man, given by Rev. J. Sutton, then in Ch'eng-Tu, is interesting. "When it became clear that the help of the B.M.S. must of necessity shortly cease because of the Communist Government's attitude, he (Fang) delivered an address on Hagar and Ishmael, as recorded in Genesis xxi. He said, 'We Chinese Christians are like Hagar, and the Missionary Societies like her water-bottle, precious and useful. But their help in money is likely to come to an end, and our missionary friends may have to leave us. What then? Does it mean that we sit hopeless? Never! We too have a well, a supply, resources adequate to our need. What are these resources? They are Christ, Christ Himself.' And," continues Mr. Sutton, "he is proving his faith to be valid, ministering to a small but active group as pastor, depending day by day entirely on his own resources in Christ for all his needs, both spiritual and material."

During 1949 the medical staff at San-Yuan opened a number of district dispensaries, to two of which trained midwives were appointed. A Christian book-room was also opened in the city, and a chain of circulating libraries started in the district, with the help of the Council of Christian Publishers.

At Fu-Yin-Ts'un (Gospel Village) in 1949, fifty women completed a course of Bible and domestic training, and another fifty enrolled for the next year.

Yen-An-Fu had been the Headquarters of the Communist Party since 1936. Prior to that it had been the practice for pastors to be appointed to this district by the Shensi Synod. These, however, had withdrawn soon after the Communists arrived. So during the critical period of Communist occupation, responsibility for the work of the Church had perforce to be carried by lay workers. Elder Kao stands out as the acknowledged and respected leader of those years. Between 1934 and 1944 three men and two women had been sent from Yen-An-Fu to the Bible School at San-Yuan for training. Two of the men were nephews of Elder Kao. On their return they took up teaching work in the Communist-controlled Middle School at Yen-An-Fu. But after

one year's service, they were dismissed because they were exercising too strong a Christian influence over the students. An honourable dismissal!

Unfortunately two of the other trainees from San-Yuan died during these years, and the whole district at this most critical time suffered from a desperate shortage of trained leaders. Whenever it became possible sporadic attempts were made by missionaries and Church leaders, on both sides of the dividing line, to make contact and renew fellowship. Four of our missionaries at one time got as far north as Lo-Ch'uan, and in the winter of 1945 the Rev. Will Bell made an extensive trip in the north to ascertain the facts of the situation. He was able to gather the church for a series of meetings, and to arrange for two of the leaders to attend classes at San-Yuan when civil strife died down. He was greatly encouraged by the way in which Elder Kao and his lay colleagues had survived the ordeal of Communist control. Reports received later indicate that the Communists promised a gift of land and to meet the expense of replacing the church building which was destroyed in 1947 during an air-raid on the Communists' headquarters.

By the spring of 1950 the indoctrination policy of the Communist government in Hsi-An-Fu aroused deep concern in Church and Mission circles. A special meeting of the Shensi Synod met to determine what attitude Christians should adopt towards the new régime. Ten days were spent in prayer and conference on the numerous regulations and demands of the Government, which amongst other things required the appointment of new Boards of Trustees for Christian schools, hospitals and other institutions, and a complete revision of "the Church Constitution". Government pressure and demands soon rendered the position of the missionaries untenable. So after many meetings and prolonged negotiations, our missionaries handed over the deeds of all the Society's property in Shensi, to the Synod of the Church of Christ in China on 2nd February 1951, and made plans for leaving.

The letter addressed to the B.M.S. by the officers of that Synodical Assembly contained the following paragraph:

"From the first day until now, God has given untold grace in the zealous sacrifices of our fellow-believers, and there have been many raised up who have given themselves. The pioneers, who loved the Lord, came to China to labour, suffering hardship and offences. Not a few, both men and women, fellow-workers, laid down their lives. Every time we look upon their graves, there is limitless reflection and inspiration. *Thanks be to God, His Church has been established, and the Gospel preached, witnessing that your labour in the Lord has not been in vain.*"

The letter also emphasized the need for the Church to be entirely self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating; gratefully acknowledged the decision of the Society to transfer the property to them, and concluded with a request for prayer.

A further letter, dated 18th April 1951, addressed to the B.M.S. China Secretary, Rev. H. W. Spillett, by the Secretary of the Shensi Synod, Mr. Wang-Tao-Sheng, after expressing gratitude for the financial aid given throughout the years by the B.M.S., added:

"Now that our Church is able to go firmly forward on the path of self-support, we wish to express our sincere gratitude to all our brothers and sisters in the older churches. *Our desire is for the maintenance and permanence of the Christian fellowship between us.*"

d. General Transfer of property

B.M.S. property in Shantung and Shansi was also transferred to representative bodies of the Church of Christ in China before our missionaries left.

The property thus handed over comprised fifty residences, seventeen school buildings, six hospitals, and twenty-four churches.

e. Closing years in other spheres

Some of our missionaries previously uprooted from their old spheres of labour found new opportunities between 1949 and 1951 of continuing their services in other parts of China and Hong Kong. They worked in eight different provinces, mainly

in spheres under the aegis of the Church of Christ in China. They filled staffing "gaps" created during the war years, and made much-appreciated contributions to the work of other Missionary Societies.

f. The Border Mission

After the Border Mission, in the far West, had become a definitely Christian enterprise, Rev. W. B. Chang appealed to the Societies affiliated with the Church of Christ in China for at least two doctors and one nurse, and a few missionary experts in afforestation and husbandry. The B.M.S. thereupon appointed five missionaries to this work, Rev. J. Henderson Smith (1945-7), Rev. and Mrs. W. S. Upchurch (1946-50) and Rev. and Mrs. Ernest Madge (1948-50). Mrs. Madge had gained considerable experience of many forms of medical missionary work elsewhere. Mrs. Upchurch was also a trained nurse. The Northern American Baptists had formerly had work in this area. Some of their members were gradually reassembled, and the Church itself reorganized. Also a new church was built in Hsi-Ch'eng, the capital of the province of Hsi-Ch'ang. Three village chapels were reopened, and one pastor and two evangelists appointed. Rev. and Mrs. W. S. Upchurch engaged in leper work as well as evangelism. Mrs. Madge reorganized the medical work in Hsi-Ch'eng and began the training of nurses. Mr. Madge, in addition to supervising the general work of the district, translated one of the Gospels into the Nosu tribal tongue. In 1949 twenty-two persons were baptized.

There seemed every hope at that time of a wide expansion of the Church among the aboriginal tribes of this remote far-Western region. But during 1950 the Communists penetrated to the area, and by a pursuance of the tactics they had employed elsewhere and which have been described above, compelled our missionaries to leave.

Other B.M.S. missionaries who had taken up work in other provinces also left the country during 1951.

And, finally, the China Secretary of the Society, the Rev.

H. W. Spillett, who, in addition to carrying out his secretarial duties had been ministering for some time to the English-speaking community in the Shanghai cathedral, was granted his exit permit in September 1952, and left the port, where in 1860 our first missionaries to China, Kloekers and Hall, had landed with such high hopes. Thus the long, and in many ways wonderful, chapter of B.M.S. history in China was brought to its seemingly tragic end.

In Part Two of this book, the various forms of work in which our missionaries engaged will be summarized, and in Part Three some attempt will be made to appraise what by the grace of God, they were enabled actually to achieve.

PART TWO

DIVERSITIES OF OPERATIONS

CHAPTER II

PREACHING THE WORD

THE historical survey which precedes this section will, I trust, have demonstrated the loyalty of our China missionaries to the one great aim of the B.M.S., namely, the proclamation of "the glorious gospel of the blessed God, committed to their trust", and the exaltation of Jesus Christ as the Saviour and Lord of all mankind.

In this chapter we shall endeavour to outline the ways in which they addressed themselves to their supreme and basic task of "Preaching the Word".

BROADCASTING THE MESSAGE

Their first objective was to make as many people as possible acquainted with the essential truths of the gospel. So they travelled widely through their districts, preaching in village streets, at inns, markets or theatres, distributing tracts, or selling Scripture portions. Conversation with individuals or groups in the course of these journeys sometimes resulted in an invitation to visit certain villages or homes at regular intervals. This was the way in which many of our local churches were founded, and the method that continued to be used as long as travel of this kind remained the vogue.

Journeyings of this type, however, consume a great deal of time and energy. This was particularly true of pre-motor days, when wheelbarrows, donkeys, mule-drawn carts or litters, or "Shanks's pony" were the usual means of transport. Slowness of

travel had its advantages, as it permitted of leisurely conversations with fellow-travellers, and caused the missionary to spend time in wayside villages and towns, which later on in days of speedier travel he was inclined to pass by.

However, as the Christian community grew, schools and training institutions, necessary to the strengthening and expansion of the Church, began to make demands on the missionary's time and effort, and left him less free to travel far from the residential station, where for the convenience of all, these institutions and central churches which for some years required his care were usually situated.

At the same time, while he realized the importance of all this centralized work to the general programme of activities, no B.M.S. missionary could divest himself of his prime responsibility to "preach the gospel". And so he began to think of how he could discharge this responsibility in as satisfying and effective a way as was practicable in these circumstances.

THE GOSPEL-HALL

One of the most effective methods adopted with this in view, and which was in constant use, was the street-chapel, or preaching-hall.

This usually consisted of a large room or rooms situated on the main street, and was normally open to the street like the Chinese shops surrounding it. In places where staffing conditions permitted, the hall was open for most of the day. In some centres a bookshop adjoined the hall, and a guest-room with facilities for serving the essential cup of tea provided an opportunity for questions and informal conversation. Chinese evangelists were responsible for most of this work, but missionaries, some of whom were experts in public popular preaching, took an important part in it, and usually attracted the larger crowd.

Conversions frequently resulted from this work, some of them quite striking. Han-Meng-Pao, a well-to-do farmer and business man of Chiao-Ch'eng, Shansi, provides a good illustration. In the

course of a business visit to T'ai-Yuan-Fu, he noticed a "high-nosed foreign devil" (his own description of a missionary) addressing a large crowd in the preaching-hall. He went in and was deeply moved by the earnestness and message of the preacher (the Rev. J. J. Turner). He was, however, too proud and reserved to accept his invitation to drink tea and chat awhile. But he furtively purchased a New Testament, which he took home and read from cover to cover. To make a long story short, he was soundly converted, as he says, "without any human aid, and influenced solely by the Holy Spirit". Later he was baptized, and became the instrument in God's hand for the establishment of the Church in Chiao-Ch'eng, and the respected leader of a vigorous and independent church which grew up there, and in the adjoining county of Wen-Shui.

MARKETS AND FAIRS

Advantage was regularly taken of concourses of the country people on market-days, or at fairs or open-air theatres at the time of special festivals, to broadcast the gospel. Usually, however, it was not easy to make one's voice heard above the hubbub of bartering, the braying of donkeys, the brawling of gamblers, the high-pitched falsetto of the actors, the clashing of cymbals or the screeching of Chinese fiddles, or the general confusion which usually characterized these occasions. Chinese preachers were more at home in such circumstances than the missionary, although a few revelled in this type of work, and were very effective in it.

MUSEUMS

Reference has already been made (p. 48) to the ingenious experiment made by Rev. J. S. Whitewright at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu in 1887, in establishing a museum in the city, which served both as a medium of popular education and widespread evangelism. This experiment was so successful that, when the Arthington funds were made available for extension work, Mr. Whitewright

was asked to set up a similar but much larger institution in the capital city of Chi-Nan-Fu, which was at that time notoriously anti-foreign, and which hitherto had shown itself particularly hostile to missionary effort. Rev. Frank Harmon, who had previously made several efforts to settle in the city, had been seriously injured, and missionaries of the American Presbyterian Mission had met with similar experiences.

This new institution, which was opened in 1906 for full work, attracted an average of about 350,000 people annually, a figure which is roughly equivalent to the total population of the city.

The central hall was specially arranged for preaching purposes. It seated 250, and was normally well-filled by audiences representing a good cross-section of Chinese society, when at regular intervals throughout the day evangelistic addresses were given, by both missionaries and Chinese evangelists, who often used pictures, models, etc., to drive their message home. After the preaching, tracts were distributed, and Scriptures sold, and an invitation was always given to visit the adjoining guest-rooms for further conversation and instruction in the Christian faith. Those who showed special interest were introduced to the pastor of the neighbouring Baptist Church, which received a number of accessions to its membership every year as a result.

But the spiritual influence of this centralized work spread far and wide. Visitors included many from distant places, who, either through hearing of the gospel, or the Scriptures they had taken away, later became Christian, and were instrumental under God in founding new churches in remote parts of Shantung province.

The Institute and Museum was open six days a week. Mondays were reserved for women visitors until more recent years, although they were also admitted on other days. On high-days and holidays as many as seven thousand women would pass through the recording turnstile at the main entrance.

A special feature of the Institute's work in the earlier years was the reception of officials and other influential people, in special guest rooms, furnished in appropriate Chinese style. The Governor and other provincial officials were frequently entertained in

this way. This, combined with the great popularity of the place, was a highly important factor in breaking down the age-long prejudice of the people of Chi-Nan-Fu against the gospel.

As the years went by, and conditions generally in the country changed, new features were added to the work of the Institute. Classes for illiterates, Sunday-schools, youth clubs, exhibitions featuring agriculture, home industries, child welfare, etc., and developments of the earlier idea of scientific lectures, lantern and cinema services, all helped to enhance this remarkable evangelistic opportunity.

Between 1917 and 1932 the Institute functioned as the Extension Department of the Shantung Christian University, and in that capacity afforded the professors and students of the University splendid scope for a variety of popular lectures and a much appreciated opening for evangelistic work.

But after the University became a registered Institution with the Government (1931-2) it was thought desirable for the Institute to revert to its original status as an independent unit, while continuing in close association with the University for co-operative work, in order to ensure that it would continue to have full freedom to pursue the evangelistic purpose for which it was originally designed, and which it so signally served.

The late Dr. J. R. Mott described the Institute as one of the most enterprising and effective centres of evangelism in the world. It is deservedly known in Mission circles as the Whitewright Institute, in honour of its founder, whose consecrated genius, enshrined within it, was used by God both prior to and since his death in 1926, to make the name of Christ known to untold millions.

Dr. E. H. Edwards, in connection with the reconstruction of our work in Shansi after 1900, set up a museum in T'ai-Yuan-Fu, to which a small preaching-hall was attached, which attracted considerable numbers of visitors. In 1916 most of the exhibits were transferred to new buildings on the New-South-Gate Street, where in close association with the Y.M.C.A. the work was developed somewhat on the Chi-Nan-Fu pattern. This functioned

quite successfully for some years until 1921, when the Y.M.C.A. acquired the building for its expanding work.

Many of the exhibits were then transferred to Hsin-Chou, where for some years past the Rev. P. J. Smith had equipped rooms at the city church-centre as a museum. This drew large crowds, especially on market days and holidays, and greatly assisted the evangelistic efforts of the local church.

TEAMS AND TENTS

In addition to these evangelistic efforts in the cities, which reached not only city folk, but large numbers from the surrounding villages and small towns, efforts were made to convey the gospel to the people in their home environment. So from 1918 onwards, teams of Chinese evangelists and missionaries visited special areas for concentrated efforts lasting for some weeks at a time. These missions were usually undertaken at the invitation of local Christians, who themselves took part in the campaign.

From 1923 tent missions were inaugurated chiefly in country districts, the local churches usually providing the cost of transport, seating and incidental expenses, and promising preliminary prayerful preparation, and co-operation in the follow-up work. The tents accommodated between 250 and 500 people. But at times crowds of as many as 5,000 assembled in the vicinity. And as food-shops and booths sprang up like mushrooms round the tent, the mission took on the appearance of a great religious festival.

In T'ai-Yuan-Fu, the tent was occasionally used in the city itself, on open ground, and attracted great crowds. In 1924 the tent band twice visited one village in the Chou-Ts'un area where there was not a single Christian. Thirteen baptisms and over sixty authentic inquirers were enrolled as a result. During 1932 in San-Yuan forty days were given to this method. Afterwards fifty people began to worship regularly in one of the enrolled inquirers' homes.

These methods, supplemented by special weeks of evangelism at New Year time, or on other national holidays, in which each

church-member was encouraged to take part, kept the evangelistic purpose of the Church well to the forefront of all its activities, and resulted in many being added to its fellowship.

CHINESE PERIPATETIC EVANGELISTS

After 1907 Chinese evangelists began to conduct missions on the grand scale in many parts of the country. Men like Ting-Li-Mei, Wang-Ming-Tao, and Leyland Wang were particularly successful in B.M.S. fields. Others like Peter Wang, Marcus Ch'eng, Calvin Chao, and Dr. Sung, attracted huge crowds by more spectacular methods and with more emphasis than the other three on "fundamental" theology. Each was used by God to the spiritual enlightenment of large numbers, and the rousing of the Church to a keener interest in evangelism.

TRACTS AND COLPORTEURS

Tracts and Scripture portions were widely distributed in all this "broadcasting" work, and in the provision of the necessary literature the Religious Tract Society, the Blackstone Trust, the Scripture Gift Mission, the Christian Literature Society, and the Bible Societies of Britain and America rendered generous and invaluable aid.

Mention must also be made of the faithful and persevering work of Chinese colporteurs, who in journeyings oft, in village street and market square, along the highways and by-ways, at markets, fairs, temple gate, and theatre approach, sold their precious wares, and commended the gospel by the spoken as well as by the printed word. Most of the colporteurs working under B.M.S. auspices were supported by the British and Foreign Bible Society. This colportage work was effective everywhere, but was particularly successful in Shantung. For instance, in 1934, in the Chou-Ts'un area, over 75,000 Scripture portions were sold, as well as 431 Bibles and 242 New Testaments.

EVANGELISM AMONGST STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS

Evangelism in Mission schools and colleges will be dealt with in the section on Education.

With regard to work amongst students in the general community, it will be convenient to deal with them in two sections, one concerned with work in the pre-1911 period, when the official classes were pre-eminently attached to the Confucian way of life, and the other with the post-1911 era, when, although Confucianism retained its hold on the scholarly and official mind for a time, wider ideas began to circulate freely amongst the influential classes generally, and the study of all religions, including Christianity, became popular amongst them.

IN THE PRE-1911 PERIOD

The distribution of special literature to candidates for the official examinations, and the setting of themes for essays on religious subjects resulted in some outstanding instances of conversion. The publications of the Christian Literature Society were also remarkably influential in opening the minds of the scholarly classes to the moral and social values in Christianity. But very few made public profession of faith in Christ. It should be remembered that in those days adherence to Confucianism was the essential condition of entry into Government service.

A few of our missionaries who had made themselves conversant with Chinese religious ideas got on to intimate terms with some of them, by visits and personal conversation in their bureaux or homes, and occasionally they found men of the stamp of Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea or Gamaliel. It was, however, extremely difficult to convince these men of the uniqueness of Christianity.

Discussions on this vital question often resulted in the Chinese remarking, "Our God (by which they meant Shang Ti, the God of the Confucian classics), is the same as yours".

THE PERIOD 1911-37

After the revolution of 1911, the minds of students and officials were much more receptive to Christian truth. Few of them were as well versed in Confucian lore as their predecessors, or were as fully committed to its principles and precepts as they had been. Buddhism with its quietistic emphasis, and Taoism with its emphasis on *laissez faire*, no longer appealed as strongly as they had done to these classes, most of whom were eager to imbibe Western ideas, and to make all things new.

Religion was widely publicized by the authorities of the new régime as essential to moral and social progress. And as Sun-Yat-Sen was known to be a Christian, and Christianity had clearly made a notable social contribution to China's progress, large numbers of the new intelligentsia began to evince an eager interest in Christian teaching.

Institutions like the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. became extremely popular. Students from the new schools and colleges enrolled in large numbers for English and readily attended Bible classes and lectures. This type of work was extended to all provinces, and assumed particular importance in capital cities. B.M.S. missionaries in their evangelistic efforts amongst students and the newer type of official adopted this method in Chi-Nan-Fu, T'ai-Yuan-Fu, Hsi-An-Fu and other important centres.

Students began to attend church services, and on special occasions officials would put in an appearance. This was a welcome innovation and afforded much encouragement. Missions to these classes on a large scale were conducted between 1913 and 1937 by leaders like Dr. J. R. Mott, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, and Dr. E. Stanley Jones, and thousands of students signed cards expressing their willingness to know more of the Christian religion. B.M.S. work in the provincial capitals derived much benefit from these special efforts.

Admittedly it was the social rather than the individual evangelical implications of the gospel which appealed to these students; and it was as Teacher and Exemplar of the spirit of self-sacrifice,

rather than as a personal Saviour, that Christ attracted them. They interpreted the Cross as the symbol of sacrifice in the public interest, rather than the means of atonement for sin. In fact the Chinese term for sacrifice was given a new significance as a result. Formerly it had implied offerings of animals, silks, food and the like. But now it was commonly used to mean the offering of one's self for the welfare of all.

That, however, is not all that can be said. Many students were genuinely converted and joined the Church, with a full sense of committal to Christ, as a result of these special missions.

SYNCRETIC MOVEMENTS

Official emphasis on religion as an asset to social progress and stability led to the growth of a number of syncretic religious societies after 1911.

Prominent amongst these were the Tao Yuan, which originated in Shantung, and sought to promote the worship of the Most Holy Primeval Father, deemed to be the originator of all religions; the Universal Religious Society which was widely influential in Shansi; and other kindred societies which spread into Shensi, and all parts of China. Most, if not all of these, included Christ in their pantheon. He was accorded equal honour with Confucius, Mencius, Buddha, Mohammed, Lao Tzu and some others in their halls of worship. In Shansi homage was also paid to John the Baptist, Moses, Isaiah, and other Biblical figures who were revered as political revolutionaries or saviours of their people.

B.M.S. missionaries were sometimes invited to address meetings of these societies, and took the opportunity to emphasize the distinctive features of Christianity, and the uniqueness of Jesus Christ, while showing sympathy with the spirit of the promoters of such movements.

Reference of a more detailed character has already been made to movements of this kind in Shansi (pp. 110 f.).

“NEW THOUGHT” MOVEMENTS AND COMMUNISM

A notable feature of the post-revolutionary period was the rise of a number of “New Thought” movements, which had as their aim the critical examination of every system of philosophy, government, education, social relationships and religion, Chinese and foreign, old and new, which had ever been devised by man.

Missionaries and Chinese church leaders, realizing the serious nature of the challenge which these movements presented to their faith in the uniqueness and supremacy of Jesus Christ, began to preach with fresh urgency and conviction, and the Church as a whole awoke as never before to the need for united prayer and action. Nation-wide evangelistic campaigns, in which the B.M.S. fully participated, were organized by the National Christian Council in 1926 and later, as a counter challenge.

BROADCASTING

Mr. K. S. Lee, a wealthy exchange broker in Shanghai, donated a small set of 150 watts to the Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association to enable them to broadcast Christian programmes locally. Then in 1933, he presented them with a new transmitter of 1 kilowatt strength, sufficiently powerful to reach every part of the Far East and Australia. Programmes mainly, but not exclusively, religious, were broadcast daily from 12.25 to 10 p.m. in many languages. The set was installed in the building of the Christian Literature Society, the staff of which, including the Rev. A. J. Garnier, took a major share in the broadcasting work. Mr. Adam Black, B.M.S. accountant, and others of our missionaries visiting the port, were also invited to give religious messages.

In 1935, the old set of 150 watts was transferred to Peking, and installed in a Christian school connected with the American Congregational Church, of which the Rev. P. H. Wang, formerly of the B.M.S. in Shantung, was pastor. Religious and

cultural talks were transmitted throughout North China from this centre. Miss P. Willis, also of our Society, took a share for some time in this important branch of evangelistic work.

During 1935-6 a number of official and commercial organizations installed local broadcasting facilities in important centres, and B.M.S. missionaries were given many opportunities to use this new medium of evangelism in Chi-Nan-Fu and Hsi-An-Fu.

THE PERIOD 1937-46

In Shantung and Shansi for most of this period of Japanese occupation the evangelistic task was, of necessity, the sole responsibility of our Chinese Christian brethren. The story of their courage and steadfastness in the discharge of this grave responsibility in circumstances of extreme hardship and danger is told in Section I. In Shensi, however, in spite of much necessary concentration on the problems of refugees, and alarms and excursions caused by the war and threats of Japanese invasion, evangelistic work under Mission-Church auspices made substantial progress.

THE PERIOD 1946-51

Conditions in Shantung and Shansi remained disturbed during these years, and although very small numbers of B.M.S. missionaries returned for a short spell to both provinces, it was impracticable to organize effective evangelistic work in country districts. In Shensi, where there had been more or less continuity of work in the preceding period, evangelism was still possible, and continued to be prosecuted with vigour and success.

A number of B.M.S. missionaries were at work in Central, South and West China during these years, and in association with their new foreign and Chinese colleagues, took a major share in evangelistic activities. Progress, particularly in the Western Border Mission, was of a gratifying character for some time.

SUMMARY

The contribution of educational and medical missionaries and their Chinese co-workers to the major task of evangelism, was important and valuable, and is referred to elsewhere. (See pp. 223 f.).

Although, measured by ascertainable statistics, the results of these various evangelistic efforts may not appear to be spectacular, they did issue, by the Grace of God, in the creation of a Church, founded on the Rock, Christ Jesus, and a glory to His name.

CHAPTER 12

ESTABLISHING THE CHURCH

THE missionaries of the B.M.S. quite early in our history realized that the creation of an indigenous Church, which at the same time would have the marks of the true Church of God, was the main objective of their evangelistic task; that this was essential to the successful prosecution of that task, and to its continuance in the future. And so they consistently encouraged their Chinese brethren to co-operate with them in the various efforts that were made towards the realization of this goal, by inculcating the principles of self-propagation, self-government and self-support, which are usually regarded as the essential characteristics of an indigenous Church.

This policy could only be implemented gradually, stage by stage, as Chinese Christians in sufficient numbers and of suitable character and ability became available for the undertaking of the responsibilities and the discharge of the various functions involved.

It was natural that in the very early period of our work the missionary should take the initiative in organizing evangelistic work, and that in the administration and government of the Church and institutions which grew up alongside it, the missionary should carry major responsibilities, as he had knowledge and ideas of the nature, history and task of the Church, which the first generation of Chinese Christians had to learn and which it took time to acquire, and required experience to digest and apply.

One should not, therefore, be surprised to read in the report of the Glover-Morris deputation of 1892, of "Mr. Jones's family of orphans"; of Mr. Whitewright's Training Institute; of Mr. Coulting's school; of Mr. Richard's evangelists; or that as late as 1907, in the Wilson-Fullerton deputation report, Mr. Shorrocks should

be referred to, perhaps a little humorously, as "the Shensi Bishop"! In fact, it was the common practice in all three provinces, until 1925 or thereabouts, for missionaries to act as principals of boarding schools and colleges; to serve as president of the Shantung Christian University, or deans of its various departments; to be hospital superintendents, and general secretaries of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and kindred institutions. More often than not he would serve, too, as treasurer, chief-accountant, and paymaster of these various institutions. In Shantung and Shensi Chinese pastors were appointed quite early in our history. But for many years missionaries in all three provinces served as pastors of some churches, particularly in the large cities, and presided at church meetings and Communion services. Also, in the early stages of joint assemblies, or conferences and committees of Mission and Church, it was usual for the missionary to be elected as president or chairman.

This was quite natural in the circumstances, and generally acceptable to the Chinese, amongst whom it was the normal practice for the pupil to regard his teacher with deep respect and affection, to think of him, in fact, as his "guide, philosopher and friend" for life. So, even after our Chinese brethren became pastors, teachers, medical assistants, or secretaries of institutions, inasmuch as they had received their training from the missionary, they continued to adhere loyally to the implications of the teacher-pupil relationship, readily accepted the lead and advice of the missionary in these spheres of common service, and accorded to his words due (some would say un-due) "weight", in the early developments of Baptist unions and joint councils.

However, as the Church grew in numbers, and Chinese leaders gained experience and training, they gradually took over these major responsibilities from the missionary, not only in the Church and Mission Institutions, but in joint councils as well. As these developments in the main reflected progress in the wider sphere of Mission-Church relationships in China as a whole, it will be helpful to outline these now.

In 1877 and again in 1890 National Christian Conferences were

held in Shanghai. No Chinese delegate was present in 1877, but at the latter gathering, which was attended by 445 missionaries, two Chinese were registered. In 1907, at the Centenary Conference of Protestant Missions in China, also held in Shanghai, which was attended by 1,186 delegates and visitors, six or seven Chinese were registered as visitors, and during the proceedings a few Chinese pastors from Shanghai and district were invited on to the platform to have their photographs taken! But the Conference took a great step forward in recognizing that the Chinese Church was entitled to "autonomy" and in expressing its eager anticipation of the time when it should "pass beyond our guidance and control". There were 3,400 Protestant missionaries in China, and 175,000 members of the Protestant Church at that date.

At the first World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910, the Rev. Ch'eng-Ching-I of the L.M.S. had the distinction of being the sole Chinese delegate.

But after the revolution of 1911, developments in the direction of fuller Chinese representation on National Christian organization and Assemblies were both rapid and significant. At the first meeting of the China Continuation Committee held in 1913 (which had been suggested by the Edinburgh Conference of 1910), over one-third of the 120 delegates were Chinese, and at five regional conferences which were held about that time a large proportion of the members were representatives of the Chinese Church.

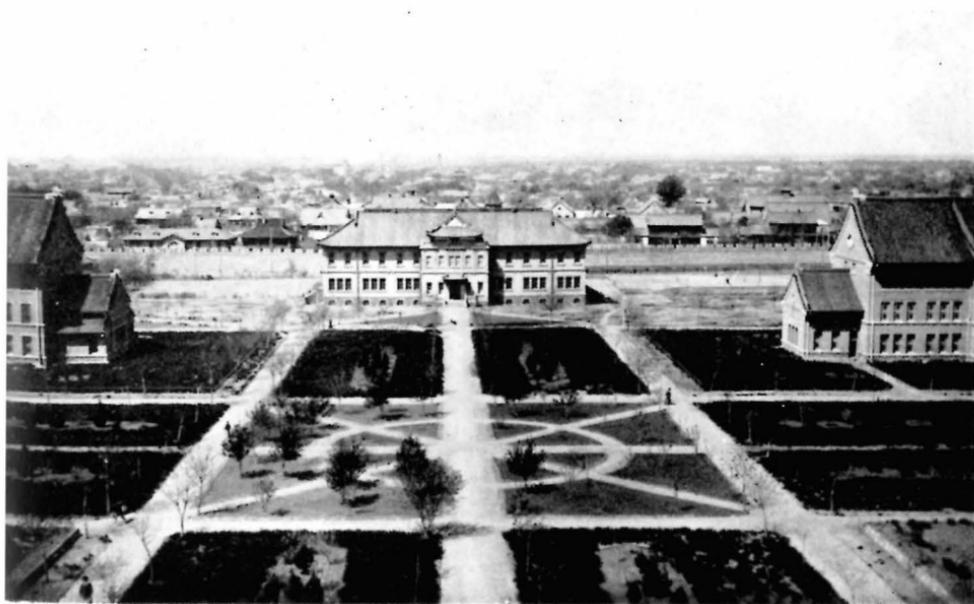
In 1919 the China Continuation Committee convened a Conference which consisted of equal numbers of Chinese and foreign missionary delegates. During this Conference the Chinese delegates met by themselves, and as an independent group launched their first "China for Christ" campaign through which, as they stated, they hoped that "the heart of China could be made to feel the power of Christ to produce the type of character that would save the nation".

In 1922, at the meeting of the National Christian Conference convened in Shanghai, the majority of the 1,200 delegates were Chinese. The chairman was also Chinese, the Rev. Ch'eng-



A PRIMARY SCHOOL AT SAN-YUAN

PART OF THE CHEELOO UNIVERSITY





THE WHITEWRIGHT INSTITUTE, CHI-NAN-FU

C.L.S. HEADQUARTERS, SHANGHAI, IN TIMOTHY RICHARD'S TIME



Ching-I (mentioned above). During this conference the Chinese members assembled separately as a Commission, under his chairmanship, and issued the following statement:

"We express our appreciation of the work of the missionaries, who through untold difficulties have blazed the way and laid down the great structure for national evangelization, and our gratitude to the Christian churches of the west, through whose faithful support the missionary work has been developed and attained its present growth.

"We Chinese Christians declare that we have the commission from the Head of the Church, Jesus Christ, to proclaim the gospel to every creature.

"We confidently hope that the time will soon come when the Church in China will repay in part, for that which she has bountifully received from her mother churches in the west, the loving tributes of the daughter . . . contributions in thought, life and achievements, for the enrichment of the Church Catholic."

The crowning act of this National Conference was the constitution of the National Christian Council of China, which was to comprise one hundred members, the majority of whom were to be Chinese.

So we see that by this time Chinese Christians in these national assemblies had not only come to recognize the evangelization of the Chinese people as their own responsibility. They had also become aware of their identity as the Church of Christ in China, and assumed, with the cordial concurrence of their foreign missionary colleagues, a major share of administrative responsibility for overall Mission—Church policy and procedure.

These important developments on the national scale naturally had their repercussions in every part of the country, and in our own area expedited the formation of joint councils of the Mission and Church in each of the three provinces. The Shantung Baptist Union, from its inception in pre-1900 days, had comprised representatives of both Mission and Church. But until 1922 the matters considered at these meetings were mainly concerned with the life of the Church itself, and not with Mission Institutions. But after that year a joint council composed of Mission and Church delegates met annually to consult on all matters, including allocation of finance, connected with our united witness and enter-

prise. Similar joint councils were formed in Shansi and Shensi in 1923, which proved to be of inestimable value in promoting a sense of brotherhood and unity, between missionaries and their Chinese brethren, and in expediting the process of devolution of responsibility for administration of both Church and Institutional affairs from missionary to Chinese shoulders. Gradually also Station Committees, which hitherto had been composed solely of missionaries, were re-organized to include Chinese representatives, and this contributed greatly to the creation of a healthier spirit of understanding and co-operation.

INTER-DENOMINATIONAL CO-OPERATION AND CHURCH UNITY

B.M.S. missionaries did their utmost to promote the spirit of comity and co-operation between the different denominational Missions and Churches in the vicinity of their own work, and actively participated in the work of the National Christian Council.

In 1907 our missionaries in Chi-Nan-Fu took the notable step of forming with their colleagues of the American Presbyterian Mission (North) a united church in the city. It was arranged that one church roll should be kept, that inquirers should be instructed together, and that candidates for church membership should be given the option of being immersed, or sprinkled or affused. The united Church would be served by two pastors, one Baptist and one Presbyterian, each of whom would, however, continue to give his main attention to the congregation meeting in the former Baptist and Presbyterian Church buildings. There was to be frequent interchange of pulpit ministries between them. United church meetings were to be held quarterly. Baptism by immersion was the general practice at the former Baptist church, although on rare occasions adults were admitted by the rite of affusion. As far as children were concerned, dedication was generally observed at the former Baptist church, and sprinkling at the Presbyterian. Christian parents took their children to either church according to their preference.

This experiment, which Latourette terms "unique", worked quite well until about 1918, and contributed greatly to understanding and co-operation between the two denominations. After that time, as the Presbyterians and Baptists began to think of affiliating themselves with the United Church of Christ in China, they gradually reverted to their former denominational status for all practical purposes. But co-operation persisted and the experiment had served a very useful purpose.

That brings us to the consideration of another movement of nation-wide significance, which brought all the churches associated with the B.M.S. into the larger circle of corporate Christian relationships, namely, the rise of the Church of Christ in China. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists of North America and L.M.S. were the moving spirits in this new venture, proposed about 1918, the B.M.S. adopting a somewhat cautious attitude of "wait and see". At the first Provisional General Assembly in 1922, the B.M.S. was represented by a corresponding member only. In October 1927, when the first properly constituted General Assembly met, attended by eighty-eight delegates (of whom two-thirds were Chinese) from several denominations, with work in seventeen provinces, two B.M.S. representatives from Shantung were present in the capacity of "guests". This Assembly adopted a constitution and a declaration of faith, both of which were approved by the majority of our missionaries. The churches in Shantung associated with the B.M.S. also found them acceptable, and on their own initiative agreed to affiliation in December 1927. Similar action was taken by our Baptist churches in Shansi and Shensi a little later on.

The organization of this United Church was Presbyterian in character, consisting of a General Assembly, provincial or regional Synods, and district Associations representative of the local churches. This type of organization had in fact been adopted in principle by our Shantung pioneers as most appropriate in the circumstances, for their purpose.

By the provisions of the Constitution, each co-operating

denomination was accorded full liberty to retain such features of its church life as were considered essential to the preservation of its distinctive witness, such differences being regarded as contributing to the enrichment of the fellowship as a whole. It was this feature in the Constitution which encouraged our Baptist churches to join the new movement.

The doctrinal basis of the United Church was three-fold. The member Churches expressed their faith in Jesus Christ as Redeemer and Lord; their belief in the Bible as the inspired Word of God and the supreme authority in matters of faith and duty; and their recognition that the Apostles' Creed expressed the fundamental doctrines of our common evangelical faith.

In 1950, the membership of the Church of Christ in China was reported to be 177,000, out of a registered total for the Protestant Church as a whole of 950,000.

The denominational churches finally affiliated with the Church of Christ in China were those formerly associated with the L.M.S. and American Board (Congregationalists); the B.M.S.; the Church of Scotland, English Presbyterians, American Presbyterians, North and South, the Presbyterians of Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada; the United Church of Canada; the Reformed Lutheran Church of U.S.A.; the Evangelical and Reformed Church, U.S.A.; the Episcopal Methodist Church, U.S.A.; the United Brethren, U.S.A.; the Swedish Missionary Society, and a few strong independent Chinese Churches.

It will be noted that Baptist representation in this United Church was confined to the churches associated with the B.M.S. Attempts were made from time to time to create some kind of united fellowship of all Baptist churches in China. (Anglicans, Methodists and Lutherans did eventually become united.) Although this organized unity of Baptists was not achieved, our mutual relationships with our Baptist brethren of North and South America and of Sweden were always of a most cordial character.

The prevalence of disturbed conditions throughout the country prevented the Church of Christ in China from making spectacular progress. However, Synods were organized in many pro-

vinces, including Shantung, Shansi and Shensi. It was only in Shantung, however, that the Synod had any real inter-denominational significance, where it represented the churches associated with the American Presbyterians (North), the Korean Mission (Presbyterian) and the B.M.S. Even there, meetings of the Synod were infrequent, due to civil war and banditry, and little could be done to implement the Union in any practical way. Furthermore, on the principle of comity Missionary Societies had agreed to occupy different geographical sections of Shantung, and so District Associations or Presbyteries of the Synod remained largely denominational in their composition.

THE PROCESS OF DEVOLUTION

The devolution of responsibility, administrative, financial and spiritual, from missionary to Chinese shoulders, was visualized as major policy in the Society from the earliest days, and was gradually implemented, as Chinese Christian colleagues of approved capacity, character and experience were forthcoming to fill positions of responsibility, occupied by missionaries hitherto. The speed at which this was carried out varied in the three provinces, due to the different circumstances in each. But generally speaking, conditions in Shantung were more favourable for the carrying out of this policy, and it made quicker progress in consequence than in Shansi or Shensi.

The process was, however, accelerated after 1925 by a number of unforeseeable and what might be called extraneous events, among which the following are relatively more important.

The enforced evacuation of our missionaries at different times especially between 1925 and 1928, when the whole country was ablaze with anti-foreign feeling, imposed new responsibilities upon our Chinese colleagues. On the whole, they shouldered these well, giving such evidence of their capacity, spirit, and trustworthiness as convinced our missionaries that it was right to speed up the transfer of some of their administrative responsibility and spiritual functions to them.

Financial stringency within the B.M.S. during 1925-8, which compelled the Home Society to reduce the allocation to China by about 12 per cent., emphasized the need for more support from Chinese sources, and induced in our Church leaders a deeper sense of responsibilities for their share of our overall financial outlay.

Since 1914 or thereabouts the policy pursued by the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in raising money locally, as well as entrusting control largely to Chinese Christian hands, had a healthy reaction on Mission-Church policy. Then after the Jerusalem Conference of 1928, the N.C.C. promoted what was termed a "Church-centric" policy, which though it was not acceptable in its entirety to B.M.S. missionaries, nevertheless had its place in the speedier promotion of Chinese Church autonomy. That was also true of the Chinese government educational regulations of 1928, requiring principals of registered schools and colleges to be Chinese, and a majority of members of Boards of Management to be Chinese also.

These were contributory factors to the acceleration of the process of devolution. But they were only that. The policy had been determined long ago, and pursued through the years.

From 1927-8, missionaries were gradually replaced by Chinese as pastors of central churches, as principals of middle schools, colleges and universities; as general secretaries of the Y.M.C.A. and kindred institutions. In some cases they were appointed as treasurers of Mission-Church funds, as secretaries of joint councils, and in a few instances as superintendents of Mission hospitals. Instances of all these changes occurred in the B.M.S.

In 1937 Mr. L. D. Cio succeeded the Rev. A. J. Garnier as General Secretary of the Christian Literature Society. And many years prior to that Chinese had been appointed to chief secretarial posts in the N.C.C., Y.M.C.A., Church of Christ in China, and other national Christian organizations.

SELF-SUPPORT

From the beginning of our work in China, B.M.S. mission-

aries continued to urge upon Chinese Christians the importance, as well as the privilege, of their supporting their own pastors or other church leaders, also of their providing and maintaining village church and school buildings, and their making some contribution to the stipends of village school teachers, and the expenses of local evangelistic efforts.

In Shantung this policy was carried out in its entirety, with the full co-operation of the Church, until after the end of the Japanese occupation in 1945-6, when it was found absolutely impracticable to continue it. Large numbers of church members had left their homes, much personal and church property had been damaged or destroyed, and the cost of living had risen to fantastic heights. Even then our Chinese brethren would initiate no appeal to the B.M.S. But the Society, on the urgent representation of our missionaries, most willingly made special grants to relieve what was obviously a desperate need.

In Shansi the Church was much slower in rising to its financial obligations, although as in Shantung our missionaries persevered in urging the matter. In the regulations for church membership in the Chiao-Ch'eng district, drawn up by Mr. Farthing before 1900, candidates for baptism were expected to contribute as much to church funds as they had been accustomed to pay to the temple, for the maintenance of idol worship and theatricals! However, after 1920, by the gradual and systematic decreasing of Mission grants for church purposes and refusing to open new outposts with Mission funds; and after 1925, as Chinese leaders became more conversant with the financial situation in the Mission, and became increasingly aware of their responsibilities; thanks too, to the generosity of a few Christians in official, or semi-official, positions; the situation was remedied to a considerable extent. By 1937 Chinese Church contributions towards pastoral support and other church and local expenses had greatly increased.

In Shensi, our Chinese Christian pioneers from Shantung carried with them strong ideas of their responsibilities and privileges in the Church, so excellent progress was made in this matter of

self-support amongst the Shantungese element—although it proceeded more slowly amongst the native Shensi groups.

A scheme to encourage larger contributions from the Chinese for exclusively Church purposes, by a systematic decrease in Mission grants for that object, was introduced in 1913. The question of stewardship was kept well to the fore, particular stress being laid upon the advisability of the Church supporting its own pastors. After 1923 a joint committee was formed to administer both Mission and Church funds, which were pooled for evangelistic, educational and Church purposes. The pursuance of this policy resulted in increased contributions from Chinese sources.

The Chinese Church could not be expected to make any considerable financial contribution for the support of hospitals, boarding-schools and other institutional work. But fees and other contributions from Chinese sources gradually increased and eventually provided the major part of the support necessary for the maintenance of these important branches of our work in each province.

Further developments along the lines of self-propagation, self-government and self-support which occurred in the later years of our history are traced in Part III, where the attempt is made to evaluate in retrospect these various efforts to create an indigenous Church, and to prepare it for all that is involved in Communist control.

CHAPTER 13

TEACHING THEM ALL THINGS

EDUCATIONAL work of various types was undertaken by the B.M.S. to meet specific needs of the growing Christian community, to provide a continuous evangelistic opportunity amongst young people, to train Christian leaders as teachers, evangelists, pastors, doctors, nurses, dispensers and other colleagues of the missionaries, and to make a Christian contribution through educated Christian men and women to the life of the nation.

Basic to all this was a system of general education ranging from the kindergarten and primary schools, which gradually developed through middle or secondary schools, to college and university, the aim of which was specifically outlined by the Home Committee in 1928, as follows:

1. To win the lives of the young for Jesus Christ.
2. To give a Christian education, especially for the children of Christian parents.
3. To make some definitely Christian contribution to the educational system of the country.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF GENERAL EDUCATION

In all provinces the opening of village primary schools was regarded as basic to the life of the Church. Prior to 1911 teachers in non-Christian schools were usually Confucian scholars who had failed to qualify for official posts. It was also a Government requirement at that time that Confucius should be honoured in all schools with rites which Chinese Christians regarded as tantamount to worship. This requirement naturally conflicted with the conscience of Christian parents. It was primarily to resolve this particular difficulty that Christian elementary schools were

established in the villages. It was also considered sound policy to have a number of Christian children under the daily supervision of a Christian teacher, who in addition to teaching reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic, geography and history, gave regular instruction in the Scriptures and conducted morning and evening worship. Drill and games were gradually introduced. For many years it was inevitable that the ancient Chinese method of reading aloud, and memorizing of the text-books, should be followed. And as books were mostly different, the babel that ensued can be easily imagined! But as progress was made in the training of teachers by the Mission, Western ideas of pedagogy supplanted these older methods.

Our first training school developed out of a central boarding school in Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, which from 1884-5 was under the supervision of Rev. and Mrs. Samuel Couling. This central school gave selected boys from the village schools a good grounding in Chinese and Western subjects, and a number of the brighter boys were given further training for teaching work. Rev. J. S. Whitewright also organized a training school for preachers, alongside this school, and he and other members of the B.M.S. staff helped with teacher-training as well.

The main emphasis was on education for *boys* in the early years in Shantung, although a few girls were received in our village schools. It was not until 1893, however, when the first single-women missionaries arrived, that it was possible to open a central boarding school for girls in Ch'ing-Chou-Fu.

In Shansi, at T'ai-Yuan-Fu, a central school for girls was started after the famine of 1876-8 as a co-operative venture of the B.M.S. and the C.I.M. Mrs. Timothy Richard took a major part in this, and had at one time sixty girls in her charge. But in 1889, when the Richards left Shansi, the C.I.M. took over this school. From the beginnings of our work in Shensi boarding schools for both boys and girls were opened at Gospel Village. And in both Shansi and Shantung a number of village schools were opened and staffed with Christian teachers.

Prior to 1905 Mission schools in China had virtually a mono-

poly of Western education. By that time B.M.S. village schools had greatly increased in numbers in all three provinces, and central boarding schools for both boys and girls were well established at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, T'ai-Yuan-Fu and Gospel Village. And at each of these three main centres, short courses of teacher-training were given to the senior students who gave evidence of real Christian character, as well as intellectual capacity, to equip them for teaching in village schools.

By 1905 also these village schools had in most places become the centre of the life of the local church. Adults attended school prayers morning and evening, and on Sundays worship and Sunday schools were conducted in the school buildings. Indeed, some teachers became the recognized leaders of the local Christian community, and took a prominent part in evangelism.

Reference has been made to the development of higher Christian education in Shantung, which resulted in the establishment of the Shantung Christian University at Chi-Nan-Fu in 1916-17.

So that by that time the B.M.S. system of general education was complete, and contributing successfully to the three-fold purpose of the Society in connection with it. Children of Christian parents were being given opportunity of education under Christian teachers; each grade of school had proved itself a fruitful field of evangelistic effort, and a by-no-means negligible contribution was being made to the educational system of the country. Regular worship, Bible-study, and attendance at the Sunday services either in the school or in the adjoining church, were central features of the life of all Mission schools. Furthermore, until 1928, when new Government educational regulations were issued, all students were required to attend these regular religious exercises, and applicants for entrance to the Shantung Christian University had to satisfy the examiners in Christian religious knowledge.

Meanwhile after 1911 the growing demand for Western education brought swarms of non-Christian students to our doors, and our student enrolment increased tremendously. All students

willingly conformed to the requirements of attendance at religious exercises, and so this influx of non-Christian students enhanced the opportunity for evangelistic work. From time to time conversions of students from non-Christian homes occurred. Contacts with non-Christians also had a challenging effect upon the Christian students and induced a healthier spiritual atmosphere in the school than before. Generally speaking, this experiment of opening our Mission schools to non-Christians, a question which had excited considerable discussion amongst the missionaries, was, until 1925 at least, amply justified by spiritual results.

From the middle schools a number of graduates entered Christian service as teachers; others took up appointments with the Postal or Telegraph or Customs services, or with foreign firms. From the Shou-Shan Middle School at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, considerable numbers went on to Shantung Christian University (forty between 1919 and 1924) to become higher-grade teachers, doctors, preachers and pastors. From the University also large numbers of graduates took up business, or Government posts. Not all of these made a distinctive contribution to the life of the nation, but a certain number of them certainly did so, and many others made financial contributions to Christian work. In this way, the third aim of the declared educational policy of the B.M.S. was fulfilled, in a somewhat wider way than was at first anticipated.

Until 1925 all went well with our Christian schools. But then Christian educationalists entered a veritable sea of troubles.

Reference has already been made to these in Section 1 (pp. 127 f.). Amongst these the new educational regulations of 1928 excited much controversy. The reactions of the B.M.S. to these regulations are summarized *seriatim* below:

The first regulation stipulated that "*Only those private schools which had a truly educational aim*" would be permitted to register.

It is true that our whole educational system was devised with a definitely religious aim in view, and to that end Christian religious instruction had its due place in the curriculum of all grades

of school. But at the same time, B.M.S. educational missionaries were concerned to make each school as efficient as possible from the educational point of view, and the academic standard in most of them had been found satisfactory by local educational authorities. Naturally, for some years after 1911 there had been some over-emphasis on Western subjects to the detriment of Chinese studies. But this had been in response to the general demand at the time. Gradually better facilities for the study of Chinese subjects were introduced. And it is worth noting that in the University at Chi-Nan-Fu instruction in the Chinese language was the vogue. One other idea behind the framing of this particular regulation was to combat the political trend of some educational establishments, particularly those then operating in Manchuria under Japanese control. No serious objection to our schools on this particular ground was raised by local authorities. But leaders of the Anti-Christian Movement were opposed to Mission education generally on the grounds that it was a medium of religious propaganda and an instrument of political aggression, and propagandists of the National Students' Union and the Communist Party, as we have seen, branded the whole system of Christian education a "cultural invasion", and the "instrument of Western imperialism", and called for "the liberation of the 200,000 youths who were receiving the slave education of mission schools"! Suffice it to say that all our schools which claimed registration were granted it.

The second requirement was that "*the principal should be Chinese*".

For many years prior to this, in most of our middle schools and the various departments of the University, although the actual office of principal or dean was held by missionaries, he or she usually had a Chinese associate, who exercised important executive functions. And in the Girls' High School at Hsi-An-Fu, Mrs. Liang, a Chinese graduate of Yenching University, already held the office of principal. The T'ai-Yuan-Fu Girls' School also had appointed Mrs. Lee, a Chinese graduate of the same University to that office. The change-over from missionary to Chinese principals was therefore comparatively easy, although consider-

able difficulties were experienced in connection with these appointments later, particularly in the University.

Requirement No. 3, that "*there should be a majority of Chinese on the Governing Body*", was readily met. Chinese already formed a considerable proportion of these Boards of Management, and the increase of these to fulfil the requirement was made without much difficulty.

The fourth regulation, viz. that "*all religious instruction was to be banned from primary schools*" was unacceptable to the great majority of both missionary and Chinese Christian educators, as well as to the missionary body as a whole. In fact it aroused such opposition that local education authorities were compelled to modify it in practice so as to permit of voluntary religious exercises on the school premises, provided they were held outside the prescribed school hours.

This modification enabled most of our primary schools to continue until 1937.

Requirement No. 5, viz. that *in Middle Schools, Colleges and Universities "the teaching of religion as a required subject was forbidden"* also created serious differences of opinion in B.M.S. circles as elsewhere. Eventually, in July 1929, the Inter-Provincial Conference, in consultation with the Rev. C. E. Wilson and Mr. W. Parker Gray from the Home Society, decided to request the General Committee in London to permit registration of these grades of schools, on the understanding that if, after a trial period of at least a year, it should be found impossible to maintain their Christian character, the schools would be closed.

In 1931 the Home Committee acceded to this request. The Boys' Middle School at T'ai-Yuan-Fu had already been finally closed through lack of staff. The Boys' Middle School at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu was shut down as the direct result of controversy arising from the new regulations. But our other middle schools continued to function as registered institutions, with occasional interruptions, in Shantung and Shansi until 1937, and in Shensi until 1949. The University was also maintained, in spite of many and serious disturbances, until 1950.

After registration, religious exercises in the schools and University were conducted on the voluntary principle. Attendance at school prayers or at church on Sundays declined in consequence at some centres. But Bible classes were comparatively well attended. After some experience of the working of the voluntary principle, it was generally agreed that this had contributed towards, rather than detracted from, the spiritual effectiveness and general religious atmosphere of the schools, colleges and University. Although some Mission schools suffered a dilution of their former Christian influence by the necessity of introducing larger numbers of non-Christian students to meet expenses, or non-Christian teachers to teach Chinese subjects,¹ which conformity with the new regulations involved, and B.M.S. schools suffered in common with all other Christian institutions from the general disorder of the times, it is gratifying to say that apart perhaps from the Schools of Arts and Science in the University, which at times were in difficulties on this account, the great majority of B.M.S. schools continued to function effectively from the religious point of view.

Some statistics of B.M.S. educational work will be found on page 230.

By 1937, when the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan disrupted all our work, the Christian educational system had made a deep and widespread impression on the whole country, as the following facts testify, viz.: There were 50,000 students in 260 Christian middle schools,² representing about 10 per cent. of all students of that grade in the country. There were also at that date 6,500 students in thirteen Christian universities. But there were 9,000 in 1942, which was equivalent to about 15 per cent. of the total university student constituency. By 1945, after most of these institutions had migrated to West China, the number had increased to nearly 10,000. It is estimated that there were at least 200,000 students in Christian primary schools in 1937.

¹ In 1936, 68 per cent. of the teaching staff in all Mission Middle Schools in China were professing Christians.

² In 1924 there were 339 Christian Middle Schools. Many were closed after 1925-8.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS

		Primary Schools						Middle Schools						Colleges and Universities			Theology and Bible Schools	
Year	No.	Boys		Girls		No	MALE		FEMALE		No.	M.	F.	No.	M.	F.		
		Xn.	Non-Xn.	Xn.	Non-Xn.		Xn.	Non-Xn.	Xn.	Non-Xn.								
1910		1,571		33								127			36			
1925	249	3,787	500	1,177	178	8	338	398	172	109	1	55	1	4	29	10		
1937	164	2,692	775	1,053	705	6	42	109	87	237	1	9	1	5	9	132		

Students under Christian Instruction

Year	In Ordinary Schools	In Sunday Schools
1910	1,947	954
1915	2,866	1,685
1920	3,798	2,626
1925	6,848	1,840
1929	3,413	1,611
1935	5,219	1,452
1937	5,067	2,321
1940	3,432	1,995
1941	3,841	1,557

About 13,000 graduates of Protestant Mission colleges and universities were serving in 1941 as teachers, preachers, pastors, doctors, nurses, dispensers, writers, directors of youth movements, or leaders in literacy, co-operatives, or rural reconstruction enterprises. Some of these did really outstanding work, and made a Christian contribution to social and economic progress.

It has also been estimated that since Missions entered the educational field in China, at least two million students have received their education, either in whole or in part, in Christian schools.

When these facts are borne in mind, and coupled with others, e.g., that Sun-Yat-Sen had been educated under Christian auspices, and that many graduates of missionary colleges and universities were prominent in the National Government, one need not be surprised that the Communists, in making their first onslaught against the Christian cause in 1925-8, should dub the Christian educational system a "cultural invasion". But their further charge that Christian education was aiming at the denationalizing of the Chinese people is surely rebutted by the fact that the Japanese in invading the country in 1937 made a special target of Christian colleges and universities.

In concluding this appraisal of the impact of Christian education on China as a whole, special mention should be made of Shantung Christian University, in the work of which from its inception the B.M.S. maintained a major interest and share. Throughout its history care was taken to ensure the predominantly Christian character of the staff in every department, and to keep the basic principles of Christian education in the forefront. It is estimated on reliable authority that more of its graduates have entered specifically Christian service or some other work calling for a spirit of self-sacrifice, than any other institution of a similar kind can claim.

In 1937 the University had 651 students—of whom 238 were women—and reported that 1,600 graduates were serving the Church and nation in a variety of capacities. Five hundred and sixty were known to be serving as teachers or administrators in Christian schools, 350 were engaged in pastoral, evangelistic or

social work, the majority of the 370 medical graduates were at work in Mission hospitals, and 130 Arts and Science graduates were employed in government schools or colleges. Most of these graduates hailed from small towns or country villages, and the majority returned to serve their own people for far smaller salaries than they could have obtained in large and more populous centres.

Another distinctive feature of its work was that Chinese was adopted as the main medium of instruction, whereas in other Christian universities English was widely used. Academic work was maintained at a consistently high level, especially in the Medical Faculty, which attained a great reputation.

The University included an Institute of Chinese Studies in which, under the auspices of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Dr. J. M. Menzies and Chinese scholars conducted research into Chinese archaeology, history, philosophy, and literature, with the dual objective of interpreting Chinese culture to the West, and of making the modern generation of Chinese students more familiar with China's great cultural heritage.

CONTRIBUTION OF THIS GENERAL EDUCATIONAL WORK TO THE CHURCH AND MISSION

It should be clear from all that has been written already, that the declared aim of producing Christian leaders for various types of Church and Mission service was to a marked extent achieved.

OVERSEAS STUDENTS

A large body of students was sent to England from the Shansi Government University by Dr. Moir Duncan about 1906-7. Two or three of these became Christian and rendered great help to the Church in T'ai-Yuan-Fu after their return.

The policy of the B.M.S. was not to send many students abroad for training, but to make the best use of the excellent educational facilities which were available in China itself. In fact only five were sent abroad under Mission auspices. Of these, P. H. Wang

and Y. C. Li, B.A., B.D., both took courses at Regent's Park College. C. C. Wang resided in Bristol College while he took a course in Economics at Bristol University where he gained the B.Sc. degree in 1920. W. B. Chang, M.A., of the B.M.S., was sent to Toronto by the Canadian Presbyterian Mission. The only Chinese woman student who came to Britain under B.M.S. auspices was Miss Sun-Hsiu-Chen, who took her degree in Economics at Oxford, and returned to Communist-controlled China a few years ago. P. H. Wang, Y. C. Li and W. B. Chang, subsequent to their return to China, all rendered great service to the Church and Mission, and as far as we know are still continuing to do so. C. C. Wang, after a short spell of teaching with the Mission, entered business.

LEADERS TRAINED IN CHINA

Some others whose studies were confined to our schools and University in China rendered equally notable service. T. H. Sun of Shantung, who visited Great Britain and America on a number of occasions, was for many years editor of the *Christian Farmer*, a magazine which had a very wide circulation. H. S. Yao of Shansi was general secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in T'ai-Yuan-Fu for a considerable time, and his colleagues in the secretariat, including Chao-Hsiu-Liang, were mostly from our Mission schools.

Reference will be made in the Medical section (see next chapter) to the valuable help to our hospital work rendered by Chinese doctors and nurses who received their training under Christian auspices.

Something has already been written of the training of teachers undertaken by the B.M.S. and the important part they played in each branch of our educational work. This was conducted at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu for men and women—at Chou-Ts'un for women—at T'ai-Yuan-Fu for men and women in connection with our middle schools and at Hsi-An-Fu, San-Yuan and Fu-Yin-Ts'un, as well as at the Shantung University. Without the help of graduates in Arts and Science from the University it

would have been impossible to maintain the work of our middle schools.

BIBLE SCHOOLS AND THEOLOGICAL TRAINING

The training of Chinese evangelists, men and women, and pastors received relatively greater attention in Shantung than in Shansi and Shensi in the pre-1911 period, largely because in these latter two provinces the membership was much smaller, and there were fewer men and women of the right calibre. In these two provinces also, Church contributions for many years were inadequate to support any large number of pastors; and missionaries were loath to go too far ahead of the Church's capacity in this respect. The funds available from the B.M.S. allocation for all kinds of work were small, and inadequate to support a large number of evangelists, even if that were desirable, which it was not. For experience showed that evangelists supported by Mission funds tended to settle down in one centre, and to assume practically pastoral duties, which was not the purpose for which they were appointed.

Nevertheless, in spite of these various limiting factors steps were taken, in Shansi and Shensi, as well as in Shantung, to furnish the Church and Mission with a number of trained Chinese co-workers for evangelism and the Church.

In Shantung

At Ch'ing-Chou-Fu from 1887 and for thirty years afterwards excellent training work of this kind was undertaken by the Revs. J. S. Whitewright, J. P. Bruce and E. W. Burt (in association with Dr. W. M. Hayes, Dr. W. Chalfant and others from the American Presbyterian Mission), in the Gotch-Robinson Institute, prior to its removal to Chi-Nan-Fu in 1917, to form a component part of the Shantung Christian University. The earlier batches of students, the first of which, comprising six in all, graduated in 1891, were men who on entering college had a fair grounding in Chinese education, and the necessary spiritual qualifications. Most

of these men served the Shantung Mission for long years, either as evangelists or pastors, and a few still serve. There is no doubt that it is due, under God, to the character and persevering efforts of these men, that the Church in Shantung made such good progress early on, and survived so well the shocks of the last twenty or thirty years.

The need for men and women of a type well qualified spiritually, but not academically up to the standard of entrance to the Theological College of Cheeloo University (where, however, in 1920 practically the whole of the eighteen students were Baptists from Shantung), persisted through the years. Some were sent elsewhere, with subsidies from the Society, to Bible schools operating under the auspices of other missions. After 1928 the need for trained lay-leaders grew more clamant, so the Revs. F. W. Madeley and A. E. Greening were appointed to conduct a two or three years' course for these at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu.

Women evangelists (or Bible-women), received preliminary practical training alongside our single-women missionaries, who sent the more promising among them to Nanking, Peking and other centres, where organized work of a good academic standard was carried on by other Missionary Societies. Outstanding among these were Miss Nieh-Shou-Chen and Miss Chang P'ei Ch'en who showed a wonderful spirit of courage and enterprise, during and after the Japanese occupation, both in evangelistic witness and in the training of their Chinese sisters.

In Shansi

The efforts made by our own Mission in this sphere were mostly of an intermittent character. In the earlier years Rev. A. Sowerby conducted a series of short courses for teachers and evangelists at irregular intervals, but which nevertheless produced some excellent men who gave long and efficient service. Other missionaries tutored Chinese colleagues privately, and advised them as to their theological reading. The arrival of Rev. Frank Harmon from Shantung in 1917 made it possible to inaugurate

two separate courses, each of three years' instruction. The first of these was inaugurated in 1921. Two or three of the students from these courses showed their mettle later on, particularly during the evacuation of our missionaries. Prominent among these was Rev. Ch'in Liang, who also took a short theological course in Chi-Nan-Fu. Summer schools for evangelists were a regular feature of our work after 1920. Some men and women were sent to Bible Training Schools organized by other Missions, notably the C.I.M. School at Hung-Tung. A few women entered a school of the American Board at Fen-Chou-Fu, and one or two, a little better qualified educationally, took courses in Peking.

Women's schools also had their place in this training work. At Hsin-Chou and T'ai-Yuan-Fu married women were given scriptural and other instruction in short courses. Some splendid women leaders, whose outstanding services have already been noted, received this kind of training.

In Shensi

Bible training featured more largely, if somewhat spasmodically, from the beginning. Mr. Shorrock carried the main burden of this work until his retirement in 1927. Later on San-Yuan became the centre of more regular and systematic work than had hitherto been practicable. Here women and men were trained together, and given Biblical and allied courses under the guidance of Rev. W. Mudd, Miss Dorothy Curtis, and, after 1942, the Rev. Feng-Pao-Kuang from Shantung.

Fuller details have been given of this School elsewhere (p. 171). It was, however, not possible to maintain this training work continuously, so a few students were sent to other centres at T'eng-Hsien in Shantung, and at Peking and Ch'eng-Tu. From 1947 Rev. George Young instituted training work for evangelists and layworkers in connection with the Christian Institute in Hsi-An-Fu.

The Theological College of the Shantung Christian University

(from 1931 known as Cheeloo) which was conducted on an inter-denominational basis (including the S.P.G.) served from 1920 as our one college for advanced training in theology. Only a few Baptist students were qualified educationally for the full B.D. course, which included Church History, Biblical Exposition, Theology, Ethics, Philosophy of Religion and other studies. But other students who took shorter or less ambitious courses there rendered excellent service either as pastors or leaders of the Church and Mission in other capacities. In 1937 this college had eighteen students—nine men and nine women.

During the period of Japanese occupation and later, Bible School training of a somewhat more elementary grade was revived at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu and Chi-Nan-Fu, to which reference has already been made (see p. 157).

LITERACY

After 1922 the widespread demand for elementary knowledge of the Chinese language, and the invention of various new scripts, afforded the Church and Mission a golden opportunity of teaching large numbers of people of all ages. Classes were organized at each important centre, in which the study of the Bible held primary place. But other subjects were taught, such as Home-making, Bee-keeping, Public Health, etc.

From this it will be seen that the B.M.S., and the Church associated with it, made a noteworthy contribution to education. And the B.M.S. may humbly claim a share in the tribute paid by the noted publicist, George E. Sokolsky, who wrote in 1932, "In the moulding of personality the Mission educational system has served China more than any other agency." For it was in the sphere of character training that non-Christians considered our most important educational contribution to have been made.

CHAPTER 14

HEALING THE SICK

BACKGROUND AND BEGINNINGS OF MEDICAL WORK

THAT the Chinese people were in sore need of the science, skill and spirit of Christian medical missionaries throughout the period with which we are concerned, will I think be obvious from the following facts.

Statistics assembled twenty years ago quote the annual death-rate then at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the incidence of infant mortality at one in five; one in three of the total population suffered from trachoma or other diseases of the eye, and 8 per cent. were infected with some form of tuberculosis. Prior to that time, conditions must have been much worse, for from 1860 onwards the influence of Western medical education, particularly that associated with missionary work, had begun to have some beneficial effect.

Nevertheless, periodic outbreaks of either pneumonic or bubonic plague and cholera ravaged the land, while typhoid, or the more dreaded typhus, malaria, dysentery, smallpox and venereal disease continued to exact an enormous toll of health and life. Leprosy was widespread in certain areas; the debilitating effects of opium or morphia were in evidence everywhere, and prevalent ignorance of the elementary laws of hygiene contributed to the spread of tuberculosis, and produced the customary crop of suppurating wounds, ulcers and the like.

However, from very ancient times China had acquired a great deal of useful medical knowledge, which in some respects outstripped that possessed by the Western world. As early as 2000 B.C. Chinese doctors accurately described the symptoms of cholera, and seven hundred years before vaccination was discovered in the West, inoculation against smallpox was practised in China. For centuries the medicinal values of mercury, arsenic, rhubarb and

numberless other herbal remedies have been known to the Chinese. The Chinese Materia Medica (*Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu*), dating back to the mid-sixteenth century, comprised seventy volumes, while the second edition published in 1740 had ninety volumes. Recent study of this massive work by Western medical scholars has revealed much that is of real interest and worth. The value of chaulmoogra oil in the treatment of leprosy, and the varied uses of ephedrine (*ma-huang*) have been known in China for hundreds of years. In the realm of surgery, Chinese histories quote instances of operations on the brain somewhat akin to trephining, dating back to the third century B.C.

It must, however, also be said that mingled with this very ancient knowledge and skill, most of it intuitive and experiential in character, were many pseudo-scientific and superstitious practices (most of which were intimately associated with Taoistic naturalistic philosophy), fantastic bases of diagnosis, and the prescribing of extraordinary remedies which, when effective, must have been so in spite of, rather than because of, their use.

The old-fashioned Chinese doctor, heavily bespectacled, when diagnosing a patient's complaint was accustomed to discourse eloquently of the "male or female" principles of nature as being in or out of balance. He would then insert one or more evil-looking needles, either to let in some benevolent influence, or let out the contrary, to restore balance to the constitution. Chinese drug-stores today sell dried scorpions, centipedes, beetles, etc., with snakeskins, or ground tiger-bones, especially the claws, mixed perhaps with special clay or powdered stone, to increase their efficacy. One of the reputedly most potent of Chinese drugs is *ginseng*, "the magical lengthener of life", often administered *in articulo mortis* with striking effects. This is a root almost human in shape, and the more human-like it is the more effective it is said to be.

Speedy cures sometimes resulted from acupuncture, whether by the process of transferring pain or not I do not know.

Western surgery stood higher in the estimation of the Chinese people generally, even among Christians, than Western medical

practice, although confidence in the latter gradually increased through the years.

Amongst the rank and file of the people, superstitious practices in one form or another played a large part in the healing of disease, or in its prevention. During epidemics, the local temples of the god of healing were thronged with worshippers, burning incense, drawing lots for prescriptions or making votive offerings. Or they would flock to some medicine tree reputed to have become the home of the fox-spirit to pray for the recovery of their sick folk. Sometimes they would strip a piece off the bark to boil into a potent decoction.

Although many Chinese observed the fundamentals of hygiene, and kept themselves and their homes scrupulously clean, the great majority were ill-informed as to the basic principles of public health. They were ignorant, for instance, as were our forefathers of two or three generations ago, that flies, lice, or mosquitoes conveyed disease. Neither did they know that human ordure, which was widely used as a fertilizer, was a major factor in the spread of endemic diseases. Still less did they understand that the prevalent practice of spitting was responsible for the high incidence of tuberculosis. Wounds were commonly plastered with earth or chicken feathers to keep them from festering.

Such in outline was the situation which faced the first medical missionaries to China and their successors up to very recent times.

Dr. Peter Parker of the American Board Mission, who opened the Canton hospital in 1835, was the first qualified medical missionary to China. In 1838 he, together with Dr. Colledge, was mainly instrumental in founding the Medical Missionary Society of China, and it was largely due to his efforts that the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society was formed on 30th November 1841. In 1847 he introduced an anæsthesia into China, and made so deep and widespread an impression by his spirit of service that it was said of him that "he opened the gates of China with a lancet, when European cannon could not heave a single bar".

After the treaties of 1842-4, medical mission centres were opened in the newly created treaty ports, and after 1860 medical

missionaries penetrated to many of the interior provinces. By 1890, about 150 of them were at work in sixty-one Mission hospitals in different parts of the country. In 1937 when the Medical Missionary Movement reached its zenith, no fewer than 863 doctors were exemplifying and commending the gospel of the Great Physician in 305 hospitals.

By 1886 a medical journal began its very useful life, and the next year the China Medical Missionary Association was founded.¹ In 1932 this was amalgamated with the National Medical Association to form the China Medical Association,² which in 1937 reported a membership of 3,500.

The reader will have gained a general idea of the history and nature of our B.M.S. medical work from the Historical Section. It will, however, be useful at this point to summarize briefly our own contribution in this important sphere of Missionary service.

NON-PROFESSIONAL MEDICAL WORK

The type of medical work undertaken by our non-professional pioneers, Hall and Laughton, at Chefoo was continued by their successors in most B.M.S. residential stations in all three provinces. This made a most useful contribution to the relief and prevention of disease and distress, and to the progress of evangelistic work. Reference had been made to the notable work rendered in the early years in Shantung by A. G. Jones, J. T. Kitts, F. Harmon and E. C. Smyth.

In Shansi, Rev. A. Sowerby and Herbert Dixon (who had previously served on the Congo) P. J. Smith, J. C. Harlow, H. T. Stonelake (formerly of Congo), E. R. Fowles and F. W. Price, with the help of their wives, some of whom were certified nurses, and Mrs. S. Henderson-Smith did excellent medical work in out-station dispensaries, which were fairly regularly conducted at Hsin-Chou, Shou-Yang or Tai-Chou.

In Shensi, Rev. John Bell (formerly of Congo), James Watson,

¹ In 1925 the membership was thrown open to non-missionary medicals.

² The missionary members of this undertook responsibility for specifically missionary interests.

E. F. Borst-Smith and others engaged in similar useful service. Many of these had taken courses in Livingstone College prior to leaving for the field. And most of our single-women missionaries and many missionaries' wives rendered first-aid and other useful medical auxiliary service in the course of their evangelistic or teaching work.

"PROFESSIONAL" MEDICAL WORK

The first attempt at medical missionary work under B.M.S. auspices by fully qualified men was made by Dr. W. Brown at Chefoo during his short period of service between 1870 and 1874. He resigned in the latter year, after a dispute with the Home Committee as to how this particular type of work was to be conducted. Drs. J. R. and Mrs. Watson, and Dr. T. C. Paterson, all well qualified professionally, were at work in Shantung prior to 1900. But none of them was satisfied with the type of buildings and equipment at their disposal, nor with the policy on which they were supposed to work. So Dr. J. R. Watson, during his furlough in 1901, along with two medical missionaries from India, Dr. Ellen Farrer and Dr. Vincent Thomas, agitated either in person or by correspondence for a clearer definition by the Society of their medical missionary policy. Helped by interested medical men at home, like Sir Alfred Pearce Gould and Dr. Percy Lush, the Medical Missionary Auxiliary was formed in 1901. A statement of policy was drawn up, and a secretary, the late Dr. R. Fletcher Moorshead, appointed.

As this new policy vitally affected all our medical work in China, a brief review of developments leading to its formulation should be of interest.

Before 1900 the Society was chary of accepting men and women with medical training unless they afforded unmistakable evidence of strong evangelical zeal. The main objective before the Committee of the Society, then as now, was evangelism, and they were anxious to ensure that "medicals" would be "missionaries", inspired first and foremost with a passion for souls. To that no exception whatever could be taken. But when,

with a view to furthering that predominant aim, they sought to limit the work of their medical missionaries, e.g. to "taking care of the health of colleagues", or "of some Europeans or natives who may be ill and send for help", or when they suggested that "excellent medical work could be done without buildings", it would seem that the Committee of those days had a very inadequate conception of the nature of medical missionary work, or of its possibilities of fulfilling their evangelistic aim.

However, with the formation of the Medical Missionary Auxiliary of the Society in 1901, a new era was inaugurated and a much more enlightened policy framed and pursued. Henceforth, medical missionary work was regarded not merely as a bait to attract men *to the gospel*, nor as merely a means to open up the way *for the gospel*. Rather was it conceived after the example of the Great Physician Himself, as an integral part *of the gospel*, and as such entitled to a permanent and prominent place in the missionary programme.

So from that time onwards, B.M.S. policy was directed to make medical work ever more worthy of the gospel it so strikingly exemplified, by making it as efficient as possible professionally, so as to make it as effective as possible as an evangelistic agency, and to this end plans began to be made for the provision of suitable hospital buildings, for better equipment, and to seek for doctors and nurses possessed of high academic qualifications, as well as the right and necessary spiritual qualities.

As this policy was energetically pursued by Dr. R. F. Moorshead, the Secretary of the Auxiliary at home, and his colleagues, it became clear if it were to be implemented that much more was involved than was at first visualized. Not only doctors and surgeons of first-class qualifications would be needed, but well-trained nursing sisters, some with specialist qualifications, dispensers, pharmacists and hospital technicians would be required as well. And if the missionary purpose of all this was to be fully achieved, most of these would not only have to practise what they knew, but be capable of teaching and imparting their skills as well, so that the medical missionary ideal might be caught and

expressed by Chinese Christians. Moreover, preventive as well as remedial methods would have to be adopted: research would have to be undertaken, and medical works translated and put into circulation. High standards of practice, both professional and ethical, would need to be maintained, and co-operation in many spheres, within and between Missions, and between the Mission and the Chinese Church, and between these and the Chinese Government, would have to be energetically promoted.

This new policy, so enterprisingly advocated at home, was thoroughly approved on the field, and very serious attempts were made by our missionaries to implement it in every way. The deputation visit of Rev. W. Y. Fullerton and Rev. C. E. Wilson in 1907, and of Dr. R. F. Moorshead and Dr. A. C. Ingle (accompanied by Mrs. Moorshead) in 1919-20, added stimulus to its promotion. Considerable progress was made, as this record indicates. But after 1911 the incidence of two world wars, and almost continuous strife in China, combined with lack of staff and funds largely consequent upon these events, retarded progress, and militated against complete attainment of the desirable goal. It will be useful, however, to summarize what was attempted, and actually achieved.

After the new policy was put into execution, it became clear as time passed that our available resources in staff and funds would limit medical activities to at most seven hospitals. At first there was a natural desire, in this sphere as in that of evangelism, to expand geographically, so as to bring the ministry of healing, so desperately needed, within the reach of as many people as possible. Gradually, however, it was perceived that if effective work from both the medical and spiritual points of view was to be done expansion must give way to concentration. So eventually our medical work was centralized at seven places, viz., in Shantung, at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, Chou-Ts'un, and Chi-Nan-Fu, where the B.M.S. assumed a major share in the work of the University Hospital and Medical School; in Shansi, at T'ai-Yuan-Fu, in separate hospitals for men and women, located sufficiently near together to permit of easy co-operation; and in Shensi, at Hsi-

An-Fu, and San-Yuan, the former being a large hospital for both men and women, the latter also a general hospital but smaller.

Efforts were made in the early stages to do more than this, first at Chou-P'ing in Shantung. This, however, was a measure of expediency, and was shortly rendered unnecessary by the building of the Chou-Ts'un hospital. Attempts to open work at Kuo-Hsien in Shansi and at Yen-An-Fu in Shensi during 1914 both proved to be short-lived. It was not easy, however, to provide seven hospitals with adequate missionary staff, especially when furloughs had to be taken into account. Fortunately, some Chinese doctors, some of whom were graduates of Cheeloo University or other Missionary Medical Colleges, and others who had received their training in B.M.S. hospitals, helped to meet this need, and served for long periods, with much appreciated loyalty and efficiency. Of this latter group those worthy of special mention include Dr. Chou of Shantung, Drs. Liu P'ai-Yuan and Han-Yü-Keng of Shansi, and Dr. Yang-Pi-Chou of Shensi.

The two lists below indicate in statistical form something of what was accomplished, and the staff available to cope with the work involved.

TABLE I

Hospital	Year	Doctors		Nurses	Pharmacists,	Beds
		British	Chinese	British	Evangelists, etc.	
Chi-Nan-Fu	1905	—	—	—	—	—
	1915	2	3	1	—	110
	1925	4	—	2	2	115
	1935	2	—	—	1	130
	1948	1	—	2	—	130
Ch'ing-Chou-Fu	1905	2	1	—	—	30
	1915	1	1	—	—	30
	1925	1	1	—	—	30
	1935	1	2	1 (wife)	—	45
	1948	—	2	1 (wife)	—	45
{ Chou-P'ing Chou-Ts'un	1905	2	—	—	—	30
	1915	2	1	1	—	54
	1925	2	2	2	—	64
	1935	1	2	2	—	75
	1948	1	2	2	—	?

Hospital	Year	Doctors		Nurses	Pharmacists,	Beds
		British	Chinese	British	Evangelists, etc.	
T'ai-Yuan-Fu Men's	1905	2	1	—	—	60 M. & W.
	1915	1	1	—	—	53
	1925	2	2	1	1	74
	1935	2	1	1	1	80
	1948	1	1	2 (wives)	—	80
T'ai-Yuan-Fu Women's	1915	—	—	2	—	34
	1925	1	—	2	—	58
	1935	1	—	3	—	80
	1948	—	—	—	—	—
Hsi-An-Fu	1905	2	—	—	—	35
	1915	4	2	1	—	74
	1925	4	1	2	—	100
	1935	3	2	2	—	100
	1948	3	4	2	1	100
San-Yuan	1915	1	—	—	—	20
	1925	—	1	1	—	50
	1948	—	1	1	—	50

(not always)

NOTE 1. The peak figures for staff occur in 1925, when there were 14 British and 7 Chinese doctors, and 10 British nursing sisters on the field.

NOTE 2. The maximum total number of beds in use at any one normal time was 560. But in emergencies, this was greatly increased by temporary measures.

TABLE II

Numbers of patients for ALL hospitals

Year	In-patients	Out-patients	
		First time	Number of visits
1905	331		20,041
1915	1,579	49,015	124,300
1925	4,506	40,318	104,975
1935	6,104	51,607	194,900
1945	1,570		124,597
1948	3,460		129,582
1949	2,242		171,904

NOTE 1. X-ray equipment was installed at four of these hospitals, in Chi-Nan-Fu, Chou-Ts'un from 1929, T'ai-Yuan-Fu from 1929 and Hsi-An-Fu from 1911.

NOTE 2. Facilities for laboratory work were first class in Chi-Nan-Fu, from about 1920. And work of this kind, which depended largely on having sufficient staff, was introduced at Chou-Ts'un, T'ai-Yuan-Fu and Hsi-An-Fu in the later years of our service.

NOTE 3. Leper work was conducted at Chi-Nan-Fu, and Ch'ing-Chou-Fu.



EVANGELISTS PREACHING AT A FAIR

A PREACHING HALL AT TAI-CHOU





THE FIRST HOSPITAL AT CH'ING-CHOU-FU

T'AI-YUAN-FU HOSPITAL FOR MEN



The above table indicates the actual number of people treated by our medical missionaries in hospital. But no list of this type can convey any idea of the actual extent or the quality of their service, the love and care expended on the patients, and the skill with which every duty was discharged. The gospel was not only exemplified and commended in this way, but preached by the bed-side, in the wards, and to the crowds of out-patients day by day. Prayer was offered usually before every operation, every day's work began with worship of all staff, and Bible-classes and prayer meetings were held at regular intervals in the week. Chinese evangelists, men and women, had their regular duties, both inside and outside the hospital, and many conversions resulted directly from this work.

The B.M.S. made a large and important contribution to the medical side of the Shantung Christian University.

It was largely due to the foresight and energy of Dr. Harold Balme, Associate-Missionary of the B.M.S., backed by Dr. R. F. Moorshead and the Home Committee, that the modern University Hospital (opened in 1915) took shape. This, after extensions, had accommodation for 130 in-patients, and was equipped, by its close association with the Medical School, with modern facilities for teaching and research. Dr. Balme also served as Dean of the Medical Faculty for some years prior to his appointment as President of the University, which he resigned in 1927 to the regret of everybody concerned.

Between 1913 and 1929 Sister M. F. Logan was mainly responsible for the establishment and development of the Nursing Training School. This eventually had over sixty nurses, men and women, in residence. The name of the Rev. W. P. Pailing, who also served as hospital Chaplain for many years, will always be associated with the establishment and progress of the School of Pharmacy. B.M.S. doctors, notably E. R. Wheeler, L. M. Ingle and Gordon King, took a prominent part in the academic and practical work of the University Medical School and hospital. Drs. Baron von Werthern, D. Evans and W. B. Fleming also served for short periods. Mr. Frank Harmon, jun., acted as

business-manager of the Medical Department of the University for some years, and Dr. W. S. Flowers co-operated with the Medical Faculty in making the B.M.S. hospital at Chou-Ts'un a practical centre for the students.

The B.M.S. contribution in staff to the Medical School and hospital on the average numbered ten, including wives, some of whom were very active in the evangelistic work in the hospital and city.

Ten Missionary Societies, American, Canadian and British, co-operated in this work. In 1916 the medical schools of the American Southern Presbyterian Mission, formerly at Nanking, and of the L.M.S. at Hankow, including its Translation Department, were transferred to Chi-Nan-Fu. Later on, the students from the Rockefeller Institute at Peking who wished to study medicine in the Chinese language, were also transferred to this centre. In 1924 women students were first registered for the full medical course.

The students of the Medical School hailed from fifteen provinces. The academic standard was of a high order, and degrees were conferred on the basis of a charter granted by the University of Toronto in 1925.

Practical work also received due attention. In connection with public-health campaigns launched by the Shantung provincial government, women students participated in classes in mothercraft in village centres, and shared with the men students in teaching and learning at rural reconstruction institutes, organized either by the North China Christian Service Council or the Shantung government. Teams of nurses visited nearby villages to give instruction in nursing practice, and organized a Mothers' Club in Chi-Nan-Fu itself.

The Medical School offered the only course in China in physiotherapy, from which in 1937 twenty-two students had gained their certificates. There were two hundred students enrolled in the medical and associated schools in 1937, distributed as follows:

Full medical course . . .	101, including 25 women
Pharmacy course . . .	14, including 3 women
Nursing course . . .	58, all women
Physiotherapy . . .	6, including 2 women
Radio-therapy . . .	21, all men

Professional efficiency was, naturally, not the only aim of this Christian university work. All who engaged in it were desirous of inculcating in their students a spirit of service for the public weal. Up to 1926, all but five of the 115 graduates of the Medical School entered the service of Mission hospitals for short or long periods. By 1935, the end of normal working at Chi-Nan-Fu, 313 students had graduated. Twenty-two of these continued working in the Medical School or University Hospital. Another eighty-six took up appointments in sixty-six Mission hospitals, located in sixteen provinces and operating under the auspices of twenty-four different Societies.

All this work not only commended the gospel, but helped to create a spirit of good-will among the Chinese people towards the mission of the Church, and contributed much to the successful prosecution of its evangelistic task.

Medical Missions in China have also made a most important contribution to the raising of medical and nursing standards of practice in the country as a whole. Dr. P. Z. King, director of the Chinese National Health Administration, on 31st July 1944, wrote as follows:

“It is a well-known fact that the concepts, teachings and practice of modern medicine were first brought to China a little over a century ago by medical missionaries. Modern education, including medical education, in China owes its start and a good deal of its impetus, even to the present day, to schools, colleges and universities started and maintained by Christian agencies. In particular, the great contribution made by Christian Medical Missions, received acknowledgment and tribute at the time of the formation of the China Medical Association in 1932 by the setting up of a Council of Medical Missions as one of the chief sections of the C.M.A.

“Successive Heads of the National Health Service have made acknowledgment of the debt owed by modern medicine in China to Christian Medical Schools, Hospitals, Schools of Nursing, Doctors and Nurses.”

Then, after expressing his gratitude for this help, Dr. King adds:

"Without the fullest possible co-operation and extension of the Christian medical services, the achievement of the nation's hopes and plans for a comprehensive health service will be very difficult, if not impossible, for a long time to come."

It is known that in paying this tribute, Dr. King had, in part at least, B.M.S. medical work in mind.

When, during 1946, our medical missionaries in Hsi-An-Fu thought of transferring our hospital work in the city to some site in the country, on the ground that the recent increase in government hospitals might render it redundant, deputations from some of these government hospitals came to protest, saying, "If your hospital goes, the standards in government hospitals will inevitably fall!"

The nursing profession as it exists in China today is also greatly indebted to medical missions. Formerly the Chinese nurse stood very low in the public esteem, and the midwife particularly so. But the arrival of missionary nurses sounded the death-knell of the old order, with its unhygienic and superstitious practices. The rise and progress of the Nurses' Association of China was stimulated largely by the standards of nursing set in Mission hospitals. Under its aegis, a system of examinations and registration was introduced, which raised the standard of nursing throughout the country to a level comparable to that in Western lands. It has been authentically stated that 80 per cent. of graduate nurses at work in China were trained in Mission hospitals.

In connection with our hospitals at Chou-Ts'un, Ching-Chou-Fu, T'ai-Yuan-Fu and Hsi-An-Fu, and in the University Hospital at Chi-Nan-Fu, training schools for nurses formed an important and necessary part of the medical work. Large numbers of nurses from these hospitals continued to serve under missionary auspices, or entered public service. Some made notable contributions to the Chinese Church, and afforded a stimulating example of nursing efficiency to others in government-controlled medical services.

The example set by missionary doctors and nurses and their Chinese Christian students and associates has done a great deal towards improving the spirit and raising the standards of the Chinese medical profession as a whole, both professionally and ethically.

And in estimating the contribution of our medical missionaries to the overall work of the Society in China, we should note the vital part they played in "caring for the health of their missionary colleagues".

In reducing the incidence of sickness and death; in the advocacy and promotion of public-health measures; in preventing or stemming the spread of infectious diseases and plague; in encouraging research, and promoting the scientific approach to all medical and surgical problems; in the writing and translation of medical works (some reference to which will be made in the next chapter), B.M.S. missionaries had a large share in relieving the distress and promoting the welfare of China's millions. And they have, in this worthy manner, like their Master, "proclaimed the Kingdom of God".

CHAPTER 15

THE MAKING OF BOOKS

B.M.S. MISSIONARIES in China, apart from the Rev. E. Madge, who in connection with his work in the Border Mission translated a gospel into the Nosu tribal tongue in 1950, took no active part in the work of Scriptural translation or revision. The Rev. A. E. Shorrocks was invited to participate in the production of the Union Version in the Mandarin language, but was unable to accept. They did, however, keep a watchful eye on the way in which the words for baptism and its cognates were interpreted, and in the terms used in the various translations for God and the Holy Spirit.

In the sphere of general Christian literature however, B.M.S. missionaries made a substantial contribution, both in translation and original work. They also contributed to the promotion of sinological studies in the spheres of language, religion and philosophy.

Dr. W. Brown did some preliminary medical translation work, during his short stay at Chefoo. But it was Timothy Richard who, in this as in other spheres, blazed the trail of the literary work of the Society's missionaries in China.

During his short period of service at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu (1875-7), Richard produced a short catechism, a hymnary of thirty hymns, and some "native tracts", in which he made use of terms borrowed from Chinese religious books, so as to make them more understandable to the common people. He also translated two Christian classics, the first part of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*, and Francis de Sales' *Devout Life*. After his transfer to Shansi, he and David Hill produced a number of tracts and pamphlets for distribution to the scholarly class, especially the candidates at official examinations. In these, Richard incorporated terminology and

religious ideas he had gained from concentrated reading of Roman Catholic literature in Chinese, which he felt would in no way be detrimental to the presentation of the Protestant point of view. Prior to 1887 very little Christian literature of an apologetic character had been produced by Protestant missionaries in China. This appeared to Richard as a serious gap in the missionary programme, which must at all costs be filled, if any deep and widespread Christian impression was to be made upon the educated and official classes.

Between 1888 and 1891, during his residence at Tientsin, he undertook the editorship of *The Times*, a Chinese paper under British management, and used this opportunity to show the need to apply Christian principles to the life of the nation if the widely desired social and moral reformation was to be achieved. These articles from Richard's editorial pen which were called "Tracts for the Times", were eagerly read by would-be reformers both inside and outside the Imperial Palace.

In October 1891 Richard moved to Shanghai to succeed the late Rev. Alexander Williamson as General Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge (S.D.C.G.K.) or the Christian Literature Society for China (C.L.S.), as it later became better known. He took up this important strategic post with the cordial approval of the B.M.S. On his retirement on 9th November 1915 he was unanimously appointed Secretary-Emeritus of the Society. Returning to England the following year, he was given an upstanding welcome at the October meetings of the B.M.S. Then on 17th April 1919, he passed into the Eternal Glory, and five days later, in the presence of a small but representative missionary company, his body was cremated at Golders' Green. "Had he died in China," writes one of his biographers, the Rev. W. E. Soothill, "his funeral would have been the greatest of any foreigner who has ever lived in that land." Dr. Latourette describes him as "one of the greatest missionaries whom any branch of the Church, whether Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, or Protestant, has ever sent to China".

As he achieved this distinction largely as the result of his work in and through the Christian Literature Society, in which he took a major share with two other B.M.S. colleagues, Rev. Evan Morgan and Rev. A. J. Garnier, some account of the publications of that Society and their influence must be related.

One of Richard's Methodist¹ colleagues in the C.L.S., Dr. Y. J. Allen, edited a magazine called *Review of the Times*, to which Richard, after his appointment to the Society in 1891, was one of the main contributors. This magazine is said to have been "one of the main factors in moulding the thinking of the leaders of the reform movement", and "to have rocked the Manchu throne". In 1905 this immensely popular magazine gave way to a new publication of the Society, called *The Chinese Weekly (Ta-T'ung-Pao)*. The Rev. Evan Morgan, who was appointed to the C.L.S. in that year, acted as joint-editor with Rev. W. A. Cornaby of this equally popular and influential magazine until the revolution of 1911.

Up to this time, the main efforts of the C.L.S. had been directed to the winning of the "mind" of China through her scholars and officials, although the needs of the growing Christian community for special literature had by no means been neglected. After 1911, however, the Society began to concentrate more and more upon that important aspect of its work.

A magazine called *The Missionary Review*, first published in 1890, was given a new title and look in 1902, as *The Chinese Christian Review*, and placed under Chinese editorship in 1911. This was considered to be "the best religious magazine of the times" until 1917, and to have served particularly as "a bond of union between the different denominational churches".

In 1911 also *The Woman's Magazine* was published. This was under the editorship of a Chinese Christian woman from 1919, and remained the only Christian magazine of good literary style of its kind until 1937.

In 1915 the Society published *Happy Childhood* as a monthly

¹ In 1933 ten missionary societies, British, Canadian, American and German, were co-operating in the work of the C.L.S.

magazine. This became so popular amongst the children of Christian families that in 1937 a fortnightly issue was demanded.

Between 1921 and 1927 the Society's magazine *Shining Light* (*Ming Teng*), under Chinese editorship, was particularly influential amongst students in government as well as Christian schools.

The Preacher's Magazine was published in 1917 (instead of the former *Christian Review*), under the editorship of Rev. C. W. Allan (Methodist). B.M.S. missionaries contributed to this, which was modelled on *The Expository Times*, and proved of great value to the rapidly increasing number of Chinese pastors and preachers.

In 1931 the *Woman's Star and People's Home Magazine* was published by the Society to meet the special needs of new or semi-literate women who had become quite numerous as a result of literacy campaigns.

In 1933 the C.L.S. took over the publication of *The Amethyst*, a magazine of fine literary quality and spiritual content, designed to meet the special needs of the intellectuals of the Christian community. This had formerly been a private venture of Dr. T. T. Liu of Yenching University. It had, however, only a small circulation.¹

This review of the periodicals published by the C.L.S. during these years shows how well the original purpose of the Society was being fulfilled, viz., "the publishing and circulation of literature, especially periodical literature, adapted for all classes, as the resources of the Society shall permit, in China, or wherever Chinese are found". In connection with the last clause, it should be noted that many of the magazines listed above found their way into the homes of overseas Chinese.

But the C.L.S. not only published periodical magazines. Books formed one of its major interests, and in the writing, translation and publishing of these, each of the B.M.S. missionaries on the staff made valuable contributions. There is space for reference only to the more important of these.

¹ In 1945 a new magazine of this type was published by United Christian Publishers. In 1948 this was transferred to the management of an Independent Board—and re-issued as the organ of the Three-Self Movement (see pp. 337 f.) under the editorship of T. Y. Wu.

Richard's translation of Mackenzie's *History of Our Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*, an eight-volume work, was published in many editions between 1895 and 1903, and proved to be one of the most influential books of the time in breaking down the anti-Christian prejudices of many of China's leaders. In fact it was pirated several times by non-Christian publishing agencies. It was read by the Emperor Kuang-Hsü, and by mandarins throughout the country. In 1898, the year of the famous *coup d'état*, 4,000 copies of the third edition were sold in a fortnight.

Mention should also be made of his *History of the Benefits of Christianity*, which he wrote as an answer to the question of the famous viceroy Li-Hung-Chang, "What can Christianity do for a nation?" This was widely read in scholarly circles, as was his *Christian Biographies*.

In 1907 he wrote in English a two-volume work entitled *Conversion by the Million*, in which he stressed the value of education, modern means of transport, enlightened legislation, and the study of all religions as assets to the Kingdom of God, and emphasized his favourite thesis of reaching the multitudes with the gospel via the medium of the influential classes, and by the adoption of specific over-all policy and labour and time-saving methods. This book excited world-wide interest and comment.

Chinese Buddhism, the most popular of China's religions, specially interested Richard. He wrote several books in English on this subject, which include *The Awakening of Faith in New Buddhism*, *Guide to Buddhahood*, *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, and *A Mission to Heaven*, a translation of an ancient Chinese epic and an allegory.

He published his book of reminiscences, entitled *Forty-five Years in China*, in 1916. During his General-Secretaryship of the C.L.S. more than three hundred books in Chinese were published.

A number of Bible commentaries and "Lives of Christ" were issued in the earlier years of the Society's work; Dr. Richard Glover's Commentary on Matthew was translated in 1901.

Among the more ambitious works published later were Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* in abbreviated form (1916-23),

Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1925); Hasting's *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (1935), and a complete series of New Testament Commentaries in 1933.

During his term of service with the C.L.S. (1926-39), the Rev. A. J. Garnier initiated co-operation with the Theological College at Cheeloo University, in the production of nine volumes of theological works, called the Cheeloo Manuals, to which Rev. F. S. Drake made an important contribution. In connection with this series, a Pastors' Library was instituted, which gave each subscriber of about six shillings the privilege of receiving one copy of every new publication of this kind. The cost of production was met by special contributions from interested individuals in Great Britain, Canada and U.S.A. In preparation for the Jubilee celebrations of the Society in 1937 twenty books were produced for pastors in connection with this special effort.

He also enlisted the co-operation of the Nanking Theological College, in the production of a Dictionary of Christian Biography and a series of Christian Classics. Dr. W. Adam Brown's *Christian Theology in Outline*, and some of Dr. Latourette's works on Christian Missions were also translated. These larger works were not just translations. Most of them were adaptations of the originals, a task which called for much thought and sympathetic appreciation of the Chinese religious situation, as well as for a highly competent knowledge of the Chinese language.

In 1937 the first edition of *Hymns of Universal Praise*, published by the C.L.S. as the joint venture of six denominations, and consisting in all of 200,000 copies, was speedily sold out.

Rev. Evan Morgan wrote *Tao, the Great Illuminant*, an important work on Taoism, in which he had taken special interest, and a book entitled *Religion and Life*. He also translated Dr. T. R. Glover's *The Jesus of History*, and Dr. Thomas Phillip's *The Grace of God and a World Religion*. His publications on the study of the Chinese language included *New Terms for New Ideas*, of which three editions were issued, and *Wenli Styles and Chinese Ideas*.

Rev. A. J. Garnier wrote two books, *A Short History of Christianity* and *New Testament History*, both in Chinese, which were

widely used by theological students and Chinese pastors. He also translated D. S. Cairn's book, *The Faith that Rebels*, which the Japanese banned during their occupation of Manchuria because of its title! His translation of Papini's *Story of Christ* was in great demand, and his translation of the famous Italian novel, *The Betrothed*, by Alessandro Manzoni, was accepted for publication by the Commercial Press. His *Chinese Versions of the Bible* is a valuable symposium of the history of the translation of the Scriptures into Chinese. He was also one of the editors of the one-volume Bible Commentary. Both he and Dr. Morgan contributed many articles to the Bible Dictionary series.

Publishing and distribution, particularly the latter, were very important aspects of the work of the C.L.S. Prior to 1900 most of this work was undertaken by the Society itself. Some reference has already been made to the way in which Christian literature was distributed at the times of official examinations. At Peking in 1892-3, five thousand copies of Richard's *Tracts for the Times* were distributed. In 1893, on the Empress Dowager's sixtieth birthday, 60,000 copies of the Society's books were distributed gratis amongst influential people, and Faber's *Civilization* was sent to every mandarin in the country. During 1897, 120,000 books and pamphlets were distributed at the various examination centres, one of which was Hsi-An-Fu. Scriptures donated by the Bible Societies were included in this effort.

The appointment of Rev. Myron T. Perry as business manager to the C.L.S. in 1932, with special responsibility for distribution, greatly increased the effectiveness of this work.

In 1935 the C.L.S. joined the Christian Publishers' Association, which had been formed in 1918 with the defined aim of "co-operating in ensuring a united and progressive policy in matters of production, printing, distribution, nomenclature, and other matters affecting Christian literature". Mr. Perry became distribution manager of this joint concern, and thanks to his energy and enterprise great progress was made in this vital branch of Christian literature service.

The publication of *The China Bookman* by this Association, as

the voice of the Christian Literature Conference of the N.C.C., proved a valuable aid in this connection.

The work of the C.L.S. suffered severely during the Sino-Japanese war. Although Mr. L. D. Cio, who had succeeded Mr. Garnier in 1937 as General Secretary, succeeded in protecting the fine new buildings of the Society¹ from military occupation and spoliation, it was not possible to continue production there. But members of the C.L.S. staff migrated to Ch'eng-Tu and other centres in West China, and worked steadily in co-operation with the recently formed "United Christian Publishers", which after the war was reorganized on a wider basis, and called "The Council of Christian Publishers".

This Council inaugurated a new scheme of bookshops and circulating libraries which led to much wider distribution, and proved of great benefit to the work of the B.M.S. in Shantung and Shensi.

Two B.M.S. Chinese leaders took up important posts in connection with Christian Literature work after the Sino-Japanese war. W. B. Chang was appointed executive secretary of United Christian Publishers, and T. H. Sun acted as Publications Secretary of the C.L.S. until his death in 1949.

So far we have written mainly about the C.L.S., and the work of the B.M.S. missionaries and Chinese leaders associated with it. Others engaged in the general work also made valuable contributions in the sphere of Christian literature.

Alfred Jones wrote a splendid booklet on Christianity and the Chinese religions which was long and widely used by all Missions in Shantung. Another work by him on Systematic Theology was published by the C.L.S., and had an excellent circulation. Rev. Arthur Sowerby in Shansi published a popular pamphlet called *The Lifeboat*, in which Buddha and Christ were compared and contrasted as Saviours. Rev. A. G. Shorrocks produced a Catechism which continued to be used up to recent times, and outlined the history of our Shensi Mission in *Sunshine and Shade*. Rev. J. S. Whitewright was the author of a book on the Chinese

¹ Occupied in 1932, as the new Headquarters of the C.L.S.

language which was adopted as a text-book by most foreign firms with agents in China, and which was found most useful by B.M.S. and other missionaries. Rev. Samuel Couling's *magnum opus* was his *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, published in 1917. This comprises over six hundred pages, was the first venture of its kind in the English language, and continues to be consulted by sinologists in every part of the world. He was also joint author of *The History of Shanghai* and editor of *The New China Review*.

Rev. J. P. Bruce published two important volumes on Chinese philosophy in the Sung Dynasty, entitled *Chu Hsi and His Masters* and *The Philosophy of Chu Hsi*, and was later appointed to the Chair of Chinese Studies in the University of London. Dr. E. H. Edwards wrote *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, a book on the Boxer Movement of 1900; Mr. R. C. Forsyth of Shantung has two important works to his credit, viz., *The China Martyrs of 1900* and the editing of *Shantung*, a symposium on the history and institutions of the "sacred" province, so-called because of its being the birthplace of Confucius and Mencius.

Rev. E. W. Burt was the author of two books on B.M.S. history in China, entitled *Fifty Years in China* and *After Sixty Years* respectively, to both of which this work is much indebted.

Rev. J. C. Keyte achieved widespread fame for his classic on the Chinese revolution, entitled *The Passing of the Dragon*. He also wrote several novels on Chinese life, and the biography of Dr. Andrew Young. Dr. Harold Balme wrote *China and Modern Medicine*, an acknowledged standard work on the subject, and *The Relief of Pain*, which attracted wide attention in the public Press. The Rev. F. W. Madeley contributed frequently to the C.L.S. series of Biblical commentaries.

Rev. E. F. Borst-Smith wrote two books on missionary life in North Shensi, entitled *Mandarin and Missionary in Cathay*, and *Caught in the Chinese Revolution*.

The writer's literary contribution includes a two-volume work on *Wang An Shih*, reformer and educator of the Sung Dynasty; *Mo Ti, A Chinese Heretic*; *China among the Nations*; *Teach Yourself Chinese* and two studies prepared for the International Missionary

Council, one on Mo-ism and the other on evangelistic methods in China.

Dr. L. M. Ingle translated several voluminous works on surgery and anatomy, completing Gray's *Anatomy* in 1930, and Rev. W. P. Pailing has three important treatises (in Chinese) to his credit, based on the British Pharmacopoeia. Dr. H. H. Rowley used his knowledge of Chinese literature and philosophy to excellent advantage in his comparative study of Eastern thought, entitled *Submission in Suffering*.

Rev. F. S. Drake has become an authority on Chinese religions, particularly Buddhism, also on Chinese Archaeology and Art, on which he has written many important articles and brochures. He is the author of *Modern Church History* in Chinese, in three volumes, and of a standard work on Kuan Tzu, an ancient writer on whose works much of China's philosophical thought is based. Some idea of Mr. Drake's standing in the sinological field is revealed by his appointment to the Chair of Chinese in Hong Kong University.

Rev. George Young's book *The Living Christ in Modern China* is well known, and widely appreciated in Christian circles. The Rev. J. C. Scott, formerly of Cheeloo University, published a book, *Health and Agriculture in China* with the sub-title of *A Fundamental Approach to the World's Hunger*.

The above sketch makes no claim to be a complete record of the literary contribution of B.M.S. China missionaries.¹ It does, however, show in part what they have tried to do in this sphere towards the enlightenment and evangelization of the people of China; to the education of Christians and their leaders; to the study of her ancient religions and philosophy, and to the promotion of sympathetic understanding between "East and West".

¹ The Rev. H. W. Spillett was appointed general secretary of the Council on Christian Literature for Overseas Chinese, in 1953, with headquarters in Hong Kong, and the Rev. James Sutton was appointed at the same time to be distribution secretary for Christian Literature, under the auspices of the Malayan Christian Council, with headquarters in Kuala Lumpur. Through both these projects the B.M.S. China staff continues to make an important contribution to the work of producing, publishing and distributing Christian Literature for Chinese.

CHAPTER 16

DOING GOOD

B.M.S. MISSIONARIES in China did their best to relieve physical distress, to cope with disease, poverty, famine and flood, and the special needs of the wounded and the refugee. They wrestled with the basic problem of ignorance, contributed to the alleviation of social inequality and injustice, and to the moral and material welfare of the Chinese people. Whenever possible, they advocated or adopted preventive and constructive measures, as well as remedial methods of relief.

In the very early days Timothy Richard made many enterprising proposals to the officials for the prevention of famine, or its speedier alleviation, by the improvement of communications so as to facilitate transport of grain from one part of the country to another.

Mr. Whitewright, through the renowned Institute and Museum which he established in Chi-Nan-Fu, made a far-sighted and most useful contribution in this respect.¹

Floods and drought are the most frequent cause of China's recurring famines. By a series of models in the Museum, deforestation was shown to be a main factor in causing these grave natural calamities, and reforestation on the grand scale was demonstrated as the obvious and practical remedy. The rivers of China constantly overflow and cause widespread disaster. The Yellow River, which in its lower reaches flows through Shantung, is notorious in this respect, and has been well called "China's Sorrow" on that account. In 1921, 1930 and 1935-6 immense damage was caused by floods in B.M.S. areas, and relief on a large scale was undertaken by our missionaries, aided by considerable

¹ In September 1922 he received a congratulatory letter from King George V for his outstanding work for the Chinese people.

grants from the International Famine Relief Association, but also with more modest contributions from the Home Society. In the disaster of 1935-6 no less than 20,000 flood refugees were housed and fed, and otherwise cared for by religious organizations in Chi-Nan-Fu, in twenty-seven different camps, the medical staff and students of the University assuming responsibility for the very necessary hygienic measures.

Other models showed how this river could be transformed from a curse to a blessing, by installing a simple but ingenious siphon system along the river banks, whereby the waters with their rich alluvial deposits could be conveyed to the near-by fallow lands, to give them a new and fertile top-soil for a considerable time. The Shantung Reconstruction Bureau, which had put this idea into practice in some places, advertised the models, and requests reached the Museum from many parts of China for reproductions to use in lectures.

The Rural Department of the Shantung Christian University supplemented the work of the Museum by practical demonstrations of various kinds. Two experimental centres were set up to show to local farmers the advantages of using scientific fertilizers, selected seeds, pest eliminators, etc. The Department also undertook research, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, on the most commonly used Chinese fertilizer, and were able to demonstrate its disastrous effects on the health of the people, through the ravages of hookworm, the ascaris worm and the like. By the help of those working in this Department, including Rev. J. C. Scott of the B.M.S., models were made and set up in the Museum illustrating this, in ways which the most ignorant peasant could understand.

Other B.M.S. missionaries shared in the activities of the North China Christian Social Service Union, which organized a number of Farmers' Banks, through which the farmer could contract loans at a reasonable rate of interest averaging about a third of the minimum rate charged by the money-lender.

The Christian University of Nanking rendered special help in work of this type through its Agricultural Department, which

conducted a nation-wide campaign of publicity on problems of rural life, distributing modern scientific fertilizers, tested seeds, pest eliminators, and fruit trees all over China.

A few students from our B.M.S. areas were sent to these centres for training, with a view to their rendering help to local farmers on their return. Unfortunately the prevalence of disturbed conditions interfered with the full implementation of this policy.

However, serious attempts were made in some parts of our Shantung field to improve the livelihood of the Christian community. A number of co-operatives were set up with the help of the North China Christian Social Service Union, and instruction and practical assistance was given to groups in the keeping of pigs, fowls and bees—and in ways of improving and increasing their crops, fruits and vegetables. Some of our Chinese colleagues served for periods with Dr. James Yen's Ting-Hsien rural reconstruction project, which later developed into a provincial-wide campaign.

B.M.S. missionaries in Shansi assisted the provincial officials in importing merino sheep from Australia, to interbreed with local stock, and in the purchase of large quantities of cotton seed from U.S.A., also in procuring plans for the erection of a modern cotton-spinning mill. They took a very active part in suppressing a serious outbreak of pneumonic plague in 1917-18, and at various times in the relief of flood and famine victims. In the post-revolutionary period, in co-operation with the local officials, and with the help of the International Famine Relief Association, they used thousands of able-bodied recipients of relief funds to make new roads and strengthen river dykes, and adopted other preventive or constructive measures of relief.

Similar action was taken by our Shensi missionaries. But special mention must be made of their share in co-operation with the International Famine Relief Association and the Shensi Government, in the great Wei-Pei project of 1932-4. This was a scheme whereby about 150 square miles of formerly unproductive land were reclaimed by a well-engineered irrigation plan, which

literally "made the desert to blossom as the rose". Famine labour was utilized in large measure for this work. But other more direct relief had to be given. The Baptist churches at home contributed a sum of £5,620 for relief at that time. Part of this sum was used to buy grain for resale to the famine-stricken people at prices within their means. Some money was unavoidably used for free distribution of grain, and to assist people to migrate to other parts. An orphanage for four hundred children was opened and maintained for some time partly out of these relief funds from home.

Some of our pioneer missionaries in Shantung endeavoured to improve the livelihood of the Christians, and at the same time promote self-support for the Church by introducing industrial projects. At Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, Alfred Jones initiated schemes for the improvement of the silk worm and spinning industries, in the homes of our Christians, and Mrs. Couling introduced lace-making in the Girls' Boarding School. This inspired Sung-Ch'uan-Tien, one of our local church members, to start up a business which developed rapidly into a great concern, manufacturing hairnets, carpets, piece-goods, etc. Mr. Sung became very influential in the public life of Shantung, and was elected at one time as Chairman of the Provincial Assembly. His family also established a large cotton mill in Tientsin, which was equipped and run on enlightened modern lines, with all sorts of welfare projects for the workers.

In the Whitewright Museum, models applicable to the needs of the rising factory age in China proved to be of real practical value, by demonstrating the advantages of protected machinery, adequate air space, ventilation, lighting and the adoption of welfare schemes, comfortable living quarters, reasonable hours of labour, rates of pay, insurance, meal-times, holidays, etc., for the employees. Two factories were opened in Chi-Nan-Fu by a group of Christian industrialists on the lines suggested by these models. Dame Adelaide Anderson visited these factories in November 1931, and was deeply impressed by what she saw. Not that everything was ideal. Many of the women had their

babies with them. Some of them preferred to have snacks while they worked rather than take time off for regular meals to avoid losing-out on piece-work wages. There were also many children working of school age. But this was offset to some extent by the fact that the firm provided part-time schooling facilities on the compound.

Commercial and industrial enterprises on a smaller scale were undertaken by individual Christians or small groups after 1911 in each of our three provinces. Small woollen factories were started in Shansi, and bicycle and motor-bus companies formed. In Shantung one of our church members contributed one-tenth of the profits of his bicycle business to the Church. In fact he called it "the One-Tenth Firm". In Shensi, fruit orchards were cultivated by a number of Shantung Christians who migrated there after 1937. The promoters of most of these Christian business projects contributed generously to Church funds.

In the sphere of women's life the missionary contribution towards their freedom, enlightenment, and general well-being has been considerable. The anti-footbinding campaign, which wrought a complete transformation of women's life in China, is deeply indebted to a Christian woman,¹ Mrs. Archibald Little, who founded the Natural Foot Society in 1895 and who received much help in the initial stages of her epoch-making campaign from other European women, including Mrs. Timothy Richard and the staff of the C.L.S. They also memorialized the Empress-Dowager, who in 1902 issued an edict on the subject. Later on, B.M.S. women missionaries helped to promote the movement. They also pioneered in and developed education for girls, which proved to be a major factor in the revolution of Chinese women's life. Through schools for girls, and women's schools and Institutes, they created interest and activity in home-life, child-welfare, women's rights, and other aspects of women's life.

By throwing open their homes to Christian and non-Christian

¹ Several of the Manchu emperors had issued edicts discouraging the practice of foot-binding, but with little or no effect. Manchu women did not bind their feet. The T'ai-P'ing rebels also discouraged the practice.

women, and in other informal social ways, our women missionaries did much to break down social and artificial sexual barriers within the Church, and to promote better family relationships in Chinese homes.

Opium and other narcotics have been a major curse in China's national life for generations.¹ Opium refuge work formed a regular part of our activities in Shansi and Shensi until 1917. In Shensi church members were forbidden to grow, sell or consume opium. In Shansi the growth, use and sale of the drug were stringently prohibited, and opium smokers were disciplined. In the big anti-narcotic campaigns between 1908 and 1925, conducted under Government auspices, our missionaries played a prominent part. Unfortunately the continuance of disturbed conditions nullified many of their efforts. However, a notable improvement in public opinion on this question occurred as a result of the vigorous propaganda of those years.

Our missionaries also participated in prison reform movements which were much in evidence after the revolution of 1911. Chinese administrators in this sphere acknowledged their indebtedness to Elizabeth Fry and the publications of the C.L.S. regarding her life and work. Model prisons sprang up after the revolution in most provincial capitals and other important administrative centres, in the conduct of which the advice of local missionaries was frequently sought. Prison visitation and preaching became a regular feature of our work in many places, either in the workrooms or to the whole body of staff and prisoners.

Some interesting conversions resulted from this work, which was specially fruitful amongst the women. Here and there somewhat sporadic attempts were made with the prison-gate type of missionary work. Suitable employment was found for individual prisoners who had evinced real interest in the gospel, and efforts were made to keep in personal touch with others.

Honesty in financial administration and trustworthiness in the handling of public funds are matters of prime importance every-

¹ The British were not the first to introduce opium to China. But they were responsible for greatly increasing the imports of it.

where, and opportunities for our missionaries in China to make a Christian contribution in this sphere were occasionally forthcoming, particularly in times of widespread national distress, such as famine, plague, flood or war. In such times of emergency, they served on joint-relief committees, which included officials and other civic dignitaries. On many of these Committees either a missionary or some prominent Chinese Christian was elected treasurer or joint-treasurer of the funds, and Christian members took the lead in ensuring that, as far as was practicable, reports made to relief organizations should represent the factual situation; all of which helped to create an enlightened public opinion on such matters, and contributed to some extent towards the reduction of corruption and graft.¹ As to the general "leavening" influence of Missions, one might quote the statement of the Commission of American Laymen after their survey of China in 1931, that "Christianity in action has far outstripped the Church".

In the sphere of international politics also, our missionaries endeavoured to promote justice and understanding. During the tense period of 1925-8, when the Chinese Nationalist Movement was at its height, controversy waxed fierce, both in the missionary and general foreign communities, on questions relating to such vital matters as the unequal treaties, extra-territoriality, and the like. Although B.M.S. missionaries were often at variance with one another on particular aspects of such problems, they were unanimous in desiring and affirming that a sympathetic and just response should be made to the legitimate political aspirations of the Chinese people. Some indeed became public advocates of the Chinese claims, and a few individuals seriously considered taking out Chinese naturalization papers.

The above sketch, combined with much that has gone before, should suffice to show that B.M.S. missionaries made serious efforts to give practical expression to the Chinese people of the gospel they preached as being relevant to every aspect of social, national and international life.

¹ It might be noted that many B.M.S. missionaries received decorations from the national and provincial governments in recognition of their public services.

CHAPTER 17

GOVERNMENTS AND HELPS

ORGANIZATION, administration, general and financial, and the formulation and carrying out of policy, are all important aspects of missionary work, the effectiveness of which is largely dependent on the manner in which these various functions are discharged by the people responsible for them.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Until 1912 our work in each of the three provinces of Shantung, Shansi and Shensi, was administered by Provincial Conferences, composed of all the missionaries. Up to that date these three Conferences functioned independently of each other, and communicated through their Provincial Secretary directly with the Home Committee. But in 1912, as already reported (p. 119) the Inter-Provincial Conference (I.P.C.) came into being, and functioned for the whole field in matters of major importance, such as the determination of overall policy, the distribution of the allocation and the location of missionaries.

The I.P.C. nominated one of the missionaries to the Home Committee (who formally appointed him) as Field Secretary, or China Secretary, as he later came to be called. He was the official representative of the Society on the field. He served as the medium of all important correspondence, and was expected to keep in touch with the missionaries in each area, and to make himself familiar with the various departments of work by regular visitation whenever possible.

The Revs. E. C. Nickalls, F. Harmon, E. W. Burt, J. Watson, H. R. Williamson, F. S. Russell and H. W. Spillett served in this capacity at different times. Until 1947, when circumstances

required that the China Secretary should reside in Shanghai, his headquarters were in one of the provinces, where he was usually given some local responsibility for general work in addition to his secretarial duties.

Each province and the Cheeloo group nominated a missionary as local secretary who was appointed by the Home Committee, an office which made him or her an *ex-officio* member of the I.P.C. and its Executive. But a Chinese was usually appointed as co-secretary of all conferences and committees of this joint character.

The minutes of provincial conferences, and of the I.P.C. were sent home for ratification by the Committee of the Society, which, however, rarely interfered in any serious way with actions or policy recommended by the field.

POLICY

Questions of policy occupied an important place on the agendas of most provincial conferences, and the I.P.C. The claims of evangelistic, educational, medical and training work were kept well to the forefront of these discussions, and a reasonable balance maintained between them. Shortly after 1925 the whole policy of the Mission was carefully reviewed, and recommendations made that if the B.M.S. were forced to reduce its activities for financial or other reasons, the work of training Chinese leaders for every department of work, such as that visualized and maintained in the Cheeloo University, would be the last to be surrendered.

FINANCE

After 1875 it became necessary for the China Mission to have a business agency at some coastal or river port to arrange for the reception and departure of missionaries, the transport of goods, and the transaction of banking, exchange, consular registration and other business. For many years this work was undertaken for Shantung by an agent at Ch'ing-Tao, for Shansi by the C.I.M. at Tientsin, and for Shensi by the C.I.M. business department at

Hankow. Work of this kind which was necessary at Shanghai was undertaken from 1907 by the Rev. and Mrs. Evan Morgan, whose services to the Mission in a business and personal capacity were greatly appreciated.

In 1921 the B.M.S. and L.M.S. agreed jointly to support a qualified accountant and two missionary assistants to discharge these special responsibilities, with headquarters at Shanghai. In the same year the B.M.S. joined the Associated Mission Treasurers, a united Corporation (representing eight British and American Societies) which transacted the financial and other business of these and other Societies, in a most effective manner. The charges made for services rendered to the non-member Societies eventually realized sufficient income to meet all routine office expenses.

From 1924 onwards the B.M.S. and L.M.S. representative on this organization was Mr. Adam Black, A.C.A., who with his wife and office assistants not only discharged their financial and business responsibilities with great efficiency but rendered most useful service to missionaries in transit. As China Treasurer of the B.M.S., Mr. Black had his place on the I.P.C. and its Executive. He played quite a large part in important developments which occurred within the general organization, which, be it noted, handled foreign exchange valued at about £1,000,000 annually. He and Mrs. Black were also active in local church and community work.

From about 1923 our larger institutions were controlled by Boards of Management, as far as internal and current affairs were concerned. They were composed of missionary and Chinese representatives in varying proportions, the tendency in later years being for the Chinese to be in the majority, especially in educational institutions.

Missionaries served as local treasurers of B.M.S. funds in each province and at Cheeloo University, and each central station. Prior to 1918 inland currency was bewildering in its variety, and exchange transactions were extremely complex. This office was no sinecure, either then or later. The help of a Chinese colleague as secretary or steward was usually necessary at provincial capitals,

at each major residential station, and in each of our larger institutions, such as hospitals and middle schools. These Chinese colleagues made important and much-appreciated contributions to the business and financial aspects of our work, and in the great majority of instances discharged their onerous duties with honesty and competence.

The overall organization of the China Mission was kept as simple as changing circumstances allowed, and as economical in operation as was consistent with basic efficiency, and the promotion of co-operation in the various departments and areas of our work.

PART THREE

THE REHEARSAL OF ALL THINGS

IN Parts One and Two of this book, the history of B.M.S. work in China has been outlined, and some account has been given of the various kinds of activity in which our missionaries and Chinese Christian colleagues were engaged through the years. Now an attempt must be made to summarize the results of all this, indicating some of the difficulties which were encountered, and to estimate, as far as that is practicable, the prospects for the future.

CHAPTER 18

OBSERVABLE RESULTS

NUMBERS of church members or of the Christian community are not the sole criterion of success or failure of the missionary movement in any country. They are, however, important, and some figures must be given. Absolute accuracy is not claimed for the statistics which follow. But they are based on the most reliable reports available.

It will be useful first of all to give the statistics for the total Christian community in the country.

The latest authentic report of the Roman Catholics to which the writer has access (1935), claims that their baptized community numbered 2,702,468, which it is presumed includes infants as well as adults. The most recent report of the Russian Orthodox Church claims 5,000 baptized communicants. Complete figures for the Protestant Church are not readily ascertainable. But according to the National Christian Council report for 1937 the membership of the churches affiliated with that body at that date number 560,000. On the basis of a reliable estimate that this represents about 58 per cent. of the whole, the total membership

of all Protestant churches would be about 960,000 in that year. If, however, we wish to make a fair comparison with the Roman Catholic figures, we could reasonably include a number of enrolled inquirers, interested members of Christian families, and other recognized adherents, which would increase the figure for the Protestant "community" (as distinguished from the membership of the Church) to at least $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions, and make the total Christian community to be about 4,000,000. The recent census conducted by the Communist Government puts the population of China today at about 600,000,000. Allowing for the possibility that that figure may have been inflated for political reasons, and that 500,000,000 is the more probably correct figure, it still means that the total Christian community in China is less than 1 per cent. of the population.

The following table of Protestant statistics indicates the progress of the Church through the years, and the number of missionaries engaged in the task.

Year	Church Members		Church Members	Church Members
	Missionaries	Total	N.C.C.	non-N.C.C.
1834		10		
1853		189		
1864	189	350		
1874	436	13,000		
1889	1,296	37,287		
1898		80,682		
1900	2,700 (?)	95,946		
1905		178,251		
1911		207,747		
1913		285,045		
1915	5,338			
1917	6,000	312,970		
1920	6,204	366,527		
1922	7,000	700,000	402,359	c. 300,000
1925	8,158			
1928	4,000			
1935	5,875			
1937		960,000 approx.	560,000	c. 400,000
1950		1,000,000 do.		

In connection with these statistics the following facts are worthy of notice.

About the time of Robert Morrison's death in 1834, there were known to be only ten members of the Chinese Protestant Church. And his colleague, William Milne, affirmed that it would probably take a hundred years to gain a thousand Chinese communicants. Christianity was then still a proscribed religion in China. Prior to 1860, Protestant missionaries were confined to five treaty ports on the coast, and the two colonies of Macao and Hong Kong. Only six provinces had been entered by Protestant missionaries by 1877, and they were not at work in the whole of China's eighteen provinces until 1898, when they numbered less than 2,500. That figure steadily increased after 1900 until 1925, when about 8,000 were estimated to be in the country. During 1925-8 however there was a sharp decline of about 50 per cent. And although their numbers rose again between 1928 and 1933, they gradually decreased until 1937, and continued to do so at an increasing rate until virtually all were withdrawn, in 1951-2.

Again, the disturbed state of the country necessitated the frequent evacuation of large numbers of missionaries, on occasions for considerable periods of time. Prominent amongst these were the Boxer Rising of 1900; the Revolution of 1911-12; the Civil Wars of 1912-25; the Nationalist Movement of 1925-8; and the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-45. The revival of civil war in 1945 seriously interfered with the reorganization of missionary work in the provinces which had been under Japanese occupation. And after 1949, when the Communists had gained control of the country, the ensuing troubles caused the number of Protestant missionaries finally to decline to zero.

The work of the B.M.S., in common with that of all other societies, suffered many setbacks from the internal chaos and general dislocation outlined above. And in regard to the B.M.S. statistics, the following additional facts should be taken into account. Our work in inland Shantung began in 1875; in Shansi in 1877, and in Shensi in 1891. All B.M.S. missionaries then in Shansi were killed in 1900. Very little organized work was pos-

sible in that province after 1939, or in Shantung after 1942. All our missionaries connected with Shansi and Shantung were either interned by the Japanese between 1942 and 1945, transferred to other parts of China, or brought home. After 1945 the missionary staff available for the three provinces was very small. Others who remained in China for the next few years were scattered widely over the country. Their numbers gradually decreased between 1945 and 1951 when all but the China Secretary, the Rev. H. W. Spillett, were withdrawn. He left in 1952.

When due allowance is made for the above factors, and when other difficulties such as the challenge of ancient and deeply entrenched non-Christian religions, and foreign political complications, etc., are taken into account, the ascertainable statistical results of missionary work during the period under review, including those of the B.M.S., may in fact be less disappointing than at first sight appears.

The latest date at which reliable figures for our whole field are available is 1939, when there were 12,689 members of the churches associated with the B.M.S. The following table indicates the numbers of our missionaries, and church members, and their geographical distribution, at intervals between 1892 and 1950, viz.:

Year	Missionaries including wives					Church members			
	Total	S'tung	Shansi	Shensi	S'hai	Total	S'tung	Shansi	Shensi
1892	43	22	16	3	2	1,128	1,050	30	48
1900	69	38	16	13	2	4,652	4,177	256	219
1905	49	28	9	10	2	5,929	4,488	364	1,077
1910	94	38	29	24	3				
1925	142	66	36	35	5	10,732	7,248	886	2,498
1930	100	33	30	32	5	10,607	7,122	1,067	2,418
1937	105	37	32	31	5	10,931	6,436	1,221	3,274
1939	98	35	28	30	5	12,698			
1945	68 ¹								
1950	64 ¹								4,400

¹ Not all in China.

The figures given for B.M.S. missionary staff include those on furlough, and should be reduced by about one-fifth, to give the number actively engaged in China at any one time.

The following facts about the area covered by B.M.S. operations in the three provinces and the population for which our missionaries were responsible will be of interest:

Shantung is about equal in area to England and Wales. The area which the B.M.S. occupied is about the size of Wales. The total population was 38,000,000, of which some 3,200,000 resided in the B.M.S. field of operations. The density of population in Shantung is estimated at 700 to the square mile.

Shansi is about one-third larger than England and Wales, with a population of about 12,000,000, averaging 149 to the square mile. The B.M.S. occupied an area roughly equivalent to the six northern counties of England, and was mainly responsible for the evangelization of 1,300,000 people.

Shensi is larger by about one-fourth than England and Wales, the B.M.S. field being equal in area to about half of England. Its total population was about 9,000,000 (or 112 to the square mile) of whom about 1,800,000 lived in the B.M.S. area.

Prior to 1937, about 350 missionaries, including wives, had served under B.M.S. auspices in China. This total comprised 78 doctors and their wives; 83 single women, 57 of whom were general and educational workers, and 26 nurses. Twenty-seven of these 83 single women married and served as wives of missionaries afterwards. The rest, representing rather less than 50 per cent., were married couples (with rare exceptions) whose main responsibility was for evangelistic, church and educational work.

The average term of service rendered by our missionaries of all types was 16½ years. Doctors averaged 14 years, and single women (including nurses, but excluding the 27 who married and later served as wives of missionaries) 12 years. Thirteen missionaries served for over 40 years, 10 of whom arrived in China before 1900, and 36 for over 30 years. The Rev. Evan Morgan earns the blue riband for long service, having completed 51 years on the field.

BAPTISMS

Gaps in the annual returns from the field render it impossible to give a complete record of baptisms for the whole period of our work in China. But 35,000 would be a reasonably conservative estimate. Communicants in 1876 numbered only 62, including 40 at Chefoo. The average number of baptisms per annum, as nearly as can be ascertained, over periods of 10 years, was as follows:

<i>Period</i>	<i>Baptisms, average per year</i>
Between 1891-1900	408
„ 1901-10	428
„ 1911-20	627
„ 1921-30	546
„ 1931-40	715

The best single years were 1935, 1939 and 1940, when baptisms recorded were 1,048, 1,332 and 1,026 respectively.

ALLOCATION

The allocation grants received from the Home Committee, for work on the field, excluding missionaries' allowances, passages, and capital expenditure, are outlined below:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1905	£5,078	
1910	£11,275	
1915	£17,190	} The big fluctuations between 1915 and 1930 are largely due to the very erratic rate of exchange.
1920	£27,926	
1925	£29,320	
1930	£14,358	
1935	£7,697	
1940	£4,178	} The smallness of the amount between 1935 and 1945 is due to war conditions.
1945	£4,126	
1947	£16,300	
		—of which £4,500 was due to exchange.
1949	£14,600	of which £8,200 was due to exchange.
1950	£13,000	

The bulk of this money was expended on grants to schools, hospitals and other institutions; the support of Chinese co-workers; missionaries' inland travel; maintenance of property; office routine, etc. But most of the current local expenditure on institutions (apart from missionary allowances) and the whole or partial support of considerable numbers of Chinese co-workers of all types was derived from Chinese sources.

CHINESE CO-WORKERS

The following table gives some indication of the number of Chinese co-workers in association with the B.M.S. through the years, viz.:

Year	Pastors	Evangelists	Teachers	Doctors	Nurses and other medical assistants	Voluntary Workers	
						Men	Women
1910	25	68	142				
1925	59	244	360	5	94	322	74
1937	51	137	174	7	173 (24 qual. nurses)	386	45

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

According to the 1936 Handbook of the Protestant Christian Movement in China, the figures of communicants and missionaries for the various major societies at work in China in that year were as follows:-

	Communicants	Missionaries
1. Church of Christ in China (representing 13 missionary societies, including B.M.S.)	123,043	1,151
2. China Inland Mission	85,345	1,356
3. Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A.	41,272	234
4. Southern Baptist Church, U.S.A.	41,450	203
5. Anglican Church, all branches	34,612*	569
6. Lutheran Church, all branches	21,853	256
7. Methodist Church, Great Britain	21,203	124
8. Seventh Day Adventist Churches	14,546	215
9. American Congregationalist (apart from one section included in 1)	14,258	85
10. Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A. (South)	12,991	89
11. Northern Baptist Church, U.S.A.	12,595	143
12. Basel Mission	7,501	53
TOTALS	430,669 ¹	4,478

NOTE. These statistics are reproduced from *A Century of Christian Conquest in Cathay*. They were collated by R. T. Bryan, who says, "It has been difficult to get exact figures, so we have made them lower rather than higher."

*The figures for the Anglican Church call for a supplementary note. In 1936 (the above figures are mostly for the years 1933-5) they reported 41,674 communicants and 474 missionaries. In 1949 they reported 76,741 communicants and 489 missionaries.

The statistics of the four major Baptist Societies and their affiliated Churches for the year 1935, are given below, viz.:

	American Baptist North	B.M.S.	Swedish Baptist	Southern Baptist	Total
No. of churches	160	262	10	221	653
Membership	12,758	11,000	4,115	41,450	69,412
Missionaries (including wives)	143	107	24	203	477
Ordained Chinese	37	48	—	89	174
Total Chinese workers	1,113	497	89	523	2,222

¹ Figures quoted in the 1950 China Yearbook for total Protestant Membership are 936,126, and for the Church of Christ in China, including synods in Formosa, (33,216). Malaya, and Hainan, about 177,000.

CHAPTER 19

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

SUCH statistics as have been given in the preceding chapter are, as we have noted, not the sole criterion of success or failure of the efforts made. There are many other achievements to the credit of the Protestant Missionary movement which as given by Dr. Latourette¹ may be summarized as follows:-

A fairly large Christian community has resulted. Missionaries shared in the introduction of Western education, scientific methods, and political ideas, which contributed to the revolution, and moulded it to some extent. A fair number of Christians in the republican government made valuable contributions to the political and social developments which ensued. Amongst other missionary contributions to China he lists the great improvement in women's life; to literacy; to all forms of medical service; to relief of distress, palliative and remedial; to agricultural reform; to the heightening of moral standards for the individual and society; to creation of a greater regard for the individual, especially the physically handicapped, the unfortunate, and children; to the creation of a spirit of sacrificial service, and public spirit generally; to literature, and the translation of the Scriptures; and their activities as sympathetic interpreters, and bridge-builders between China and the Western world. B.M.S. missionaries played their proportionate part in all these matters.

The general results of Protestant missionary work in China have been assessed by some missionary observers as "wonderful" when all the circumstances are taken into account. Suspending positive judgment on this matter for the present, let us consider some of the difficulties, other than those already noted, which confronted B.M.S. and all other missionaries, in the prosecution

¹ *History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 831-43.

of their task. For only in this way can a fair assessment be made of the results achieved.

And first, because of its relatively greater importance, we must give some account of the religions of the Chinese people.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

It was no religious vacuum that modern Protestant missionaries to China entered, as they began to evangelize her people. Missionaries of the Nestorian and Roman Catholic faiths had made long and strenuous, if intermittent, efforts before them. Jews, Mohammedans, Zoroastrians, Manicheans, and representatives of other foreign religions had long preceded them, and had exercised varying degrees of influence in the land. Mohammedans indeed continued to do so. But more important still was the influence of the native religions, Confucianism and Taoism. Buddhism also, although of Indian origin, is usually included in the three religions of China, as in the course of its long history it had become part and parcel of the religious life of the people as a whole.

In addition to these, Ancestor-worship (long antecedent to Confucianism, but adopted by and integrated with it), and Animism, or Spirit-worship (also very ancient), which deeply affected all religions, were practically universally observed.

These native religions and their auxiliaries had deeply entrenched themselves through the ages in the philosophical, ethical, social and spiritual life of the people, and confronted the Christian forces with a stubbornly-held stronghold which they have found extremely hard to reduce.

CONFUCIANISM

Confucianism, which derives its name from Confucius (551-479 B.C.), has been variously described as a philosophy, an ethical system, and a religion. It would be more apposite to term it a religio-ethical philosophy. Our consideration of this must neces-

sarily be confined, by limitations of space, to those aspects of it which made it difficult for its adherents to accept Christianity.

Confucius styled himself "a transmitter and not an originator" and as one who "believed in and loved the ancients". That accounts for the fact that he, Mencius, and other influential disciples, in compiling the classical literature, incorporated many ideas and practices of very ancient origin.

The Chinese classics contain a number of references to a supreme spiritual authority, variously designated "Ruler", in Chinese "Ti" (represented by a Chinese ideogram which is probably derived from an ancient Babylonian character for God), or "the Ruler on High" (Shang-Ti), or more commonly "Supreme Ruler", or thirdly "Heaven". These three different names are used interchangeably to denote one Being, possessed of the personal attributes of paternity, intelligence, wisdom, justice, pity, benevolence, and of a concern for the moral character of rulers and people alike.

Chinese scholars differed in their opinions as to how closely the Chinese classical conception of the Supreme Being approximates to the Christian idea of God. Liang-Ch'i-Ch'ao, a famous writer, but not a professing Christian, who served on the staff of the Christian Literature Society for a time, speaks of these references to the God of the classics as "reading exactly like Deuteronomy". The Manchu emperor, K'ang-Hsi, the illustrious scholar and patron of the Jesuit missionaries during his reign (A.D. 1662-1723), when appealed to by them to receive Christian baptism, rejoined, "We worship the same God as you." That was the kind of comment frequently made by Confucian scholars in recent years when confronted by missionaries with appeals to believe in God as revealed by Jesus Christ.

The kinship of the classical and Christian ideas aroused great controversy, amongst both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries, as to whether they could, without doing violence to the Christian conception, use any of the Chinese classical designations for God in the translation of the Scriptures and in their preaching.

Marshman and Morrison in their translations avoided them altogether, substituting "Shen", which is a generic term for spirit. Incidentally this is the term which Wang-An-Shih (1021-86), one of the most original interpreters of Chinese ideograms which China has produced, defined by analysis as meaning "the Spirit striving to make Himself known".

Most of the Protestant missionaries, including those in the B.M.S., used versions of the Scriptures, in which either the classical designation of "Shang-Ti" (Supreme Ruler), or "Shen" (Spirit) were the terms adopted for God. But invariably, in preaching or in public prayer, they prefixed "True" to "Shen", and added to both of these designations "Our Heavenly Father" (T'ien-Fu, in Chinese) so as to leave their listeners in no doubt as to the genuinely Christian significance of the Name.

The need for this will be evident from the following considerations.

First, the formal worship of Shang-Ti from time immemorial was the sole prerogative of the Chinese emperor. Since A.D. 1421 the ornate ceremonies connected with this Imperial worship were observed at the Altar of Heaven in Peking, an altar which exists today in the form of a beautiful triple-tiered structure of white marble. Here, annually, at the winter solstice, in the presence of a great concourse of officials and other notables, to the accompaniment of music and dancing, and burnt offerings of animals and valuable silks, the emperor, as representing all his people, made prayers or "announcements" to the Supreme Ruler, praising Him for His bounty; recognizing the dependence of all upon Him; professing his purpose to obey Him, and invoking His blessing upon all the people.

This Imperial worship was maintained until 1911, when with the overthrow of the Manchus and the inauguration of a republic, it was abandoned. In 1916, however, President Yuan-Shih-K'ai in his vain attempt to restore the monarchical régime, performed, somewhat perfunctorily, these ceremonies for the last time.

The Chinese people as a whole were only vaguely conscious of the significance of these ceremonies, and only very dimly aware of

the existence or nature of the God whom the emperor was supposed to be worshipping on their behalf. Although Confucian scholars resident in their locality, or teachers in the village schools, might occasionally and without much conviction bring the classical idea of God to their notice, it exerted little if any real influence upon their personal religious life.

The idea of "Heaven", however, as the supreme spiritual reality, was familiar to the vast majority of the people in one form or another. And as "Heaven" was in fact virtually equivalent to "Shang-Ti", it is, therefore, interesting to note that long before Confucius lived "Heaven" was designated Universal Father, and "Earth" (the associate of "Heaven"), Universal Mother, and that both together, or in some instances "Heaven" alone, were described as the Parents or Parent of the people. Confucius himself always used "Heaven" when speaking of the Supreme Being, and a few expressions used by him suggest that he had a real inner experience of personal relationships with Him.

In process of time, the worship of Heaven and Earth, which in the Confucian system were regarded as embracing the whole gamut of the spirits of Nature, assumed great importance in the religious life of the people.

It was a part of the Imperial worship; officials were expected to preside at the worship of Heaven and Earth on all important public occasions, and it was practically the universal custom for Heaven and Earth to be worshipped by the people in their homes on the 1st and 15th of each month and on special family occasions such as births, marriages and deaths.

This dual conception of Heaven and Earth was not considered to detract from the monotheism of the classical religion. They were regarded as the two-fold manifestation of the activities of God and the ministers of His will. Such doubts as were evinced on this subject were resolved by Confucius who said, "By the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, service is rendered to God" (Shang-Ti).

The ancient classical conception of the Supreme Being undoubtedly admits of a personal connotation. But since the

twelfth century A.D. Confucian scholars, while not altogether abandoning that idea, at least as a possibility, have been immensely influenced by Chu-Hsi (A.D. 1130-1200), the founder of the New Confucianism, who attempted to interpret the religious ideas of the classics in impersonal terms. His theory, which is probably derived from the very ancient Confucian classic of "Change" (the I-Ching), is that the creation of the Universe, and all changes which occur in the natural order and the course of history, are best explained by positing the existence of an active governing principle, called the Supreme Ultimate (T'ai-Chi). This is operative in the Universe, through the medium of two subordinate principles, usually termed Yin and Yang, by which is usually meant male and female, positive and negative, strong and weak, etc. But to maintain the unity idea of this hypothesis, he affirmed that these two subordinate principles inhere in, were derived from, and were dependent on, the one supreme governing principle, and that they themselves were mutually dependent and interactive.

This obvious attempt to rationalize the idea of the Supreme Ruler and his associates of Heaven and Earth, which in the older form of Confucianism were all conceived as "Personal", gave rise to many materialistic theories of the origin and development of the Universe, which prejudiced the minds of many Confucian scholars against Christian teaching on such matters.

In this connection, the late Dr. J. P. Bruce of the B.M.S. has put all students of Confucianism in his debt, first, by showing that Chu-Hsi propounded the above theory to counteract the growing tendency to think of the older Confucian conception of God in too anthropomorphic a way, which in its turn had given rise to widespread superstitious practices. Secondly, and he is on much stronger ground here, he points out that Chu-Hsi in a number of places definitely admits the logical necessity of positing the existence of a Personal Governor, above, and at the heart of the Universe.

This personal and ultimately paternal conception of the Supreme Being seems to have haunted the minds of Chinese

philosophers through the ages. It is evident also that it was a similar conception of "Heaven" that gave to Confucius himself, and the generality of the Chinese people, their most lofty and intimate ideas of the "Divinity that shapes our ends". In particular, in the minds of the common people, it was "Heaven" whose ear was open to their cry.

In North China especially, B.M.S. missionaries became familiar with a primitive but very popular conception of all that has been described above, viz., that of Lao-T'ien-Yeh, or the Venerable One in Heaven, who was the One to whom they made ejaculatory supplication in every emergency, and the One whose aid, often with that of their parents, alive or dead, they invoked in every time of need. Missionaries made use of this concept in hymns and in preaching to the common people, filling it with Christian content, so as to impart more clearly that idea of the Heavenly Father for which obviously their hearts yearned. Incidentally, nothing appealed so readily to all classes of the Chinese people as the parable of the prodigal son.

Such are the main ideas of God, mostly derived from Confucianism, which the Chinese people have gained through the long ages of their history. They are, as all pre-Christian conceptions of God must be, vague and imperfect. It is nevertheless the fact that Confucian scholars of all generations, until comparatively recent times, have found satisfaction in them, or at least have been loath to abandon these "broken lights" for the full-orbed splendour of the revelation of the One God and Father of us all which Jesus Christ has given to us.

Underlying this was the apparent conviction of many that there was no vital difference between the Confucian and Christian conceptions of God, and it is clear that this prejudiced their minds against the Christian claim to the uniqueness of the Christian revelation.

Other difficulties arose from the understandable pride of scholars in the lofty character of the Confucian ethical code. That it was lofty and estimable is beyond question.

Confucius enunciated the Golden Rule in its negative form,

viz., "What you would not like others to do to you, refrain from doing to them." But he also said that the one principle which permeated all his ethical teaching was that of "reciprocity" (Shu), which may reasonably be interpreted in the positive sense to mean, "Treat others as you would like them to behave to you." This ideal he himself admitted he had failed to attain. (See pp. 312 f.) But these basic moral principles, together with the canonical virtues of Confucianism, viz., a generous kindness, moral integrity, sympathetic consideration, a wise judgment and good faith, have rendered it by no means easy to convince Confucian scholars that Christianity had in that respect anything distinctive to offer.

This difficulty was enhanced by the Confucian belief, also tenaciously held by the majority of adherents (in spite of other opposing or moderating theories deemed heretical by them), in the inherent goodness of human nature; in the power of enlightenment to correct faults; and in the capacity of the will to enable a man to fulfil his moral obligations and rectify his moral failure. Furthermore such failure was regarded as shame rather than guilt.

Sin, in the Christian sense, was quite alien to their thought, the atonement being considered either irrational or unnecessary, and the preaching of the Cross "foolishness, and a rock of offence".

Moreover, the Confucianist believed that although retribution was the logical consequence of evil-doing, it was confined to this present life, and that it manifested itself in misfortune, physical privation or disability, either in the life-time of the malefactor himself, or in that of his descendants. One scholarly official was heard to affirm that not only prisoners in the provincial jail were sinners, but also all who were blind, dumb, maimed or desperately poor.

Confucius himself adopted an agnostic attitude to all questions relating to life beyond the grave. He foiled all questioners on this subject with the remark, "We do not understand this life. Why bother about the next?" But in general, he and all true Confucianists regarded the state of departed spirits with complacency, and even optimism, assuming that at death they ascend to Heaven and

continue to exist there in a state of well-being. The practice of Ancestor-worship which is a vital element in Confucianism supports this assumption. Such ideas prejudiced their minds against the Christian teaching about future judgment.

But Confucianism is also a philosophy of State and of History. Confucian teaching does not proscribe the use of armed force or revolution to counteract, repress, or overthrow those deemed to be disobedient or hostile to the Supreme will. But it regards moral force, exercised primarily through the example of the ruler and the governing class, as the paramount and controlling factor in the maintenance and progress of a benevolent and harmonious régime. It was held, as a corollary of this, that if the rulers of China honoured this latter principle, in their relationships with her own people, and with her neighbours, China herself would enjoy peace and prosperity, and help to usher in a Golden Age, described as "Universal Community" (*Ta-T'ung-Shih-Chieh*), or a world characterized by universal understanding, brotherhood, freedom and peace. This altogether desirable ideal, it must be said, seems to have been interpreted in later years as leaving China in the leading role with other nations as co-operative "tributaries"!

However that may be, it is true that missionaries, in endeavouring to expound the nature of the Kingdom of God on earth, were frequently met by the rejoinder of Chinese scholars, "Good, that is exactly what Confucius advocated"!

Again, there was a general tendency amongst Chinese intellectuals and the people generally, to regard morality as the equivalent of, or the chief criterion of, the value of religious belief. An expression commonly on their lips was that "all religions are the same; all aim at making men good". There is truth in the latter of these two phrases. But the association in the mind of both these ideas, combined with other tenets of the Confucian faith outlined above, made scholars and officials of the pre-1911 era "stony ground" for the gospel seed.

To the foregoing difficulties must be added others which arose from the fact that Confucianism, until 1911, was the religion of

the State. Temples were erected to Confucius after his death, and as early as A.D. 57 it was ordained by Imperial decree that sacrifices, at which at times the emperor himself took part, should be offered to him, by the highest officials in each area. The offerings consisted of meat, silk, fruits and wine, and the ceremonies were most reverently performed. In A.D. 1012 Confucius was given the title of China's greatest sage, and in 1907 the Manchu Empress-Dowager issued a decree that he was equal in honour to the Supreme Ruler, Shang-Ti!

As years passed temples were erected to Confucius in every city in the land, and twice each year, again until 1911, all officials and scholars in the district would assemble before dawn to render their personal homage to the sage, to the accompaniment of music, sacrifices and the reading of the classics. His tablet was also placed in every school and college, before which the staff and students were expected to assemble and render obeisance. Mencius and other disciples of Confucius, as well as famous statesmen and warriors, were also honoured in similar but not so elaborate a fashion as part of the Confucian State cult.

One of the chief purposes of organizing and maintaining this State cult was to promote political unity and stability. But the fact that the ceremonies were characterized by many features normally associated with "worship", and that all officials and scholars were virtually "required" to participate in them, made it extremely difficult for any who were so disposed to ally themselves openly with the Christian Church.

The question as to whether the Confucian rites (apart, of course, from the Imperial worship) were of a religious character or not, excited constant discussion amongst missionaries and Chinese Christians. The general feeling of the great majority was that it was inadvisable for Christians to participate in them. The famous emperor K'ang-Hsi denied that they had any religious significance. So did Yuan-Shih-K'ai in 1914. In 1917 an attempt was made, chiefly for political and nationalistic reasons, to revive the Confucian rites, and to make Confucianism virtually the religion of the State. But the Rev. Ch'eng-Ching-I, supported by other

Christian leaders, protested so strongly that in the end a compromise had to be made. This is reflected in the clause relating to religious liberty which was included in the Constitution of the Republic framed at that time. It read as follows:

“Citizens of the Republic of China enjoy the liberty of venerating Confucius, and within the limits of the law, of choosing their own religion”!

However we interpret that ambiguous clause, it is clear that certain aspects of Confucianism justify its being termed a religion, and that its conception of Heaven or the Supreme Ruler, its lofty ethic and philosophy of statecraft, make reasonable the statement of the National Christian Council of China, issued in a message to the nation in 1925, that “the great truths seen by China’s sages come from the Source of all truth, which is God”. It is true that God has spoken to the Chinese people by their teachers but “in divers portions and in divers manners”. They have been seeking God. God has been “striving to make Himself known” to them. But the missionary message is, and always has been, and will be, that He can only be truly known, and rightly worshipped, as they and all men realize that “in these last days He has spoken to us by His Son”. Most of the objections raised by Confucian scholars in the past to the gospel are due, so they affirm, to their conviction that, in K’ang-Hsi’s words, “we worship the same God as you”. That we know to be only partly true, and that between God as seen by China’s ancient sages, and as revealed to all men in Christ, there is a difference of nature as well as degree of knowledge of Him, which makes the Christian revelation not only distinctive but unique. It was the missionaries’ claim that Christ is unique, that in Him and only in Him has God made Himself fully known, that was the chief obstacle in the minds of China’s scholars to the acceptance of the gospel they proclaimed. In particular, it was Christ crucified, the “Word of the cross”, that was to the majority of them, as to the Jews, “a stone of stumbling” and to them, as to the Greeks, “foolishness”.

Missionaries to China are nevertheless grateful for all there is in the Confucian literature and tradition, on which and to which they have been able to base their evangelical appeal, and that since 1911 many of China's intellectuals, while still "venerating" Confucius, have "chosen" Christianity as their own religion. At the same time, it is interesting to note that some Chinese Christians, thoughtful and patriotic, feel today that the almost total abandonment of the Confucian way of life by the majority of China's influential leaders has been responsible for much of the internal disorder and moral confusion which has characterized the nation in recent years.

ANCESTOR-"WORSHIP"

Ceremonies expressing reverence for ancestors, date back to very ancient times. They were incorporated in Confucianism, and maintained almost universally by the Chinese people until recent years. The observance of these rites was regarded as most important to the preservation of the family bond, the promotion of private and public morality, the unity and stability of the state, and, as popularly conceived, to the well-being of the departed spirits and their living descendants. And, as a corollary, neglect of the rites was deemed to be a most serious offence.

From the sixteenth century onwards, questions as to whether these rites were of such a character as to preclude the participation of Christians in them without violation of conscience, excited keen controversy amongst missionaries, and deep concern amongst Chinese Christians themselves.

Our particular concern is with the ceremonies observed within the family. Filial piety was fundamental to the Chinese conception of family life, not only in regard to the living, but also to the spirits of departed ancestors, who were thought to be still alive and able to come and go at will. So, until recent years, it was the virtually universal practice to keep in the home wooden tablets which bore the name of the ancestor, and a character which signified that it was the "seat" or abode of the spirit.

In wealthy families, or in villages where there were many branches of one family or clan, a separate shrine or temple was reserved for the ceremonies, at which it was customary for the eldest male member to preside. The frequency with which the ceremonies were held varied according to the importance attached to them by the particular family concerned. But it was deemed important that the rites should be properly performed, i.e., that in addition to the burning of incense, the offering of food, and bowing or prostrating oneself in the proper manner, the celebrant should be sincerely desirous of honouring the dead by following their good example, especially by faithful service of the living.

There was much in the manner of observing the rites that savoured of "worship". But it was rather the significance which the people attached to them that excited the concern of missionaries. Many enlightened Chinese claimed with K'ang-Hsi that the rites were merely the outward expression of filial affection and esteem, and that observance of them stimulated the descendants to live in a manner worthy of the best in their forefathers. If that were the whole truth little objection could be raised against them. But many missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, contended that the vast majority of Chinese sincerely believed that the performance of these rites was necessary to ensure the well-being of their departed ancestors, and to guarantee the continuance of their protection and blessing. They further contended that the average Chinese believed that neglect of the rites would excite the ill-will of their ancestors and bring misfortune upon them. It was chiefly on this ground that missionaries declared the rites "idolatrour", and advised or required Chinese Christians not to participate in them.

That was the position taken up by the Roman Catholic missionaries, after a vexed and acute controversy on the subject, lasting over 150 years, in which the Pope and the Chinese emperors K'ang-Hsi and Yung-Cheng were closely involved. That particular decision, made in 1742, was bitterly resented by the two emperors, who, with the Jesuits, had claimed that the rites had no

religious significance. And there are some historians who attribute the emperor Yung-Cheng's refusal to rescind the edict of 1724, proscribing Christianity, mainly to this decision, and place it high amongst the reasons for the persecution of the Church in the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

How did the Protestant missionaries deal with the problem?

At a Conference held in Shanghai in 1877, representative of all Protestant Missions, the ancestral rites were termed "idolatrous", and it was unanimously agreed that Chinese Christians ought not to participate in them. In 1890, at a similar Conference, no change was recorded in the previous decision, although several missionaries appealed for a more liberal attitude. However, at a third Conference of this kind in 1907, it was agreed that while the "worship of ancestors was incompatible with an enlightened and spiritual conception of the Christian Faith", and that while the rites as customarily performed and understood could not be tolerated by the Church, some observance expressive of filial piety by the Church was desirable, and the hope was expressed that Chinese Christians themselves would find some generally acceptable and worthy way of meeting the need.

Some practical suggestions were also made of Christian alternatives to the customary ceremonies. These included the holding of memorial services either in the home or at the church on the usual anniversaries; attending to the graves at the customary seasons; and in lieu of the sacrificial offerings the making of special contributions to the Church or some public philanthropic cause.

These were mainly missionary suggestions. The Chinese Christian point of view was ventilated at an informal meeting held prior to the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, when an appeal was made to missionaries "for a certain liberality which will not consider sinful the ceremonies of respect for ancestors". As this appeal arose out of discussions on the prospects of the progress of the Church, it can be assumed that Chinese Christians thought that a more liberal attitude to this question might be helpful in that connection.

The National Christian Council, at their meetings in 1922,

made no special announcements on the subject, assuming that the Chinese Church would frame its own policy in regard to it.

Later on, two prominent Chinese Christian leaders, the Rev. C. Y. Ch'eng and Dr. Francis Wei, made some suggestions to the Churches, most of which were in line with the findings of the 1907 conference. But, in addition, they advocated the use of family Bibles and photographs in connection with the ceremonies.

There is no doubt that rigid opposition to Christian participation in the rites, on the ground that they were "idolatrous", created a widespread impression amongst non-Christians that Christian teaching was opposed to filial piety itself. And questions were often put to missionaries as to whether such Scripture passages at Matt. 10, 35-37, or Matt. 12, 48-50 did not imply that. Such an inference was of course unjustifiable. Nevertheless it is true that in families composed of Christians and non-Christians, serious rifts arising from this question did occur, and that Christian opposition to or non-participation in the rites intensified hostility to the Church and led to persecution of individual Christians.

B.M.S. missionaries, in the earlier years of our history, did not explicitly forbid Chinese Christians to take part in the ancestral rites, but strongly advised against their doing so. Later on, especially after the publication of the recommendations of the 1907 Conference, with which they were in full accord, and after Chinese Christian opinion, to which they normally were inclined to defer, had been more clearly expressed, they left all decisions on the matter to the conscience and discretion of their Chinese brethren.

It is a moot question as to the extent to which this formerly almost universal practice of ancestor-"worship" affected the progress of the Church. In so far as the rites implied belief in the continued existence of the soul after death, and contributed to the maintenance of moral standards, they may be considered an asset to the Christian cause. But the practices associated with the ceremonies led to the rise of many superstitious notions, which

more than offset whatever advantage there was in them for the purposes of Christian propaganda.

Amongst these was the widespread belief that the soul was tripartite in character, one element being conceived as present in the ancestral tablet, one in the grave, and the other in Heaven, but free and active to come and go in the upper air.

And perhaps most important of all, due largely to the prevalence of Taoist and Buddhist influence of the baser kind, the people were led to believe that the spirits of their forefathers were in purgatory, enduring horrible torments which they would continue to suffer, and would wreak vengeance on their descendants unless they took appropriate steps for their deliverance.

As far as the writer's knowledge goes, very little was done in Protestant churches to introduce or maintain any Christian form of the ancient observances. In any case, they have been gradually dying out, and are by no means as widely observed by non-Christians as they used to be. Opportunity was, however, always taken at Christian funerals to emphasize the Christian doctrine of the soul and the after-life.

It is, however, obvious that the rites as popularly observed and conceived, together with the hostility of missionaries in earlier years, and delay in reaching a clear-cut Christian decision regarding them (which in the circumstances is quite understandable) and the misunderstanding and antagonism which ensued, in spite of some possibly compensatory factors, made the practice of ancestor-"worship" and problems arising from it a formidable obstacle to Christian progress.

TAOISM

Taoism traditionally originated in the third millennium B.C. and is considered to be native to China. And because in the past it received the patronage of certain emperors, it became a component but subordinate part of the State religion which found expression mainly in the worship of local, tutelary deities of cities or departments by officials on stated occasions. It is current in two widely

different forms, the one philosophical and mystical, which has some very attractive features, the other a degenerate, crude system of magic, in which alchemism, exorcism, divination, and gross idolatry figure largely.

Lao-Tzu, of the sixth century B.C., an older contemporary of Confucius, and whom he is reputed to have met, is regarded as the founder of the higher type of Taoism. He has been described as "an intellectual anarchist, and simple prophet of a philosophy of *laissez faire*". Chuang-Tzu,¹ of the fourth century B.C., "a deep-thinking philosopher, picturesque writer and stimulating idealist", is honoured as its principal exponent. Taoism today possesses a voluminous library, of very mixed character. But its chief classic is a small book of 5,000 words, called the Tao-Te-Ching. "Tao", which has given its name to the religion, has been variously interpreted by Western scholars as the First Cause, the Absolute, Reason, Nature, etc. Others have been content, because of the difficulty of defining the word succinctly, to leave it untranslated. Generally, however, the word "Tao" is taken to signify "the Way", or the method by which the ultimate Reality at the heart of things functions in and through the laws of Nature. "Te" means Virtue, or the right way of life for man, which is usually defined as correspondence with "the Way" as revealed in its various manifestations in the natural order. "Ching" means a canonical book or classic.

In essence this higher type of Taoism is a kind of monistic pantheism, the basic principle of which is that Nature is governed and ordered by a unifying principle or power conceived as impersonal (though a few exponents have veered towards a personal interpretation), and knowable only in and through its manifestations in the constitution and laws of the universe. But it is also a way of life, for the ruler in his government of the country, for the official in his transaction of public affairs, and for the private individual in the cultivation of his character, in his deportment, and the fulfilment of his social obligations. All men are supposed

¹ Chuang-Tzu's writings originally comprised fifty-three works, and as a whole were known as the "Nan-Hua-Ching". He has been compared to Plato.

to find the pattern of "right living", and the "way of achieving" it, by contemplation of Nature, and by seeking constantly to harmonize one's way of life with the way in which Nature works. In a word, if one lives and acts in conformity with Nature, all will be well, with the individual and with Society.

"Tao" is the Chinese word which translators adopted for the Logos, or the Word, as applied to Christ in the prologue to the Gospel according to St. John. Missionaries availed themselves of this in their discussions with Taoists, to show that the Will of God was the sovereign Power in the universe; that this had been fully revealed in Christ; that by His absolute obedience to the Will of God, Christ had given men the example of the perfect life; and that the highest standard set for us all was to live in harmony with His Will as revealed in and by Him.

Taoism of this higher type has only the vaguest conception of the personality of the ultimate Reality in the universe. But it regards man as a morally responsible being, who is "prone to go astray", but who is also capable of returning to the right way, and of achieving his spiritual destiny in some future state of immortality without external aid. Taoists of this school believe, like the Confucianists, in the inherent goodness and frailty of human nature. But whereas the latter contended that education and control were necessary if man was to maintain, or return to, his original goodness, the Taoists held that this could be achieved by leaving man to follow the dictates of his own nature. This did not mean that man must do nothing to improve himself or society. What the Taoists objected to was the over-emphasis by the Confucianists on what they conceived to be "artificial" or man-made aids to these ends.

So Taoism of this form has a specific ethical code, in which the principal virtues are humility, compassion, self-restraint, repression of selfish desire (somewhat akin to Buddhism, on which Taoism has drawn considerably), moderation, tolerance, the cultivation of a pacific spirit, and in general a constant accommodation of oneself to the circumstances of one's lot. In one notable respect, if the records are to be trusted, the teaching of Lao-Tzu

advanced beyond that of Confucius, and approaches more closely to Christian idealism. For Confucius is reported to have replied to an inquirer who asked, "What do you think of the principle (found in the Tao-Te-Ching and attributed to Lao-Tzu), of requiting enmity with kindness?", with the words, "With what then would you requite kindness? Reward enmity with just treatment, and kindness with kindness."

Both Confucianism and Taoism professed to have discovered the secret of successful government. The Confucianists stood for a strong and authoritative central government, thoroughly well organized, and departmentalized, with its tentacles stretching to every aspect of the nation's life. The Taoists also admitted the necessity of government. But, because they believed that the individual citizen could be trusted to do his duty, they wanted as little government, or as little interference with the people, as possible. To them, the best government was that which governed least, and this, to the Confucianist, spelt "anarchy".

Unfortunately, the emphasis which Taoist teachers placed on the mysterious operation of Nature's laws, and on what man could achieve by harmonious co-operation with them, exposed the whole system to exploitation by the charlatan, with the result that Taoism seriously degenerated. Much of this deterioration is traced to the influence of Chang-Tao-Ling (first century A.D.), who was deified by imperial decree in the twelfth century, and given the designation of the Jade Supreme Ruler (Yü-Huang-Shang-Ti). This made him equal in status to the Supreme Ruler of the Confucianists (Shang-Ti), and led to his being worshipped virtually as God by the common people.

This supreme Deity of the Taoists has his temple on Mount T'ai in Shantung on the very spot where the emperor Shun in 2278 B.C. is reported to have first worshipped Heaven or Shang-Ti! Taoism has always been particularly influential in Shantung, the temples on Mount T'ai, and on Lao-Shan in the east, having been for untold centuries popular centres of pilgrimage.

Taoist temples are found in every city throughout China, and in the countryside and delectable spots in the hills and valleys

as well. Although Buddhist temples outnumber and have absorbed some of them the influence of this cruder form of Taoism has been, and still is, very great. In Taoist temples the chief objects of worship are a triad consisting of the reputed founder, Lao-Tzu; the Jade Supreme Ruler and a fantastic conception of the Chinese "Creator", P'an-Ku. But the Taoist pantheon includes an innumerable host of canonized saints, deified worthies, gods of healing, wealth, security and every device of the human imagination. The less scrupulous of Taoist monks have exploited the credulity of the ignorant and superstitious and played upon their fears and hopes, by inventing a whole world of fantasy, filled with demons and fairies; by alluring them with the delights of paradise, or terrifying them with the horrors of hell. Both of these possible spiritual destinations are vividly portrayed in these temples, in ways that forbid description. In the temple precincts, astrologers, physiognomists, and fortune-tellers mulct the worshippers of their hard-won earnings. Within the temples monks and nuns offer remedies for every physical ill and guarantees against future misfortune, in return for votive offerings to the gods!

But in other temples, for example that of the city god (one of the important local tutelary deities recognized by the State), the people are encouraged to believe they may escape retribution for the evil they have done by the performance of a certain number of good deeds. This is symbolized by a huge abacus, (counting-board) suspended in some prominent place. On this theory three hundred good deeds, as duly prescribed in Taoist literature, will make the devotee an immortal on earth, and three thousand an immortal in heaven. A very popular tract called "Acts and their Effects" (Kan-Ying-P'ien) much used by the Taoists, outlines in great detail the rewards or penalties which will inevitably issue from good or bad deeds.

It is not only in the temples, however, that the influence of this more popular type of Taoism is at work. Monks frequent homes to scatter evil spirits which, they assert, have brought some misfortune on the family. They attend funerals (often in company

with Buddhist priests) to ensure safe passage of the soul through purgatory to paradise. They urge householders to buy lurid pictures of protective deities to paste up on their doors, to place jars on the roof to catch mischievous sprites, or mirrors on the doorposts to frighten them away. They promoted the "worship" of the kitchen god, who, they averred, reported annually to the great Judge in Heaven on the doings of each member of the family, but who could be wheedled into dumbness, or persuaded to mention only one's good deeds, by smearing his mouth with honeyed stick-jaw before despatching him on his journey to the upper regions.

Taoist monks would frequently designate certain trees to be the temporary abode of the fox-spirit, which the people must propitiate by offerings or suffer misfortune. Or they would claim that the tree was the seat of some genii whose presence imparted healing properties to the bark. At road crossings or gates of cities diviners had their stands, and, making ostentatious use of the classic of Change or other media, advised travellers of the prosperity or misfortune that was likely to attend their journey.

They would spin fantastic stories of genii who could pass through solid rock, traverse freely the upper air, or emerge unscathed from fire. They raised hopes of perpetual youth, or of avoiding death itself by translation to the glorious company of happy and wonder-working immortals in the paradise of the west.

Hypnotism, exorcism, spiritualism, trances, demon-possession, were the common practices and part of the regular stock-in-trade of monks and nuns of this decadent form of the Taoist religion.

It was the influence of Taoist theories and practices, especially their emphasis on the magic properties of rhythmic breathing, special posturings, and gymnastics, that led the Boxers of 1900 to imagine they could render themselves immune to foreign bullets. These and other black arts of the Taoists, including the search for the elixir of immortality, and for the secret of transmuting baser metals into gold, had a prominent place in the beliefs and practices of many of China's numerous secret societies.

To such depths has the original, transcendent, and philosophical religion of Taoism, with its many commendable features, descended. Nevertheless, this debased form has made so deep and widespread an impression on the minds and spirits of the Chinese people, educated and uneducated alike, as to render the Christian task of eradication extremely difficult.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism originated in India, about 2,500 years ago, when its founder, Sakyamuni or Gautama, later universally honoured as the Buddha, received final enlightenment at Bodh-Gaya as to the source of and remedy for all human ills. It became the major religion of India by the fourth century B.C. But afterwards, due to the revival of Brahminism, and the rise of Islam, its influence as a separate faith declined, and it practically died out of the country of its birth. Yet it has proved to be one of the great missionary faiths of the world. Its missionaries penetrated Ceylon, Burma, the whole of South-east Asia, China, and the whole of the Asiatic continent, where in one form or another it continues to exercise great influence today.

Modern Buddhism is of two distinct types, one dubbed Hinayana by its critics, and the other Mahayana. The former type, which adheres closely to the original, is atheistic in character, and affirms that man possesses within himself the resources necessary to meet the requirements of the Buddhist ethical code as outlined in the eight-fold path, viz., right belief, thought, aims, speech, actions, means of livelihood, meditation and consideration. It holds that man is able to achieve freedom from both the desire for personal survival (the root cause of all suffering), and the fear of perpetual rebirth which results from the law of Karma (viz. that a man inevitably reaps whatever he sows).

On the other hand the Mahayana type conceives of salvation as peace amid the ills of this life, freedom from the fear of judgment at death, expressed in transmigration into some lower form of existence than before; or deliverance from purgatory and the attainment of perpetual bliss in the western paradise;

and maintains that salvation is not to be achieved by human effort only, but depends more on the help and mercy of a saviour, who hears and answers prayer. In this creed there are many saviours. Most if not all of these are believed to be either Buddha himself, or incarnations of him. In the temples of this faith, Buddha, seated on his lotus throne, of placid and gracious mien, bearing on his forehead the gem symbol of enlightenment, with his right hand uplifted in blessing, is the central object of worship. But there are many other subsidiary saviours, popularly called *Bodhisattvas*, i.e. some former disciple of Buddha, who, although eligible to enter the loftiest conceivable spiritual state of Nirvana, had voluntarily refrained from doing so, in order to be able to continue to help human beings in their struggle with sorrow, suffering and sin.

The essential difference between these two types is clear from the names given to them. *Hinayana* means "Lesser Vehicle" while *Mahayana* means "Greater Vehicle", the word "vehicle" signifying the means whereby salvation is to be won. The *Mahayana* type emerged as a reform movement within Buddhism at latest during the early years of the Christian era. And it was this later type of Buddhism, mingled with some elements of the older form, which reached and prevailed in China.

Although there are some fairly well-substantiated traces of the presence of Buddhist missionaries in China about 250 B.C. the earliest fully authenticated date for its entry into that land is A.D. 67. Two years prior to that, the Chinese emperor *Ming-Ti* had a dream in which he was vividly reminded of words attributed to Confucius that "a great saint and teacher would be born in the west". As a consequence he sent eighteen Chinese on a mission to India to inquire as to where this person was to be found and what manner of man he was. It is traditionally believed that they met Buddhist missionaries, visited India, and that later they, accompanied by two Indian Buddhist monks, returned to China, to *Lo-Yang*, then the capital of the eastern Han dynasty, bringing with them Buddhist scriptures and images. From that time onwards, Buddhism, although persecuted at times, penetrated the

whole of China, and became, in the Mahayana form, the most popular religion of the Chinese people.

Between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D. a number of Chinese pilgrims, notably Fa-Hsien and Hsuan-Tsang, made their way to India, where they visited the more important Buddhist centres, and carried back to China collections of Buddhist scriptures and other literature. It is estimated that about 1,600 books of this faith have been accumulated in Chinese libraries, most of which have been translated from Sanscrit into Chinese.

We have already noted that it was the Mahayana or Greater Vehicle form of Buddhism which has been most prevalent in China. But at least six different schools of this arose, of which the "Ch'an", or Introspective or Contemplative school, is the one that has exercised most influence upon the educated classes. The founder of this was Boddidharma, former patriarch of Buddhism in India, who in A.D. 526 settled in China, which from that time became the seat of the Buddhist patriarchate. This type of Buddhism, as its name implies, emphasized the practice of meditation, including prayer, and the cultivation of the inner life, in contrast with the study and recitation of the scriptures, the worship of images, and other external observances which characterized other schools of the religion. The emphasis which this school laid on the capacity of the will to meet all the exigencies of life and to overcome all disabilities and misfortune common to the human lot, made a strong appeal to Confucian scholars with their strong humanistic background. During the troublous times of 1912 to 1947 it was the common practice for political and military leaders of defeated factions to retire to some Buddhist temple or monastery of this school, to meditate on the possible cause of their failure, and to nerve themselves for fresh ventures in the future.

But to many of China's intellectuals, and the great majority of her common people, the teachings and practices of a more popular branch of the Contemplative school made the strongest appeal. This was called the "Pure Land", or "Lotus" or the "Amhida" sect. It originated in Shansi, was widely prevalent through-

out North China, and was the type of Buddhism with which B.M.S. missionaries had most to do.

It was derisively dubbed the "Short-cut" school by its critics, because it was supposed to relieve the individual devotee of the mental and moral effort required by other schools, and absolved him from the necessity of living as a recluse. In the temples of this sect, the most important divinities, apart from Buddha himself, were two bodhisattvas. One of these was Amitabha, who to the intellectuals was a kind of personification of eternal light or wisdom, but who, by the average worshipper, was vaguely regarded as the heavenly Father. The other was Kuan-Yin, the popular goddess of mercy, whose name signifies the one who heeds the cry of the people. The worshippers of these two divinities, by obeisance before their images, or, in particular, by the frequent repetition of Amitabha's name (O-mi-t'o-fu), wherever the suppliant might be, hoped to avoid the penalty of their misdemeanours, and gained confidence that in the end all would be well with their souls.

The doctrine of mercy, and dependence on external spiritual help for salvation, which characterized in greater or less degree each form of Mahayana Buddhism as found in China, was considered by many missionaries to indicate a link with the Nestorian or some other form of Christianity, which might have been forged during the transmission of Buddhism from India to the Far East. Dr. Timothy Richard was so impressed by a book, called *The Awakening of Faith*, which is popularly described as the gospel of Mahayana Buddhism, as to remark, "Why! this is a Christian book."

Visitors to the Lama-Buddhist temple at Peking have been struck by the close resemblance of certain of the ceremonies observed there to aspects of Roman Catholic worship.

Images and statuettes of the goddess of mercy, who is often depicted with a child on her knee, are very suggestive of images of Mary and the child Jesus, as found in Roman Catholic churches.¹

¹ Other resemblances which have been noted are the celibacy of the monks—prayers for the dead, the use of the rosary, holy water, fasting, monastic dress, worship of relics, etc.

These, and other more spiritual resemblances to Christianity, point to its influence on Buddhism of this Greater Vehicle type, at some period in the past. But such resemblances, while helpful to the missionary in some ways, especially in preaching to the rank and file of the Chinese people, have not made it easier to win the educated Chinese-Buddhist to Jesus Christ.

A special effort to present the Gospel to Buddhists (and Taoists), in terms and forms with which they were familiar, was inaugurated by the Christian Mission to Buddhists in 1922, under Scandinavian auspices, and mainly under the inspiration of Dr. Karl L. Reichelt, at Tao-Feng-Shan Institute, near Hong Kong. During the year 1936, two hundred monks spent periods of study at the Institute, and about 3,000 Buddhist and Taoist visitors came for special retreats, or meditation, and to hear lectures. A school of religion organized in connection with the Institute was attended in 1936 by twenty-six former Buddhist and Taoist monks all of whom had been converted to Christianity. Dr. Reichelt and his colleagues also paid visits to monasteries and lamaseries in Mongolia, North China and other important centres to conduct evangelistic work amongst the monks and novitiates.¹

In our B.M.S. Shansi field, Wu-T'ai-Shan, a mountain in the vicinity of Tai-Chou and Hsin-Chou, has from the fifth century been a famous resort of Buddhist pilgrimage. It became the principal centre in China of Lamaism, attracting annually large numbers of pilgrims from Mongolia, and even from Thibet. One of the chief objects of worship, whose number is legion, in these great and magnificent temples, is the Bodhisattva "Manjusri" (Wen-Shu-P'u-Sa), a deity who though regarded as benevolent, in the main carries a sword and a book, symbolizing his demand for clear thinking and wide knowledge in his suppliants. Our missionaries in this area organized special missions, at the seasonal periods of pilgrimage, in the vicinity of these temples, and distributed tracts, gospels and other Christian literature (in Mongolian) to the large numbers who passed through Tai-Chou or

¹ Dr. Richard specially favoured the use of John's gospel—with its "logos" conception of Christ, as having strongest appeal to educated Buddhists.

Fan-Ssu from Mongolia on their way to Wu-T'ai-Shan. Similar efforts were made in Shantung—at Chi-Nan-Fu and Ch'ing-Chou-Fu—and in Buddhist centres in Shensi—at the time of festivals or pilgrimage.

A well-educated Buddhist, resident at Ch'i-Ts'un in the Hsin-Chou district, who was formerly devoted to the worship of Manjusri at Wu-T'ai-Shan, became a Christian. After his conversion, he organized worship in his home-town, in which he incorporated Buddhist ideas, in the hope that his Buddhist friends might be drawn into the Church. There were no permanent results from this special effort, which led to his being practically ostracized by his fellow-Christians in the neighbourhood, and eventually he reverted to his former Buddhist adherence.

But in every part of our field, there were numerous converts from Buddhism in our churches, who remained faithful to Christ, and loyal to His service.

In more recent years serious attempts to revive Buddhism, and to present it in new forms and with fresh emphasis, so as to appeal to China's intellectuals, and make of it a missionary and world-wide religion, have been made. Chief among these is the work of T'ai-Hsü. He is adamantly opposed to Christianity's claim to exclusiveness, and to its conception of God as a Person and Creator. He seeks to present Buddhism in terms of a modern scientific humanism, with rigidly moral standards determined on the principles of Karma. His system, while preserving the old Buddhist conception of self-reliance, lays new emphasis on social responsibility.¹ His teachings have exercised great influence among the younger elements in the Buddhist community, and have appealed to others outside it.

The organization of Buddhist Young Men's Associations, and preaching halls, on Christian models, Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods, and the emphasis laid on Buddhist Lay orders in recent years, are all instances of this modern Buddhist revival.

¹ In the opinion of T'ai-Hsü and his school, idols may be worshipped temporarily by the masses of the people—as psychological aids, to enable them to visualize the spiritual conception they represent.

Most B.M.S. missionaries were in contact with lay Buddhists of high intellectual calibre, and good character, and of sincere religious purpose, who devoted periods of each day to quiet meditation, the reading of Buddhist scriptures, and the observance of rites before their domestic Buddhist shrines. Their family life was orderly, and they themselves were of placid temperament, friendly and helpful to their neighbours. Some of them were active and generous in promoting relief projects, under the auspices of the Buddhist or Swastika Society. Missionaries were welcomed in their homes or offices, and they gave a respectful hearing to the gospel. But their strong humanistic beliefs, derived from Chinese philosophical tradition, and reliance on the will, all of which they considered to be "rational", appealed greatly to them, and they felt no overwhelming urge to commit themselves to Christ and the Church.

The stubborn fact remains that Buddhism, of the types described above, has persisted as a major religious force in China, attracting intellectuals by the teachings, methods and ideals of its philosophical forms, and the vast multitudes of the people by the benignity of its many gods. Some idea of the range and continuing strength of Buddhist influence in China recently may be gauged from the fact that in 1946 it was reported that there were 267,000 Buddhist temples, and 738,000 Buddhist priests and nuns in the country.

Large numbers of Buddhist temples since 1903 have been used as schools. Innumerable idols were destroyed by students and others in their nationalistic or rationalistic campaigns since 1922. Many temples and images have been allowed to decay. The progress of general education, and the rise of Communism, may expedite the iconoclastic process. But Buddhism is still the chief living religion of the Chinese people, and has proved to be one of the chief adversaries with which Christian missionaries have had to contend.

POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS

One of the most prominent features of China's religious life

is the deep-rooted belief of the great majority, including many otherwise more enlightened people, in the existence of spirits, benevolent or malevolent. These are deemed to be either animate in Nature, or in the upper air; in animals; also in particular places, trees, rivers, lakes, holes and corners, the rafters of buildings; or again in certain persons such as witches, wizards, or the demon-possessed. Much of this derives from primitive animism, but the classical tradition of religion, in which the spirits of Nature were worshipped in association with the Spirit of the Supreme Being, has also contributed to it. The Confucian practice of ancestor-“worship”; the homage rendered to the spirits of departed sages and other worthies, and the development of the dualistic philosophy of Nature known as Yin-Yang,¹ together with Buddhist ideas of the transmigration of the soul; idolatry; and Taoist or Buddhist notions (associated with the decadent types of these religions) of heaven and hell, and of the possibility of ameliorating the distress of departed spirits or lessening their evil influence upon the living by sacrifices; the machinations of their priests, have all contributed to the persistence of these superstitious beliefs. In this respect as in no other, does the biblical conception of “gross darkness covering the people” apply appositely to China, and whatever Paul may have meant by “the world rulers of this darkness, or the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the ‘heavenly’ places”, it is certain that the power of spirits was an ever-present factor in multitudes of Chinese hearts and minds, vexing and oppressing their own spirits, either by the desire to win their favour or to avoid their displeasure.

The effect of the dualistic conception of the Universe has been most marked in this connection. For good and bad influences are conceived to be at work in Nature, in man, and also in the spirit world.

The influence of this dualism in Nature is particularly evident in the idea that “wind and water” (Feng-Shui) affect practically every aspect of the people’s lives. Specialists in this craft are called in to help in the selection of a site for a grave or a building,

¹ See pp. 286 f.

such as will not disturb the wind-water-spirit, and excite his ill-will; they are consulted also when business ventures are undertaken, mines dug, railways planned, the courses of rivers directed or diverted, marriages arranged, or journeys considered. Days are conceived as lucky or unlucky, for certain things to be done or not done. China is dotted with pagodas which are supposed to control wind and water influences in favour of the locality in which they are erected. It was the influence of this type of geomancy, not only on the unlettered, but also on the enlightened people of China, that led Timothy Richard and other missionaries of the Protestant Church in early days to realize the importance of educating the Chinese in the natural sciences.

Again, the belief is widely prevalent that spirits may exercise evil or beneficent influences on the living, according as they are offended or appeased. But it is the influence of the *evil* spirits which is most obvious everywhere. They are regarded as responsible for every kind of misfortune that befalls the people, disease, economic distress, drought, flood, plague, and the like. They may be deceived or outwitted by various devices, or warded off by charms, pictures, symbols, fire-crackers, gongs, certain signs and symbols on buildings, and designs on clothing, carts, boats, etc.

Instances were common of apparent demon-possession, or of spirit possession by spiritualistic mediums, usually women, associated with the Taoist or Buddhist religions. These, through trances, professed to reveal the will of some deity or disembodied spirit, or to bring a curse down upon some enemy or malefactor. Taoist priests trafficked profitably in exorcism, necromancy, witchcraft and other forms of magic, designed to propitiate evil spirits, or win the favour of good spirits, or in other ways relieve the people of their burdensome fears.

Such exploitation of the people's superstitious fears and fancies was not altogether confined to professors of geomancy, or priests and nuns. Merchants and officials sometimes did so to arouse hostility against the foreigner (who incidentally was popularly designated "foreign-devil" until comparatively recent times), or to further their own purposes. It should be remembered that

prior to 1911, and much later in certain districts (Shantung, Shansi and Shensi included), the foreign missionary was associated in the minds of ordinary folk with innovations like the telegraph, telephone, railways, etc. The people were led to believe that these foreign methods of communication served to facilitate the journeyings of evil spirits. When the new Shantung railway was being projected (1906-7), the gentry of Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, ostensibly on the ground that the new railway might make it easier for such spirits to enter the city, succeeded in rousing the opposition of the people, and in compelling the foreign engineers to locate the station five miles away from the city. But the truth of the matter was that the gentry had a vested interest in transport, and it was profitable for them to compel passengers arriving by train to use carts, wheel-barrows, rickshaws, etc., to bring them to the city!

Much of this seems childish to the Western mind, as indeed it appeared to the majority of better-educated Chinese. But until very recent times, over 90 per cent. of the people of China were illiterate, and that was a major reason for the prevalence of the more blatantly foolish superstitious practices. Nevertheless, these beliefs were most tenaciously held, as every missionary in close contact with the ordinary people knows only too well. It was evidence of a radical change of heart and mind when any Chinese man or woman (especially woman), "delivered out of the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of His Son", ceased to worship the spirits of Heaven and Earth, took down the household gods, tore off the pictures of tutelary gods from the wall or door, or refused to call the Taoist priest at some time of misfortune. Such an act often alienated the general community from them, and exposed them to calumny and persecution. But such "distinctive" people as these formed the majority of our B.M.S. church members and congregations.

Multitudes of the Chinese people still live under the thrall of this spiritual darkness, unaware of the Light which has come into the world. Education, in which Christian Missions have played so prominent a part, is helping to deliver the people from their

bondage and undoubtedly will continue to do so. But only the truth as it has been revealed by Christ will make them truly free. Only when they realize that at the heart of the universe is a Holy, Loving Father, and that Christ has put the hosts of evil to flight, and brought life and immortality to light by the gospel, will the dayspring rise in their hearts and the shadows flee away.

SUMMARY OF THE RELIGIONS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

In summarizing what is obviously a quite inadequate survey of the religions of the Chinese people, certain things seem to be clear.

Firstly, as far as the intellectuals are concerned, it is evident that materialistic and theistic ideas of the Universe have waged constant conflict in their minds, and that although agnosticism rather than faith has been their characteristic attitude to such questions, they nevertheless appear to have been haunted, however vaguely, by the consciousness of the existence of one personal God, and have even shown signs of a wistful longing that this might be the true and ultimate explanation of all things. Although basically they were Confucianists, many of them were attracted by the philosophy of the higher forms of Taoism and Buddhism. This was doubtless due in part to the fact that this in the main was in conformity with their cherished ideal of the "princely man" of Confucianism, who was supposed to deport himself in conformity with what he conceived to be the moral law and purpose of the Universe, whether interpreted personally as the Divine will, or impersonally as the ruling principle of it. But in part also, the spiritual aspects of these two faiths had a certain attraction for them, in that they appealed to their latent religious instincts, and supplemented to some extent the more humanistic and materialistic conceptions of Confucianism, as they believed Chu-Hsi to have interpreted it, and which they were inclined to accept as the orthodox view.

Secondly, the three religions referred to above have provided their adherents with high ethical ideals and motives which have exercised a strong influence for good both on individuals

and society. While the morality of many Chinese intellectuals could be described as formal, ceremonious, or even stilted, there are undoubtedly many others who honour virtue by endeavouring to be virtuous, and whose moral rectitude, personal integrity and unselfish spirit are worthy of real commendation. The social contributions of these three religions have been by no means negligible. Loyalty to the family, and to the State, kindness to strangers, care for the sick, provision for the destitute, are all admirable features of the best in Confucianism; a pacific, kindly, humble and charitable spirit characterizes the true Buddhist and Taoist. But neither can we ignore the fact that graft, dishonesty, injustice, corruption, selfishness, cruelty, pride, callousness, and sexual vice in every known form, are as common in China as anywhere else.

Thirdly, there is little in any of these three religions of China to suggest that in doing wrong a man offends more than his own moral sense, or the conventions of society, or injures his fellows, or exposes himself to the penalty of the law. There are only few references of the vaguest kind to the idea that a man in so doing might be offending a righteous and loving God.¹ Toleration rather than forgiveness of injury done to oneself was usually the estimable standard in such matters, and prayer was invocatory or meditative rather than an expression and experience of communion with the Spirit of the Supreme Reality.

Fourthly, such views of the future life as the intellectual adherents of these three religions held, were mostly vague or confused, and if definite, tended to be either materialistic or superstitious.

Fifthly, one can but express regret that the religious philosophy of Mo-Tzu (468-382 B.C.), who approached most nearly to the Christian conception of God and the duty of man, by his affirmation that the Will of Heaven was revealed as impartial Love, and that the ideal relationship of men with one another was love of all without distinction, and whom such a famous thinker and

¹ One of these references occurs in a saying attributed to Confucius, that "He who offends against Heaven, has none to whom he can pray".

writer as Liang-Ch'i-Ch'ao described as "a big Marx and a little Christ", should have been dubbed heretical.

Sixthly, the religious conceptions of Confucianism, and of the higher forms of Taoism and Buddhism, have proved to be far beyond the comprehension of the average Chinese, and have meant little if anything to them as far as their personal religious life is concerned. All three religions have suffered degeneracy and debasement, and so the spiritism, idolatry and superstition to which all have given rise have become the religion of the common people. In their bewilderment and fear of the spiritual world, they have had recourse to a multitude of gods of their own or their priests' imagination, welcoming eagerly any notion or representation of a merciful and beneficent deity which has been created for them, and which will give them any comfort or security in this life, or the hope of rest and happiness in the next. Their sincerity appeals, and their ignorance appals, but the duplicity of many of their religious teachers repels. The common man or woman in China has many estimable qualities: e.g., their capacity for work; their ability to endure hardness; their patience in suffering; their humour and kindliness. All the more does their religious condition excite such pity as was expressed by the Saviour Himself, who, when as He saw the multitudes, was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd.

The need of the Chinese people as a whole for the gospel should be as clear to us, as it was to our missionary pioneers. There is much in the higher forms of the Chinese religions on which the Christian missionary was able to build, and much common ground on which spiritual contact could be made. The religions of the common people are but the expression of an inner urge and longing for the heart of the Christian message.

The best in the religious, philosophical and ethical systems, and the history of the Chinese people can be reasonably regarded (though not in the same sense as we regard the Old Testament record) as a preparation for the gospel. There are marked similarities between the higher forms of religions of China and Chris-

tianity, and these, as we have seen, formed an obstacle in many scholarly minds to the acceptance of Christianity. But the distinctions between them are vital, and hinge ultimately on the answer the Chinese, as all people, give to the question, "What think ye of Christ, whose Son is He?"

In conclusion, I do not think that B.M.S. missionaries in China, while they have been faithful in claiming uniqueness for Christ and distinctiveness for the Christian revelation, have acted in any way that could be regarded as seriously offensive to Chinese religious susceptibilities. They have welcomed such truth as they have found in the religions of the Chinese people. They have been sympathetic in pointing out errors or defects, and have been equally sympathetic in their endeavours to show that all that is good and true in them needs the fullness and the majesty of the revelation of God which is in Jesus Christ, to bring them to their consummation.

MOHAMMEDANISM

Of the other religions which have been propagated in China in the course of her long history, neither Jews, Zoroastrians (Mazdeans) nor Manicheans have affected the progress of Christianity in any serious way, so we will confine our comments to Mohammedanism.

The Mohammedans themselves claim there are between forty and eighty millions of their co-religionists in China. But careful inquiries made in recent years suggest ten millions as the more reasonable figure. Moslems have intermarried with the Chinese on an extensive scale, and so the Mohammedan community in China today is of mixed racial stock. Their mosques externally mostly conform to Chinese architecture, but internally are of the customary Mohammedan pattern, clean and austere. They have teachers and preachers; they observe the externals of their religion, the hours of prayer, the fast of Ramadan, worship, and circumcision. They possess the Koran (untranslated) but on occasions expound the scriptures in Chinese and issue leaflets in Arabic and

Chinese. Some Moslems were appointed to high office in the Empire, and many were redoubtable military leaders. There were serious outbreaks of rebellion by the Moslems in Yünnan, Kansu and Shensi between 1855 and 1877, which resulted in the decimation of the population in these latter two provinces.

At present the Moslem population is scattered all over China. But the greatest numbers are found in Kansu, Shensi (500,000), Chihli, Shantung (200,000) and Yünnan (1,000,000). Shansi has about 25,000. In Shantung, at Tsinan, there are four mosques and about 3,000 Moslem families, and at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu two mosques and about 2,000 families. In Shensi there are seven mosques in Hsi-An-Fu with a Moslem population of about 10,000.¹ Shansi's Mohammedan population is scattered, most of them being in the north of the province. But there is one small mosque in T'ai-Yuan-Fu and several hundred Moslems. Moslems in China are cattle dealers, restaurant keepers, transporters, tanners, bakers, money-changers, jade-workers, etc.

Today the Moslems are disposed to be friendly to the Christian community. They welcomed visits by missionaries to their mosques, and were frequently found in Protestant street chapels. Their children entered Mission schools. Usually Chinese Moslems were eloquent in testifying to the common ground between their faith and Christianity, in regard to the worship of One God, opposition to idolatry, and reverence for the Old Testament patriarchs. They accept Jesus, called Ersah, as one of the six chief prophets out of the 48,000 who preceded Mohammed. Groups of the Chi-Nan-Fu Moslems were in almost daily attendance in the preaching hall of the Whitewright Institute. But the moment the Person of Jesus Christ was referred to in ensuing conversations, their attitude became rigid and uncompromising. Converts from Islam in China have, for this vital reason, been very few, and the conversions known to the writer have been followed by bitter persecution by their fellow-religionists. It is true that only sporadic efforts to evangelize Moslem communities have

¹ The Rev. George Young, in *The Living Christ in Modern China* estimates the number at 30,000.

been made. Dr. Timothy Richard produced a special leaflet, entitled *Mohammedans Seek the Truth*, and the Rev. F. Madeley translated a Chinese Mohammedan tract—"The Pure, True Religion".¹ Gospels printed in Arabic were made available by the Bible Societies, and placed in the mosques or distributed to Moslems who showed particular interest. But specialized literature for Moslems is very scarce. Chinese Moslems are regarded by some as more accessible to the gospel than their co-religionists elsewhere, and it has been assumed that special efforts amongst them by well-informed missionaries might have been fruitful. But the opposition aroused by such few conversions as occurred suggests that Mohammedans in China, as in other parts of the world, are amongst the most difficult to win for Christ.

ANTI-RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Movements of a materialistic and sceptical character, sponsored and promoted by highly educated and eminent individuals and groups within the nation, exercised great influence of an anti-religious and particularly anti-Christian character from 1912. These movements, combined with the rise of Communism, counteracted to a considerable extent the growing influence of Christianity in the period 1912 to 1928, and hindered its progress.

POLITICAL ENTANGLEMENTS

Other difficulties arose from the fact that the modern missionary movement was inaugurated on the basis of certain clauses included in treaties which China had been compelled to sign, after humiliating defeats by Great Britain and France in the wars of 1839-42 and 1858-60. The treaties as a whole were deeply resented by the ruling and intellectual classes, as offensive to their pride, as an infringement of their sovereign rights, and, in view of the weakness of the Manchu régime, as a serious threat to the stability of the State. Whether such resentment was justifiable or

¹ The translation of the Moslem terms in Chinese for their faith.

not, in the light of all the circumstances, is debatable. But the fact has to be recognized.

The inclusion in these treaties of the clauses relating to missionary work was likewise resented by them for various reasons. The proscription of Christianity in 1724 had been due in part to what they considered to be unreasonable papal intervention in Chinese domestic affairs, and to problems which had arisen through the rival claims of Spanish, French and Portuguese rulers regarding their protectorate rights over Chinese converts. Also they were sufficiently aware of the nature of Christianity to regard its propagation throughout their country, not only as a possible factor of political disturbance, but also as a serious challenge to their ancient and cherished religious and social traditions and customs. These considerations seemed to them to justify such resentment. Further, the fact that missionaries had specially pressed for the inclusion of these clauses, gave them a pretext for suspecting, and asserting, justifiably or not, that the missionary movement was part and parcel of the imperialistic policy of the Western powers.

Protestant missionaries would doubtless have greatly preferred, if it had been practicable, to begin their work in China on an entirely different basis, such as for instance obtained in the first two centuries of the T'ang Dynasty, when the Nestorian missionaries were welcomed with great cordiality by the Imperial House; or again, as when in Mongol times, Nestorian lay-missionaries and the Franciscans were given full freedom to preach and practise their faith; or yet again, as in the halcyon days of the famous Manchu emperor, K'ang-Hsi, the Jesuits were granted their long-coveted privilege of preaching and teaching the Christian religion throughout the length and breadth of the land.

But it was not practicable. Christianity had been proscribed, with extreme penalties for infringement, since 1724.

Chinese Christians, the fruit of former Roman Catholic missions, had been rigorously persecuted, and amongst their missionaries, who at grave risk had ventured into the interior, were some who had not only been hampered in their work by the severest restrictions, but had been called upon to sacrifice their lives.

Missionaries meanwhile had become increasingly restive under the limitations imposed upon them by the regulations of the Chinese government, which forced them to confine their evangelistic efforts to overseas Chinese in Bangkok, Penang, Singapore, Burma, Borneo or Macao (a Portuguese colony), or the very small strip allotted to foreign traders in the vicinity of Canton. They were deeply convinced, apart from the obligation which Christ's commission to "preach the gospel to every creature" imposed upon them, of the desperate need of the Chinese for the gospel and that multitudes of them would welcome it, if only it could be conveyed to them. And they felt in honour bound to take advantage of the earliest opportunity which occurred of making that possible. Such an opportunity, both they and the Mission Boards which they represented considered was providentially afforded them, by the results of the two wars and the drafting of the ensuing treaties mentioned above.

As recounted in Part I, the B.M.S. began work in China as the direct result of these epoch-making events. The relevant minutes and other documents show that the Home Committee of the Society and its constituency in no way condoned the wars undertaken by the British Government against China. Some hesitancy is also discernible in British missionary circles as a whole, as to the advisability of beginning missionary operations there on the basis of treaties directly related to these wars. But all such considerations were overruled by the paramount conviction that "a great door and effectual had been opened to them" which, although "many adversaries" might be encountered, they must in fidelity to Christ and His great commission enter at all costs.

Before discussing the difficulties and advantages which arose from the treaty-connection of missionary work, it will be well to consider the nature of the rights accorded by the treaties to missionaries and Chinese Christians. They are as follows:

1. *Rights accorded to all foreigners, including missionaries.*
 - a. To enter into China.
 - b. To be taught Chinese and to study Chinese literature.
 - c. To travel with passport in any part of China.

- d. Extra-territoriality.
 - e. To establish churches, hospitals and schools in places, where, by treaty right, foreigners may reside.
2. *Rights specially accorded to missionaries.*
 - a. To personal protection.
 - b. To propagate Christianity without molestation.
 - c. To acquire land in the interior and erect buildings thereon.
 3. *Rights accorded to Chinese Christians.*
 - a. To freedom from persecution on religious grounds.
 - b. To liberty of conscience.
 - c. To exemption from payment of taxes or levies for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith.

These rights, with the exception of that relating to extra-territoriality (which was the only item in the treaties to which the much-banded epithet "unequal" could logically be applied), were such as would normally be accorded by one country to another, and all of them at the time seemed justifiable and reasonable to the missionaries then in China. But, for the reasons already adduced, hostility was aroused against them, particularly amongst the official classes.¹

The "rights" in the treaties which caused relatively greater difficulty to missionaries and Chinese Christians were those relating to extra-territoriality, and to the exemption from taxation on religious grounds which Chinese Christians could claim.

With regard to the first, viz. extra-territoriality, missionaries on the whole were a law-abiding group, and so, as far as actions in courts of law are concerned, this particular "right" had little or no effect upon their relationships with the Chinese people. It did, however confer certain privileges upon them concerning taxation, protection for their persons or mission property, etc., in times of emergency which brought them into relationship with their consular authorities. It also gave them independence in regard to their educational work.

¹ It should, however, be noted that this hostility was not always in evidence and that, when evident, it varied in intensity as the political relationships between China and the Western powers changed from time to time.

The attitudes taken by B.M.S. missionaries to this vexed and for long years intractable problem, have been noted in Part I. It may, however, be useful to summarize them here.

In the pre-1900 era they were grateful for this "right", as being necessary and of value to foreign residents in China in those years. Between 1901 and 1912, they tended to waver in their attitude, largely out of consideration for the fears and hesitations of the non-missionary foreign community. Between 1912 and 1925 the tendency was for them to favour the drastic revision or total abolition of this clause. And after that time the great majority concurred whole-heartedly in the policy outlined in the memorandum of the Home Committee on the subject. (See pp. 93 and 123.) They would also have preferred that action towards abrogation had been taken earlier than their Government considered advisable.

With regard to the second, viz., exemption from temple taxes, etc., in most inland areas all adults were normally expected to contribute towards the expenses of local temples, which might be Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, or a combination of all three. But the temples were not used solely for religious purposes. They served also as community centres, where the local gentry or elders met to discuss such matters of public interest as education, theatricals, irrigation, land-boundaries, policing and epidemics. These contributions, which usually were exacted in the form of a poll-tax, were used for all these projects. Christians were ready to contribute to other expenses, but usually claimed exemption from the particular portion of dues which was used for religious purposes. The professed difficulty of assessing that with any accuracy often involved Christians in litigation with their non-Christian neighbours.

Protestant missionaries on the whole exercised the greatest caution and restraint in such matters. And to the best of the writer's knowledge, B.M.S. missionaries rarely, and then most reluctantly, made legal representations either to Chinese or British authorities with regard to the operation of this particular clause. The Rev. Arthur H. Smith of the American Congregational

Board, and well-known author of *Chinese Characteristics*, wrote in 1888 that "No cash and *no Consul*", had been the motto of the B.M.S. Shantung Mission from its inception.

Roman Catholic missionaries, however, were less reluctant to interfere in legal questions of this character. This increased the suspicion that Chinese Christians were a specially privileged class in the community (in fact they were given officially the communal title of "Church people"), and that they could claim by treaty right the protection of the foreigner. And so the difficulties facing all missionaries were thereby enhanced.¹

In these circumstances, one cannot but feel gratified that while some Chinese, seeing in this clause an opportunity to further their own interests, feigned conversion, and although some Christians were embarrassed by the invidious position in which it placed them *vis-à-vis* their non-Christian neighbours, so many of them were ready to make a public profession of their faith in Jesus Christ, grateful for the freedom and protection it afforded them.

In this connection it is worth noting that at the Centenary Conference of 1907, the Protestant missionaries present agreed that "the time had not yet come when all the protection to Chinese converts provided in the treaties can safely be withdrawn". They also expressed the hope that "any intervention of missionaries in such matters may speedily become unnecessary" and voiced the opinion that "appeal to the authorities should be the last resort".

After 1912 the Chinese were once more masters in their own house, and by the provisions of the new Constitution of the Republic, religious liberty was granted to all its citizens. From this time onwards, therefore, this was a constitutional right rather than a treaty provision, and, officially at least, this and other clauses in the treaties relating to Chinese Christians were rendered obsolete.

But the treaties as a whole remained, and as almost immediately their revision or abolition became a major rallying-call of successive Republican governments, Chinese Christians were placed in somewhat of a dilemma.

¹ See *Catholic Mission History*, by Dr. Joseph Schmedlin.

The vast majority were in friendly relationships with their missionary colleagues and anxious to remain so. But at the same time they wished to demonstrate their patriotism. Some cut the Gordian knot by breaking away altogether from the old missionary connection and established independent churches. But the great majority, no less patriotic than their fellows and equally concerned to free their country from foreign political control, remained in cordial and co-operative relationship with their missionary friends. Probably all of them would have preferred that it had never been necessary for them to rely on the protection which the treaties afforded them. But they were also conscious that it *had* been necessary in former years, and that it had been of great value to the Christian cause as a whole. They were, therefore, so far grateful for the action taken by the missionaries in 1858-60. Most Chinese Christians, too, had confidence in the attitude of missionaries to the question of treaty revision. They knew that as a body they were genuinely sympathetic with China's national aspirations. And they themselves had high hopes that, since the Republican régime had been established, revision or abolition of the old treaties might be gradually attained by friendly negotiations on both sides.

They were as eager as any non-Christian for that goal to be achieved, but felt no necessity on that account to break away from their old missionary associations. However, such an attitude was by no means easy to adopt and maintain, especially for those who had strong political interests, particularly in the period 1925-8 and later when the Nationalist movements assumed an anti-foreign trend. Honour, therefore, is due to those Chinese Christians, comprising virtually all in the B.M.S. churches, who in these circumstances kept loyal to their missionary friends.

In summarizing the attitude of B.M.S. missionaries to the whole question of this treaty-relationship, it would appear that prior to 1912 any handicap in it of which they were conscious was more than counterbalanced in their opinion by the overwhelming sense of opportunity it had afforded them for the preaching of the gospel. In no sense did they feel that by accepting the treaty-

basis of work, they were imposing Christianity upon the Chinese. That is psychologically impossible. They realized that the only hope of making spiritual progress depended ultimately upon their gaining the goodwill and understanding of the Chinese people themselves. Moreover the many tokens of God's blessing upon their labours made them grateful for the opportunity which the treaty relationship had given them.

But after the Republican régime had been established, and the government and local officials had become more friendly and appreciative of the work of Missions and Church, they began to think that while the treaty-relationship had undoubtedly served a most useful purpose in the past, possibly the time had come for it to be abandoned. And, as has already been noted (Part I, pp. 93 and 123) they expressed their approval for action, looking towards the drastic revision of the basis on which their work might continue, in the terms adopted by the Conferences of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and North America.

It is true that B.M.S. missionaries, in common with the great majority of Protestant missionaries in China, on rare occasions and in circumstances that were deemed to be absolutely necessary, appealed to the treaties in the interest of their own rights or those of their Chinese Christian brethren. But they refrained from taking undue advantage of them in the hope of exemplifying, as far as that was humanly practicable, the supra-national character of the gospel they had come to China to proclaim.

This treaty-relationship terminated officially in 1943-4, and the long-drawn-out controversy connected with it should logically have ceased, at least as far as its implications for the future were concerned. But, in 1949, the Communists revived it by accusing missionaries from the West (excepting those of the Russian Orthodox Church) of imperialism, and including that in their "reasons" for compelling their withdrawal from the country.

The term "imperialist" was used in a great variety of senses. It was even used by Chinese against one another. It often implied no more than an imperious attitude and was frequently applied to those who were strict disciplinarians in schools or other missionary

institutions, to those who displayed their temper, or who suggested in any circumstances whatever that anything Western was preferable to Chinese ideas and ways. The expression "imperialism" was also applied by some to the past treaty-connection of the Missions, or to the fact that missionaries accepted advice and help from British consular officials or the British minister in Peking; or that Mission institutions accepted financial help from British firms or foreign "Foundations"; that missionaries spoke favourably of British policy *vis-à-vis* China; or expressed pride in British goods, or stressed the benefits of Western educational methods.

But if the Communists meant that British missionaries had entered or remained in China with the express purpose of promoting the political, economic or kindred interests of their country to the detriment of the Chinese people, or that they ever consciously or wilfully acted against what they conceived to be the best interests of the Chinese nation, which in the circumstances is the only sense in which the term "imperialism" can logically be applied, then I would claim that, as far as B.M.S. missionaries, and probably all British Protestant missionaries, are concerned, the Communist leaders were labouring under a misconception, and that such charges are without foundation in fact. It would be possible to hazard conjectures as to the real reasons underlying the Communists' action. But I will refrain and wind up this part of the argument by drawing attention to the manifestos of the Conferences of the British and North American Missionary Societies as the best answer to these accusations (pp. 93 and 123). And as regards the considered attitude of Chinese Christian leaders to such matters, the manifesto issued by some of them (pp. 179 f.) should be a fair guide. Reported indictments by Chinese Christians of the imperialism of missionaries should be considered sympathetically with due regard to circumstances.

And against all such reports can be cited the fact that the relationships between B.M.S. missionaries and their Chinese brethren were characterized by mutual respect, confidence, affection and

co-operation throughout, and that instances of Chinese Christian solicitude for the welfare of our missionaries often occurred, especially in times of emergency, e.g. when they rallied to their help in Shensi during the Sino-Japanese war at a time of serious financial stringency, and aided our Shantung staff when the Japanese confined them to their homes in 1942.

Moreover, as B.M.S. missionaries finally left their inland stations between 1948 and 1950, each such occasion was marked by expressions of sincere gratitude for past services and regret at their departure, from their Chinese Christian colleagues and friends; with prayers that their spiritual fellowship across national frontiers might be maintained, and in the hope that the day might come when co-operation in China with representatives of British churches might once again be practicable. For that day we pray.

Time alone will reveal whether the treaty-connection of the missionary movement in China has been an asset or a liability to the progress of the Kingdom of God. In some respects it is plausible to plead that it has been a liability. Most of the difficulties arising from it have been outlined. But the measure of Christian progress that by the blessing of God has been achieved through the years proves that these difficulties have not been insurmountable. And the positive advantages accruing from this relationship must not be overlooked. It made missionary work possible throughout China at a time when, humanly speaking, the prospects for such were extremely remote and even grim. It discouraged, although it did not absolutely prevent, the persecution of Chinese Christians. And it afforded the opportunity for the Chinese Church, against odds far more serious than the treaty-relationship represented, to struggle into existence; to become conscious of itself as an identity; to achieve a considerable measure of self-government and self-support, and to become aware of its main purpose, to evangelize the Chinese people.

It is even conceivable that if missionaries had not entered China between 1842 and 1860 in the only way open to them at that time, and waited until the Chinese government had invited them as their "guests", which in the event first proved practicable

in 1943, when the old treaties were finally abrogated, there might have been no Church of Christ at all in China to-day.

It is possible to argue that if the manner of their entrance to China, and the official basis on which their work was begun and maintained, had been different, the Church might have made greater progress than it did. But passing from such hypothetical considerations, the fact is that the Church has been established in China, and stands there today, in spite of the fewness of its members, and other recognized weaknesses, to meet, by the grace of God, whatever challenge to its faith is inherent in Communist control of the country. If that had not happened, the situation facing the world-wide Church of Christ today and tomorrow might have been much less hopeful than it is. Possibly even, as one B.M.S. missionary has said, "It happened just in time."

Certain other difficulties connected with the missionary movement itself, and related to the Chinese Church associated with it, which are considered to have hindered the progress of the Kingdom of God in China, are referred to below.

DENOMINATIONAL DIFFERENCES

Missionaries were frequently questioned as to the differences between Roman Catholics and Protestants. And the very large number of Protestant Societies operating in China (stated in 1934 to be 137) and the various standards, rites and practices of about fifty different Church organizations caused some confusion. The Chinese were, however, accustomed to the idea of different sects or schools of religious or philosophical thought, and explanations of the different denominations of the Christian Church were usually received by the more intelligent with sympathetic understanding.

But with a view to reducing the difficulties of denominationalism as far as was practicable, the N.C.C. quite early in its history advocated the principle of comity among the major Protestant Societies and organizations, and made valuable suggestions for the geographical division of the field (excluding the

more important cities). These were followed by all the older Societies, including the B.M.S. and the C.I.M.

Naturally, the Roman Catholics took no account of these matters. And the great majority of independent or "undenominational" Missions, which felt called to send their representatives anywhere and everywhere in the interests of the truth as they perceived it, paid no heed to such considerations. This greatly increased the difficulties normally attendant upon denominationalism. It led to divisions within the churches, and introduced an unhealthy spirit of rivalry, criticism and mutual denunciation amongst Christians generally which weakened the total Christian contribution, and hampered progress.

The promotion of co-operation by the N.C.C., which represented most of the larger denominational Societies, and about 60 per cent. of the entire membership of the Protestant Churches, and the organization of the Church of Christ in China, which eventually comprised the churches affiliated with fifteen British, American and Chinese Societies, and about one-third of the membership of the Churches registered with the N.C.C., did something to neutralize the ill effects of all this. It should be noted that the Chinese delegation to the Tambaram Conference of 1938 made urgent representations to the major missionary societies to give them freedom of action in regard to the promotion of Church unity, which they considered to be a matter of great importance to the future of the Christian cause as a whole in their land.

The churches associated with the B.M.S. affiliated themselves with the Church of Christ in China, and both B.M.S. missionaries and their Chinese colleagues were loyal supporters of the N.C.C. A further reference to our own denominational emphasis is made later.

WESTERN CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS AND PRACTICES

Congregational worship in certain forms was familiar to all grades of the Chinese people. The seasonal Imperial ceremonies

at the Altar of Heaven in Peking were observed in the presence of a great concourse of people. At certain seasons officials and scholars assembled in Confucian temples to do honour to the national sage. In Buddhist monasteries and temples, priests worshipped in concert, read the scriptures together, and chanted hymns. Groups of villagers went on pilgrimages to distant temples to make obeisance in a body before images or shrines. Large numbers of the people, in times of calamity, proceeded in procession to the temples to make corporate acts of penitence and supplication. And on special anniversaries families would gather before the ancestral tablets or shrines in their homes to pay homage to the departed.

Ceremonial bathing frequently preceded certain religious exercises, and many traditions have survived of a common meal, the participants in which partook of a lamb or other edible animal, to express loyalty to one another and to their common cause. Covenants or vows were often written in human blood.

So, although the pattern of Christian worship introduced into China by missionaries largely followed Western precedents, the Chinese soon accustomed themselves to it, and learned to appreciate without great difficulty the significance of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It is true that for many years Chinese, on being first introduced to our services, experienced difficulty in understanding and singing Western hymns, large numbers of which were translations sung to Western tunes. But, in Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, Timothy Richard produced a hymnary, later revised by Alfred Jones, in which Western hymns were adapted to make them more easily intelligible to Chinese. And after arriving in Shansi, Mrs. Richard, who was an accomplished musician, construed a large number of these and other Western hymns into the Chinese pentatonic scale. In 1901 B.M.S. missionaries in Shantung compiled a new hymnal incorporating these ideas. And in 1910 with the help of many others, notably Mr. Charles Edwin Smith, organist and choir-master of Regent's Park Chapel, London, they compiled a musical edition of 345 hymns and 280

tunes, which comprised, in addition to selections from other well-known Chinese hymnals, most of the hymns of the Richard-Jones collection, and contributions from six Chinese, two of whom were teachers in our school at Ch'ing-Chou Fu. Of the 280 tunes, 220 were in the Chinese pentatonic scale, and included a number of Chinese melodies which were extremely popular throughout our field.

In 1936 the C.L.S. published a new hymnal, designed to meet the needs of all Protestant churches. This comprised 514 hymns, sixty-two of which are original Chinese compositions. And of the 548 tunes used, seventy-two are Chinese. Our central Baptist churches were beginning to adopt this hymnal, but the expense of changing over, and the intervention of the Sino-Japanese war, prevented its wider use amongst our churches generally.

Chinese took a major share in all preaching activities, and were given freedom and scope for the exercise of their undoubted histrionic and elocutionary gifts. And apart from an occasional admonitory word from some missionary, no undue constraint was exercised over them in regard to the content and manner of their preaching. Theological teaching and pastoral training were, however, largely on the Western model. Emphasis was laid throughout our history on the place and function of the lay ministry, both of men and women, as the historical record in Part I and the chapters on Evangelism and the Church in Part II show.

As regards architecture, our missionaries in the earlier years adapted existing Chinese buildings for church purposes. Later on, as the building programme extended, care was taken to incorporate Chinese architectural features in the external structure of all buildings, particularly as regards the roof, porch, and windows.

Chinese Christians were encouraged to think of ways and means of utilizing pagan festivals to promulgate Christian ideas. In a great number of our churches, harvest festival services were held on the 15th of the eighth month, when the general Chinese community celebrated the festival of the Harvest Moon. It is true that an attempt made by one of our Shansi Christians to in-

corporate Buddhist ideas in Christian worship was frowned upon, with good reason, by our missionaries, who were naturally concerned that there should be no departure from genuinely Christian beliefs and forms of worship. But few if any attempts were made by our missionaries to "lord it over the faith" of their Chinese fellow-believers. And as evidence that they had no desire to control their thinking in matters of Church polity, it might be noted that when B.M.S. property was handed over to our Chinese church bodies in the closing years of our history, no request was made by our missionaries that they should subscribe to any particular form of doctrine or church government.

MISSIONARIES AND CHINESE CULTURE

The Chinese are a highly civilized people, with a long history, a vast range of literature, and great cultural achievements to their credit, in the realms of poetry, history, art, philosophy and religion. It is true that most of this culture was the treasured possession of a small minority. But thanks to the influence of scholars resident in the small towns and villages, the peasant, shop-keeper and even the woman in the home, through the local school, theatre, or the memorizing of hundreds of proverbs and rhymes, acquired a certain poise and philosophy of life which not only made them kindly, courteous and hospitable, even to strangers, but excited one's respect and admiration.

Until very recent times over 90 per cent. of the Chinese people were illiterate, and earlier on the percentage was even higher. So it was not essential for every missionary who engaged in the evangelistic task to be deeply versed in Chinese literature or philosophy, in order to do effective work amongst the general populace. Naturally, however, it was an advantage to know something of these matters, especially when dealing with educated people.

B.M.S. policy aimed at making each missionary a competent speaker of the Chinese language, and the Mission language courses were so arranged as to enable some, especially those whose

major interest would be in church, educational and evangelistic work, to gain a good grounding in the classical literature, and the literary language. The full course of study prescribed took five years to complete. After the formation of the Peking Language School about 1920, it was the practice for each recruit to take a one-year course of study there. This comprised basic lessons in the spoken and written language, and attendance at lectures and seminars on Chinese history, philosophy and religions.

Although few B.M.S. missionaries would claim to have been expert in any of these realms, most of them attained a good standard of proficiency in the language, and some wrote the complicated Chinese characters extremely well. The section on Literature in Part II provides evidence of considerable interest of some in the cultural aspects of Chinese life, and of useful contributions in that sphere.

In B.M.S. Schools, largely in response to the demand, the main emphasis in the curriculum was on Western subjects. But Chinese studies were by no means neglected, although the standard of instruction in these subjects in government schools was undoubtedly higher. In Cheeloo University, special importance was attached to the teaching of all subjects in the Chinese language. In fact, the University was distinctive in that respect. And, as mentioned in the section on Education in Part II a component department of the University, the Harvard-Yenching Institute, concentrated on Chinese cultural studies and pursuits.

B.M.S. missionaries had real respect for the cultural aspects of Chinese civilization.

MISSIONARY STANDARDS OF LIVING

Living standards, as regards size and type of residence, dress, ménage, etc., varied greatly amongst the Chinese, Christian and non-Christian alike. Such differences existed also in the foreign missionary community, and varied according to nationality, the policy and resources of the particular society to which the missionary was attached, and the personal opinion and attitude of the individual missionary.

B.M.S. missionary residences varied in type and size. Prior to 1900, practically all were of the Chinese style. After 1900, a considerable number of our missionaries continued to live in the Chinese type of house. Some of these were large, because they were usually the only ones available for foreign residence, as they were considered "haunted" by the Chinese, and therefore very cheap to rent! Others lived in simple houses erected in semi-foreign style. But in central residential stations, a number of houses in the European style were built. Of these, five or six, which, with one exception, were erected by private funds or specially donated gifts, were larger than the others, which usually were akin to the 3-4-bedroom type of detached house at home, with the addition of verandas, and more land than is customary in this country. The cost of land and building was low. Most of these foreign-style houses cost between £400 and £800 including the land.

While the foreign style of house was unfamiliar to some of our Christians, it was not so to others. And as it was the general practice for Chinese colleagues, church members, and non-Christian visitors to be received in them with respect and cordiality, most of them soon began to feel at home in what would otherwise be a strange environment. The European style of house was adopted for many reasons, not only for convenience, but for economy in erection and maintenance, and with due consideration for the health and general physical well-being of the staff and their families. Until 1937 it was practicable for the children of missionaries to be educated in China, and provision had to be made for them. It was necessary also to provide accommodation for guests, office, study, and even for occasional meetings of conferences. After 1937 disturbed conditions rendered it unfeasible for children to remain in China; the cost of living rose excessively, and the maintenance of these foreign-type houses, especially in regard to heating and service, became burdensome. It was not practicable, however, for financial and other reasons, among which was their close proximity to churches or Mission institutions, to dispose of them.

The creation of Mission compounds in which residences, schools, hospitals and sometimes churches were built together, and usually surrounded by boundary walls, apart from the convenience of such an arrangement, was due also to the circumstances of the time. The Chinese themselves, wherever practicable, enclosed their houses in this way as a precaution against thieves, and incursions of unruly mobs in the many times of disturbance which occurred. And B.M.S. missionaries had good reason to be grateful on many occasions for the protection which surrounding walls and barred gates afforded them.

Some missionaries were more sensitive than others about this kind of segregation, feeling that it tended to isolate them from the Chinese community. But few B.M.S. missionaries could be justifiably accused of "living in ivory towers". Those engaged in educational work were in regular contact with students in the classroom, with teachers in the common room, or with both frequently in the privacy of their own homes. Doctors and nurses spent most of their days in close contact with patients or students, and in the evenings Chinese colleagues and students were often entertained at home. Those engaged in evangelistic and church work, apart from their preaching or teaching duties, visited Chinese homes and spent much time with individuals or groups in their own homes, in the church, or on the road. Social gatherings connected with the church or Mission institutions were by no means infrequent, when the happiest of fellowship between missionaries and Chinese Christians was enjoyed.

Our missionaries realized the importance of cultivating personal relationships with the Chinese people, and of achieving as full a degree of intimacy as was possible with their Chinese Christian brethren. Discussions often took place in the missionary circle as to whether their mode of life, residence, and general living standards were a hindrance to the progress of the Church. Some, feeling that the foreign style of house and general manner of life in residential centres *was* a hindrance, either moved into Chinese houses, wherever that was practicable, or spent lengthy periods in country residence or itineration. Others deliberately

reduced their customary standard of living in the hope of increasing their spiritual effectiveness.

The B.M.S. personal allowances were termed "maintenance allowances", made "from year to year"; "dependent upon the ability of the Society to meet such outgoings", and "intended to remove anxious care relative to financial matters and to secure for missionaries needful comfort". These allowances neither permitted of any real luxury of living, nor did they impose upon the missionary, in normal times at least, the endurance of any serious hardship. However, not a few B.M.S. missionaries acquired a reputation amongst the Chinese for "eating bitterness" or the capacity to endure hardness. It should also be noted that the small minority of our missionaries who possessed private means usually practised rigid economy in their manner of life.

The place in which a missionary was located, and the type of work in which he or she was engaged, determined to some extent the manner and standard of living adopted.

The average standard of living adopted by the great majority of B.M.S. missionaries, with the exception of servants (the employment of which was necessary either out of deference to Chinese custom, or out of consideration for the nature of the work, missionary and domestic, to be done), was similar to that prevailing in what used to be called the "middle-class family" at home. This standard, admittedly, was higher than that attainable by the rank and file of Baptist church members, and on this ground is considered by some to have been a hindrance to missionary effectiveness.

Whether it actually was so or not is debatable.

Some B.M.S. missionaries lived in various types of houses, and adopted different standards of living at intervals during their missionary life. Whether these changes enhanced their spiritual effectiveness or not only the individuals concerned can testify. The few missionaries known to the writer who deliberately abandoned the foreign way of life, and endeavoured to live as poorer Chinese, either broke down in health, or soon made some sort of compromise. One or two, on discovering that the Chinese

misinterpreted their motives, abandoned their missionary vocation. Comparative statistics of numbers of missionaries and converts gained by the different missionary societies are naturally not the sole criterion of judgment in such matters as this. But the table on p. 280 reveals the interesting fact that missionaries of certain Societies whose normal standard of living was commensurably higher, and who were fewer in number than others, achieved greater spiritual results, at any rate as far as numbers of church members are concerned.

The above considerations suggest that, while conditions of residence and living standards are not unimportant, it is the personality and spirit of the missionary and the nature of the fellowship he or she is able to achieve with the general community and particularly with their fellow-believers that matter much more. The relationships of our missionaries in China with their Chinese Christian brethren were, as the historical record shows, on the whole characterized by real friendliness, mutual respect and co-operation. But the missionary vocation is extremely exacting, and doubtless each B.M.S. missionary who served in China would humbly admit that in these matters, as in other aspects of their high calling, he or she has fallen short of the cherished ideal.

In bringing to a close this study of the difficulties encountered by our missionaries in China in the prosecution of their task, recognizing that some of these arose from the external situation and that others were due to "the weakness of the earthen vessel", thanks should be rendered to God, that He, in His mercy, has overruled them to His glory, by the ingathering of considerable numbers of the people of China, to form His Church in that ancient, cultured and populous land.

CHAPTER 20

THE CHURCH IN CHINA TODAY

It has been rightly said that "the real criterion of the success of the missionary movement in any land is the creation of an indigenous Church", by which is usually meant a Church that is "self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting". That is what we have claimed to have been the aim of Protestant missionaries, including those of the B.M.S. from the beginning of their work in China.

It would appear, however, that in the opinion of the Communist leaders that objective, as interpreted by them, had not been achieved. For after they had gained control of the government in 1949, that is exactly what they challenged the Chinese Church to become. And it is significant that the designation adopted by, or given to, that section of the Chinese Church which has most closely identified itself with the policy of the Communist Government *vis-à-vis* the Church as a whole, is "The Three-Self Movement".

And it soon became clear that the Communists' idea of the "indigenous Church" implied amongst other things the withdrawal of all foreign missionaries from China, and the refusal by the Chinese Church to receive financial help from abroad, in fact, the snapping of all visible material links with the Church in other lands.

That is what has actually happened. The Church in China today, as it faces all that is implied in Communist government control, is bereft of the personal help which thousands of foreign missionaries have given to it in the past, and deprived of the considerable financial assistance which it formerly received from the Churches in the West.

It is reassuring to think that it is not cut off from the Spirit of

God, or deprived of the presence of Christ, and that it is accessible to the power of prayer, which can penetrate and surmount all physical barriers. But the isolation of the Church in China from most of the customary forms of fellowship with Christians in other parts of the world is, in view of the circumstances in which it is seeking to live its life and bear its witness, a matter of deep concern.

THE STATE OF OUR BAPTIST CHURCHES

That being so, let us consider the state of our Baptist churches as our missionaries left them, and ask, in the light of what has been done to prepare them, whether they are likely to survive the challenge they face today.

Some account has already been given of the state of our Baptist churches in Shantung, Shansi and Shensi when the missionaries withdrew. Their numerical strength in 1939, as given above, (p. 276) must have been considerably reduced after that date. From Shantung and Shansi large numbers of our Christians had already migrated to the west, and many have probably remained there. During the Japanese occupation of these two provinces the membership of the local churches was reduced still further. So that in all probability the resident membership in these two provinces has decreased by at least one-third.

In Shansi the majority of the older trained leaders either evacuated or have died. At least seven of them were killed, including the one and only ordained pastor, Ch'in Liang, and the experienced evangelist Wang-Chin-Chang. The central church in T'ai-Yuan-Fu was split into two camps, but with some slight hope of re-union. In the northern districts conditions in each place excited the concern of our visiting missionaries before they left, and the picture drawn of the church life in the Hsin-Chou, Kuo-Hsien, Tai-Chou and Fan-Ssu districts, although cheering in some respects, leaves one with a sense of prayerful anxiety.

In Shantung the majority of the pastors (of whom twenty-three were still at work), about fourteen evangelists, men and women, with a number of our doctors and nurses, were still

carrying on when our missionaries left. Educational leaders, however, had mostly migrated to other parts. A few church leaders who had gone to Shensi or other parts of West China had not returned. Pastor Meng-Lo-Shan was killed at Ch'ing-Chou-Fu and T. H. Sun had died. News received in 1952 reported moderate congregations in churches at Chi-Nan-Fu, Chou-Ts'un, and Ch'ing-Chou-Fu, smaller gatherings in other places, and no services at all in some formerly well-attended country churches.

In Shensi conditions were much better when our missionaries left, as greater continuity of work had been possible since 1937, and accessions both of Christian leaders and church members from other provinces had occurred. Thirteen pastors were at work in 1951. At Hsi-An-Fu, San-Yuan and Fu-Yin-Ts'un the churches were in a healthy condition, but further north at Yen-An, the Church, after long occupation by the Communists, was struggling for existence in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of Christian laymen to maintain it.

The most recent news received of our churches in the three provinces is included below.

WILL OUR BAPTIST CHURCH SURVIVE?

Are our churches, with their comparatively small membership and depleted leadership, and deprived as they are of the former help of B.M.S. missionary colleagues and finance, likely to survive the ordeal imposed upon them by the Communist régime? Naturally, any attempt to forecast the future must be confined largely to "probabilities". But we may reasonably assume that "survival" depends largely on the extent to which our Church has become "indigenous", or *more realistically perhaps on whether or not it has the marks of the true Church of God*. For we cannot presume, with Nestorian, Arabian and North African precedents in mind, that because the Church has been planted in any land, it will of necessity survive, or retain its essentially Christian character.

We have endeavoured to show above (pp. 212-222) that our Baptist Church in each of these areas has for many years been self-

propagating, that is to say there are considerable numbers in our churches who, convinced that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the one and only Saviour, have been, and I believe, still are, willing and able to bear witness to that supreme fact. Not all, as we knew them, were equally zealous or capable. Some had no very deep convictions. Some were lukewarm, others had failed to maintain Christian standards of morality, especially during the last few years of disorder or exile.

But these, it is safe to say, were exceptions. Most, if not all, B.M.S. missionaries would gratefully acknowledge that such evangelistic success as has been achieved was, humanly speaking, due mainly to the efforts and fidelity of our Chinese brethren. And let us remember, with humility and praise to God, that in 1900, more than 250 of our fellow-believers died for Christ, many refusing to recant, even when they could have saved their lives by so doing. There have been, and there still are, saints in our churches. A few instances have been given of both men and women, in each of our three provinces, who have afforded outstanding examples of holy living, and of utter devotion to Christ and His Church. And there are many others equally worthy of mention.

As far as willingness and zeal are concerned, our Chinese brethren have given irrefutable evidence that our Baptist Church is self-propagating: may we not assume that the success which with God's blessing has crowned their efforts in the past, is assurance for the future of their ability to witness to the gospel in convincing fashion, both by word and by life?

But are our Christians sufficiently well instructed in the faith as to be able to witness to it effectively in an atmosphere charged with materialism, in which, at present, Communism is predominant, and in a land where for some time to come Buddhism, Taoism, Animism, Mohammedanism and Confucianism will still continue to influence the religious and philosophical thinking of the people, and where syncretic ideas of religion may tend to prevail?

The rank and file of our church members varied in their know-

ledge and understanding of the Scriptures and the basic doctrines of our faith. But although a proportion of them were illiterate, many of them would compare very favourably, on average, with our church members at home in these respects. Missionaries whose main responsibility lay in the sphere of church and evangelistic work gave considerable time to religious instruction. But since 1937, little regular work of this kind was possible in Shansi and Shantung.

Next we must consider whether our church leaders, on whom the responsibility for Christian witness in the general community must primarily rest, are adequately prepared for this vitally important task. As far as numbers are concerned, we must accept the findings of national Christian conferences of recent years that "Chinese leaders of the right kind are not enough". Confining our inquiry for the moment to pastors, evangelists (including Bible-women, as they were often called) and those engaged in theological teaching or church administration, the statistics given on p. 279 should be of interest.

The type of training which these received has already been outlined in the chapter on education (Part II, p. 223). The bearing of Christian witness is, of course, not confined to these. The large number of doctors and nurses, teachers and social workers trained in our hospitals, schools and University, many of whom are well acquainted with the Scriptures and basic doctrines of our faith, must certainly be regarded as possible assets to the Church of the future in this connection.

Since 1925, discussions on Communism and Christianity were common amongst Chinese Christians themselves, and between Chinese church leaders and missionaries. The subject was also introduced later for discussion in theological colleges of university grade. B.M.S. church leaders are by no means ignorant of the claims and the nature of the challenge of Communism.

It may be true that few of our leaders are fully equipped intellectually to meet the challenge of rival faiths or ideologies. But there are many who could "give a very good reason for the faith that is in them" to anybody. And there are considerable

numbers in each province, who have received reasonably good grounding in expositional, doctrinal, and apologetical teaching.

The average missionary was beset with too many claims upon time and energy in an ever-changing climate of views and demands to concentrate as he would have liked on this particular type of work.

But amongst our men missionaries who have given time to theological training, some of them over long periods, are the Revs. J. S. Whitewright, J. P. Bruce, E. W. Burt, H. H. Rowley, S. C. Harrisson, R. S. McHardy and F. S. Drake in Shantung, the Revs. G. B. Farthing, A. Sowerby and F. Harmon in Shansi, and the Revs. A. G. Shorrocks, Wm. Mudd and George Young in Shensi.

The share taken by our missionaries in preparing suitable literature of a religious and specifically theological character, has been outlined in previous chapters. There is still a dearth of this type of literature, although a good deal of useful work in this connection has been done by the C.L.S. (who had a number of excellent Chinese scholars on their staff), the Religious Tract Society of Hankow, the American Presbyterian Press, the American Baptist Press, the Y.M.C.A. Press, the S.P.C.K. and other Christian literary agencies.

It is true that the bulk of their work consisted of translations or adaptations of Western books, and that it was largely under the direction of missionaries. It takes time to produce Chinese Christian scholars, equipped in theological learning, and with the requisite literary ability, in sufficient numbers to make the desired "indigenous" contribution to this aspect of our work. In the B.M.S. sphere, W. B. Chang, T. H. Sun, Y. C. Li and P. H. Wang had already shown a capacity for this kind of work when our missionaries left the field. And in the wider sphere, a few Chinese writers of really outstanding theological ability had emerged, amongst them T. T. Liu and T. C. Chao of the Yen-ching School of Religion in Peking, and Dr. Francis Wei of Wu-Ch'ang.

Theological education occupied a prominent place in discus-

sions at most central Christian conferences in recent years, and those led to important developments after 1925, when Higher Grade Colleges were set up in Nanking, Canton, Chi-Nan-Fu, Peking, and later at Ch'eng-Tu, all of which were connected with Christian interdenominational universities. Entrance to these was, however, limited to those who had received at least middle school education. For others not possessing such academic qualifications, but who were in other respects suitable for ministerial or evangelistic training, Bible-schools were set up in regional areas, some of them interdenominational in character, of which the B.M.S. took advantage. A united training school in North China, under Church of Christ in China auspices, in which we should have had a major interest, was planned about 1933, but the plans were so slow in maturing, owing to the disturbed condition of the country, that we were unable to benefit from it.

Our Chinese leaders and the rank and file of our church members have been taught a type of theology moderately liberal from the scholarly point of view, and strongly evangelical in spirit. Our missionaries, theologically speaking, represented a good cross-section of our home ministry. Each of our recognized theological colleges (except Bangor), and Harley College, had representatives in China, and a number of non-collegiate laymen, like Alfred Jones, R. C. Forsyth and J. S. Harris in Shantung, and R. H. P. Dart in Shansi, made valuable contributions to church and evangelistic work. Very few of our missionaries subscribed to the Bible League which was active in China between 1920 and 1922, but all were truly evangelical in faith, spirit and preaching.

Single-women missionaries for the general work, who arrived in the early years, received such special training as was then available in this country, at St. Colm's College in Edinburgh at Doric Lodge, associated with Harley College, or kindred institutions in London, and later at Carey Hall. A number of missionaries' wives also received similar training. The work of religious education amongst Chinese women was normally more elementary in character than that amongst men, although standards

tended to coalesce as the general standard of girls' education was raised. Mention has been made of Chinese women members of our churches in all three provinces, who showed extraordinary courage and devotion in preaching and teaching the Word, both with and without the presence of missionary colleagues. These are adequate testimony to the quality of the teaching given, and the example set by our women missionaries. Although quite a number of our Chinese women received good theological training in other institutions, only one, as far as I know, Miss Sun-Hsiu-Chen, who also studied Modern Greats at Oxford, took the higher theological course at Cheeloo.

After 1912, certain sects from America, most of which professed to emphasize spiritual gifts, began to enter our field, and drew away a proportion of our church members. After a time, however, many of these returned, somewhat sheepishly, to the Baptist fold.

Other sects which emerged later, such as the True Church of God, the Jesus Home Church, the Little Flock, the Spiritual Gifts Church, which stressed the individualistic rather than the social aspect of Christian teaching, attracted some church members from our fellowship. Others remained within our churches but emphasized the teaching of these sects, in such ways as created intense feeling and internal dissension. Some of these sects, especially the Jesus Home Church and the Little Flock, became very influential, the type of teaching and expression which they advocated appealing to more and more Christians as it became increasingly difficult to express Christian belief in social ways.

However, the great majority of our Baptist church members remained loyal to that conception of our faith which attaches equal importance to developing the inner life of the spirit and the expression of that in social service. To a certain extent, the influence of the "spiritual" movements described above was a reaction against what some Chinese Christians asserted was an over-emphasis by Protestant missionaries on the "social" gospel. And, in this respect, Protestant missions in China have been con-

trasted unfavourably by some critics with Roman Catholics who, they affirm, concentrated more on the development of the inner life of the Church to its advantage. The B.M.S. in China has tried to emphasize both the inner and outer aspects of the Church's life and witness, and time only can show whether this has been detrimental or advantageous to the progress of the Kingdom of God.

It should be noted, however, that the influence of these various "spiritual" movements led to fresh emphasis on the importance of religious instruction in our overall missionary policy.

Syncretic religious ideas appeal strongly to the generally tolerant spirit of the Chinese people. Movements aiming at reducing all religious beliefs to a common denominator became particularly prominent after 1912, and, under a variety of names suggestive of their purpose, exercised considerable influence among the official and educated classes in Shantung, Shansi and Shensi. B.M.S. missionaries viewed these movements in as sympathetic a manner as their convictions of the uniqueness and supremacy of Jesus Christ allowed. They took every opportunity of conference with the promoters of these movements, or of addressing their gatherings. But on such occasions they were careful to emphasize the distinctive character of the Christian faith. Our Baptist leaders tended to remain aloof from these movements. And they are certainly under no misconception of the attitude of our missionaries to the questions involved. In discussions between them and Chinese church leaders on this subject, it was customary to point out that one of the possible reasons for the eventual failure of the first Nestorian Mission to China was a tendency to compromise in this vital matter.

In Chapter II of this section the efforts made by our missionaries to inculcate in the minds of our Chinese Christians a sense of their responsibility for the administration of church affairs have been outlined. And it should be clear from that record that our Chinese brethren, stage by stage, assumed the leadership in most of our Institutions and joint-enterprises of the Mission and Church, and that our missionaries gradually assumed the status

of colleagues and helpers rather than that of leaders and initiators of most of our common concerns.

Some Chinese Christian leaders have averred that missionaries acted more slowly than was justifiable in devolving responsibility. It has to be remembered there were some church leaders who were by no means anxious to carry these responsibilities, and others who thought it was wise to make haste slowly in matters of this kind. As far as B.M.S. missionaries are concerned, it would be true to say that any dilatoriness they may have shown in this respect was due primarily to their sincere concern for the spiritual life and witness of the Church, and that they honestly welcomed every step of progress in the direction of devolution, not simply because that relieved them of administrative responsibilities, but because they earnestly desired the Church for its own sake to advance towards full self-government.

After 1924, the chief business of Mission and Church in all our fields was administered by joint councils, at which the business discussed included finance. The latter was a very important item, for it meant that the allocation from home for the particular province concerned was, apart from a few minor items of missionaries' personal expenses, known and administered by Chinese in consultation with missionary representatives.

In the sphere of joint administration, the one step which was not taken by 1937, although it was seriously considered, was to invite Chinese to sit on the Inter-Provincial Conference, which was the highest administrative organ of the B.M.S. in China. If conditions in the country after 1937 had permitted it, this omission would certainly have been remedied.

In the administration of local church matters, executive responsibility was vested in church courts comprising pastors, church "leaders", deacons, and in a few cases, elders. But all important matters were decided upon in the church meeting. After 1912 it was usual for the missionary, when present at such gatherings, to act in a purely advisory capacity.

Now the Chinese Church is compelled by Communist action to be entirely self-governing. Our Chinese Christian leaders are

not free from certain weaknesses which mar the life of the Church elsewhere. Personal jealousies, ambition, desire for prestige, and the formation of coteries and cliques are not unknown among them. But some of them are men and women of considerable experience of affairs, and of real capacity for administration. Possibly they may be too deferential to the few among them of wealth or position, and considerations of "face" may interfere somewhat with the exercise of strict discipline within the Church. But God's Spirit is present within His Church in China as elsewhere, and helped by our prayers our Chinese brethren may be found to be good stewards of the household of God.

With regard to Self-Support, the policy pursued and the measure of progress achieved have already been discussed. We have seen that the Chinese Church in each of our three fields, in varying degree, carried as its share of our overall financial commitment the support of pastors, the expenses of providing and maintaining village chapels and schools, and the current expenses connected with the upkeep and routine work of larger church buildings in towns and cities. Contributions towards the evangelistic, educational and medical work were also made by Chinese churches or individuals from time to time, although these departments of activity were in the main financed by fees, earnings or home grants. Now, under the Communist régime, the financial responsibilities of our churches would seem to be limited almost entirely to their own church affairs. All the central schools, University, hospitals, etc., formerly under joint control of Mission and Church, have been taken over by the Government, and will be financed by them.

What then are the prospects of our Baptist churches maintaining financially the limited amount of work which existing circumstances seem to prescribe?

The regulations of the Communist government in the preliminary stages of their authority evidently required pastors to engage in some form of manual or public work, and to support themselves at least partially in that way, with the help of voluntary contributions of church members. According to more recent

reports, it would appear that some modifications have been introduced which render it easier to support the pastorate directly by church contributions, although the pastor himself still has to work his allotment of land. It has not been the practice of the B.M.S. to invest in land or property to finance Church or Mission activities. But when our missionaries left the interior in 1949, all B.M.S. property in the three provinces was handed over to the Synods of the Church of Christ in China, or their local representative Committees. Whether these function in any effective way to such matters is not known. Probably the ultimate control of all properties so handed over lies with the Communist government. But evidently they have approved the appointment of a Committee of the "Progressive" Church, which presumably has authority to receive reports and advise upon the disbursement of the rents of some of these former Mission properties, on the recommendation of local church groups or Associations.

This transfer of property has a certain psychological value (although past experience of such matter suggests that it may bring peculiar difficulties), and should contribute materially to the solution of the financial problems facing the Chinese Church at this particular juncture. The words of our Shensi brethren, written after the B.M.S. property there had been formally handed over, are significant in this connection, viz., "Now our Church is able to go forward firmly on the path of self-support."

Some evangelistic work conducted jointly by Mission and Church received grants-in-aid from B.M.S. sources. Should public evangelistic work still be possible, as the B.M.S. has always encouraged voluntary lay-evangelism this will probably continue.

It seems probable, therefore, as church activities requiring finance are likely to be limited, that no serious difficulty in this respect will be experienced by our Baptist churches.

It is obvious then that they, in common with other churches in China, are now in one sense of the term "indigenous", and that what B.M.S. missionaries from the beginning set out to achieve, has, in a manner unexpected and not desired by them, come about. They would have wished that more time had

been allowed them so that the process of devolution already initiated, and which was developing with such promise, could have proceeded in an orderly and evolutionary manner towards its desired goal. But that was not destined to be. In view of the enormity of the unfinished task of evangelizing the 600,000,000 people of China, one cannot but regret that the help of the Western churches is at present impracticable, and hope and pray that God in His providence will so overrule these recent events that good will emerge from seeming evil, and that He will make "even the wrath of man to praise Him".

The challenge which the Communist leaders of China's present government have issued to the Church there is obviously a serious one, and it is important now to consider whether or not we have left behind us truly Baptist churches.

China has been riddled with denominational churches and organizations. Ninety-five different Societies were at work in 1922, and in 1934 that had increased to 137, including organizations with other than purely church interests. These represented probably fifty denominations, including the sects referred to above. Did B.M.S. missionaries emphasize denominationalism unduly? They certainly sought to commend what are generally considered to be Baptist principles. But they also had due regard to the fact that for many years to come the Church in China would continue to be a small minority in an overwhelmingly non-Christian and possibly hostile environment, and realized that that would call for the fullest measure of Church unity and Christian co-operation which was consistent with the holding of those principles. And so our Baptist brethren are well aware that they are but a part of the Body of Christ—and that all Christians are members one of another.

The designation adopted by our B.M.S. pioneers for the Church which under God they founded, was the "Chin-Li-Hui", which means "the Church of the Immersion Rite". The Chinese word translated "immersion", may mean "to dip" or "to soak"! Other Baptist churches, e.g., those which grew out of association with the Northern and Southern Conventions of U.S.A. and the

Swedish Baptists, also adopted this particular word as part of their title, along with others which distinguished them from other Baptist churches.

Baptism by immersion of professed believers was the general practice in all B.M.S. churches, although, due to the desperate shortage of water in some mountainous districts, this was very occasionally modified by immersing as much as possible of the body (sometimes the head and shoulders only being possible) of the candidate kneeling in a zinc bath.

Other Baptist principles, e.g. of a converted membership of the Church; the importance of the lay ministry; the priesthood of all believers; the dedication of children of Christian parents; and co-operation with other denominational churches who were willing to co-operate with us, were universally honoured and observed. The celebration of open Communion, and the free interchange of members in good standing with neighbouring churches of other denominations, was the regular practice. There was constant exchange of pulpit and general preaching ministries. On principle the spiritual independence of the local Church was recognized. But the Presbyterian form of church government was generally adopted, as it was thought that the considerable number of churches with comparatively few members spread over a large area could best serve one another by linking them in joint-presbyteries, and local Associations. For many years these were the subsidiary organs of what for all practical purposes were provincial Baptist Unions.

After the affiliation of all our Baptist churches with the Church of Christ in China, these were reorganized as Synods.

Efforts are now being made by the Communist government, with the support of some prominent Chinese Christian leaders, to merge all churches in China into one National Church, which has been variously styled the New Church, the Progressive Church, the Three-Self Church, and the True Independent Church. This essentially is a State Church, dependent for its continuing existence on its adherence to the Common Political Programme adopted in 1949, by the People's Political Consultative Conference

(see pp. 179 f.), which means that the Church must accept Government direction and control. This raises for our Baptist churches, if they are to remain truly Baptist, issues of fundamental importance.

We must now therefore review, as far as practicable, the present situation as it affects the Church.

The main features of the situation as it developed between 1949 and 1952 have been outlined in Part I, Chapter 10 (pp. 177 to 198). Since then, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China has been formally adopted and published. And there have been reports from missionaries who remained in the country for some time after 1952 and of later delegations to China of a political or semi-political character. Information from newspapers, bulletins, magazines, etc., has also been made available. Personal interviews with individuals or groups of Chinese Christian leaders have also taken place, either in China or elsewhere. Visits by the Peace delegation of the Society of Friends to China and more recently still by Dr. Manikam, the Far Eastern Secretary of the World Council of Churches, have added to our still somewhat limited store of knowledge. What follows, therefore, is a summary largely derived from the above sources of information.

Constitutional questions are of prime importance for our purpose.

The attitude of the Communist government to the question of Religious Freedom, however it was originally defined, was at first construed by many Chinese Christian leaders in a way which permitted of their collaboration with the new authorities in certain respects. But as applied or executed by local officials of the new régime in the earlier years, it did not preclude a good deal of indirect or direct persecution of Chinese Christians. In particular, the authority vested in People's Courts led to very serious injustices, and other irregularities and disorders which involved enormous numbers of Chinese, including many Christians, in sufferings of the gravest character. Many millions have been "liquidated" or "detained", to be subjected to a process of

re-education or "brain washing" as it is popularly described, or other undesirable methods of the "one-thought-régime", since the Communists came into power. Some of these things are apparently still going on.

It was not until 20th September 1954 that the Constitution referred to above was officially adopted by the first National People's Congress. This was based on the Common Political Programme adopted by the People's Political Consultative Conference of 1949, but claimed to be an advance on it. The articles in this Constitution which are of greatest concern to Christians read as follows:

Art. 87:

"Citizens of the Republic of China have freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession, freedom of demonstration . . ."

Art. 88:

"Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief . . ."

This is supplemented by the following additional clause, viz.:

"Citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of eighteen, have the right to vote, and stand for election, whatever their nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property status, or length of residence, *except insane persons, and persons deprived by law of the right to vote and stand for election.*"

(The italics are mine.)

Art. 89 should also be noted. It reads as follows:

"Freedom of the person of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. No citizen may be arrested, except by decision of a people's court, or with the sanction of a people's procuratorate".

Other Articles in the Constitution refer to the citizen's right to work, to rest and leisure, education, assistance in old age, to lodge complaints against State officials for transgressing the law, or neglecting their duty, and to compensation for loss suffered by reason of infringement of the law by State officials.

It is important to note that nowhere in the Constitution, as far as the writer's knowledge goes, is "citizen" defined. This seems

to make it possible that certain persons, other than the "insane", may be denied the above rights, either in part or in whole, on the ground that non-compliance with government policy disqualifies them for the status of "citizen". And the fact that People's Courts, which have exercised such great powers in the past, are now officially recognized in the Constitution, makes it still possible for serious abuses to continue.

Art. 76 reads:

"Cases in the People's Courts are held in public unless otherwise provided for by law. The accused has the right of defence."

Art. 76 states:

"In administering justice, the People's Courts are independent, subject only to law."

In the course of a recent visit to China, a prominent Parliamentary and Q.C.¹ was told that the days of mass trials and denunciations were over, and gained the impression that "the stage had been reached where more attention is being given to the rights of the individual citizen". He also says, "I felt a real concern for justice among the lawyers I met, and a desire to create an effective, independent court system". However, he expresses concern that "the Communist doctrine does not accept that the independence of judges from political control is essential to the safeguarding of the liberty of the citizen". He is also concerned at the absence of Habeas Corpus machinery, and at the apparently all-inclusive authority in legal matters of the Public Procurator's Office and establishment; disturbed that the presence of defending lawyers on behalf of accused persons was "the exception rather than the rule", and that social obligations might be conceived of as transcending individual civil rights. He also notes that two-thirds of the 1,800 prisoners in one prison at Peking were there for political crimes—as alleged counter-revolutionaries.²

It would seem that at present, in regard to the accepted

¹ F. Elwyn Jones, Q.C., M.P.

² *Justice in Modern China* by F. Elwyn Jones, published in *The Listener*, 19th July 1956, pp. 78, 79.

Constitution, and the administration and operation of the law, the position of Christians and especially of those in our Baptist churches is still unenviable, and that the question of their relationship with the government, which will probably be determined by their attitude to the State Church, may cause serious searching of heart.

Certain reports which have come from China since the death of Stalin, suggesting modifications in the attitude of Communist leaders in regard to such matters as control of political thought, greater freedom of expression, and the manner in which justice is administered and executed, are welcome. But at present they are of too vague a character to enable one to form a judgment as to how such reported changes might affect their attitude to the Church.

One can only state the substance of other reports about conditions as they have concerned the Christian Church hitherto.

Information is scanty, unfortunately, about our churches in Shantung, Shansi and Shensi. But a reliable report was received from Shantung in 1953 which, although it related particularly to our Baptist church in Chi-Nan-Fu, applied also in some degree to many churches in other centres in the province. It stated that congregations were small, and composed largely of elderly folk or very young children. The absence of teen-agers and those in middle life was most marked. Reasons given for this were that able-bodied folk were kept extremely busy during the six-day working week, mostly on directed labour, and that on Sundays they were frequently called to attend some "indoctrination" lecture or class, or to take part in a political rally. These requirements, in addition to the demands of shopping and the piled-up domestic chores of the week, made anything like regular attendance at worship impracticable. In the schools, Communist pressure on the minds of the children was having such effect that they were either afraid or unwilling to go to church or Sunday school. Indeed many had become so much out of sympathy with their Christian parents that they refused to join in family prayers.

From Shensi has come good news of recent date (summer of

1956), that in the San-Yuan area four new churches have been built, and that 350 people have been baptized during the last two years. One other church has been enlarged, and five have been repaired. In the seven counties of the whole northern district (Wei-Pei) of the Shensi church, thirteen central and eighty-nine branch churches were functioning. It was also reported that the membership of the church in this area was 3,000.

There is little news from Shansi, except that visits have been paid by leaders of the "Three-Self Movement", probably to encourage our Christians there to join in.

In the wider field, it is known that theological education is still being carried on at Peking, Nanking, Canton and Ch'eng-Tu, four former centres of Christian university education. All these are interdenominational in character. The Theological School at Nanking incorporates the college of this type formerly at Cheeloo. In 1956 there were nineteen former denominations represented in the student body which numbered 108. Of these fifty-nine came from churches formerly connected with the Church of Christ in China. Any students from our own churches would probably be included in that figure. Baptists (probably from American Missions) are listed separately at thirty-two. Four grades of instruction are being given. The main subjects taught are Old and New Testament, Theology and Church History. "There is no study of Marxism, but an hour a week is given to study of current events, and the Constitution of New China is studied."

There are thirty members of faculty, fifteen of whom are women. Mr. Lo-Shih-Ch'i, former Dean of the Theological School in Cheeloo, is evidently still on the staff of this College in Nanking, teaching Pastoral Theology and acting as Building Superintendent.

The Theological School at Peking has been newly organized as a Union Seminary, serving eleven former Mission Training Institutions, including the Yenching School of Religion, of which Dr. T. C. Chao was the former distinguished president. He was displaced for a time and put under house arrest. He is, however,

understood to be teaching again in the new Institution, giving part of his time to the History of Christian Thought, and other time to research. There are thirty-three members of faculty and seventy-six students of four grades. The Rev. P. H. Wang, formerly of the B.M.S., is President of the School, and because of the "widely different theological viewpoints represented in the School, three parallel courses are offered in Dogmatics, by a Baptist, a Presbyterian and a Methodist professor respectively".

Financial support of these two Schools, as is probably the case in the other two centres of theological education, is derived from rentals of School property, contributions from the churches, and tuition fees.

A group of six members of the Society of Friends spent three and a half weeks in China at the end of 1955, as the guests of the China Peace Committee. In the course of their tour, they interviewed several representative groups of Christian and Government leaders, and report:

"We worshipped with Chinese Christians at Peking, Tientsin, Chungking and Shanghai. In most places our experience or reports from Christian leaders indicated that congregations are normally between 50 and 100 strong, but we saw much larger gatherings of up to 500 in Shanghai and had reports of them elsewhere. Congregations with which we worshipped included a good proportion of young people. Large numbers of churches are in use, 27 in Chungking, 52 in Canton, 61 in Hankow, to quote examples of statistics given to us. Two new churches have been built in Shanghai since 1949. Some loss in church membership occurred when the new Government came into power, but for the most part it was the 'rice Christians' who left, and these losses have now been made up. Wherever we went we were told that numbers are now increasing modestly but steadily."

Their report also says that, next to worship, the chief activity of the Church is Bible study; that the China Bible House has just published a new edition of the Scriptures, and that there is no government limitation on the number of Bibles that may be printed. They report further that Youth Conferences are organized by the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. on behalf of the Church as a whole, 600 being present at one such conference in Shanghai in 1955.

They report also that there is a growing sense of responsibility amongst Chinese Christians for the financial support of the Church, and that the fact that the Church is now solely under Chinese control is regarded by them as an asset in the existing situation.

In March 1956 Dr. Manikam, East Asia Secretary of the World Council of Churches, visited China, and met with 250 Christian leaders from seventy former denominations, in conference at Peking. The conference was chaired by Dr. H. H. Ts'ui, former Secretary of the Church of Christ in China. Dr. Y. T. Wu, the leader of the Three-Self Movement, reported general church advance, and that hundreds of thousands of Christians had joined that particular movement.

At this conference, also, Dr. T. C. Chao is reported to have expressed satisfaction with the freedom he enjoyed. And Bishop Hall of Hong Kong is reported to have "come back from a visit to China, saying that the Church was growing there and that there was religious freedom".

But against all that must be put certain facts of a contrary character. The Rev. Wang-Ming-Tao, pastor of an important church in Peking, and formerly a most acceptable and successful evangelist, in our Baptist as well as other churches, is understood to be in prison together with a number of his church members. It is reported that he was accused of three things, viz.:

1. He had not shown sympathy with the Government, and his words and actions had not been in accord with government policy.
2. He had not taken part in the Three-Self Movement.
3. His preaching was individualistic, and its purpose not clear. He is a danger to the Christian movement!

These charges were made in September 1954. He retained his freedom for a time due to public agitation in his favour. But on 8th August 1955 he and other associates were taken away.¹

Another popular Chinese evangelist, known as Watchman Ni,

¹ Wang-Ming-Tao is reported to have been released in the autumn of 1956 and to have confessed to former errors.

and other leaders of the Little Flock Movement, were arrested, together with about 150 of their followers, during 1955-6. Watchman Ni was charged, amongst other things, with anti-government activities.

Another news correspondent who visited China recently, summarizes his impressions by saying that "the Chinese think what they are told to think, and no one ventures an opinion of his own".

One thing which stands out clearly in this somewhat confused picture is that the State Church has the ostensible support of a large number of prominent Christian leaders. One of them who is in the vanguard of this movement has appealed recently to Christians in the West to view their efforts with sympathy as they are prayerfully convinced that they are doing what is right in the circumstances and with the best interests of the Church at heart. The appeal was accompanied by a request for patience and prayer. It is also evident that some very prominent evangelical leaders have taken a forthright stand against Communist-government control and that they are suffering for it. It would seem also that, there is a third, possibly large, group, in the valley of decision, not knowing which course to take. But if the statement of Y. T. Wu as reported above is correct, the trend of the majority seems to be towards joining the State Church.

It is not known for certain where our fellow-Baptists in Shantung, Shansi and Shensi stand. Evidently the visits recently paid to T'ai-Yuan-Fu by leaders of the Three-Self Movement were made to encourage them to ally themselves with that Movement, which suggests that they had not yet done so. Possibly approaches of a similar character have been made to our Baptist leaders in Shantung and Shensi. The decision will be a hard one for them to make.

Apart from the issues connected with the Constitution, which apparently are still sufficiently vague to allow of a variety of interpretation and application, there remains the more fundamental and permanent problem of the Communist creed. This is atheistic and opposed to the Christian spiritual conception of life. Nor-

mally also, Communists, in their attitude and practices, are opposed to the values which Christians, and Baptists in particular, attach to the individual and the freedom of conscience and religious belief. It is also generally assumed that Communists are convinced that when men's economic and other material needs are adequately met, they will cease to feel the need of religion.

There is no doubt that at present the Communist government in China is granting a measure of religious freedom to the Church. But it would appear also that this freedom is of a limited nature, and that in the future the Church will only be allowed to function in such ways as fit in with the general policy of the government.

One must remain hopeful that as time goes by the Communist leaders will revert to a fuller expression of that spirit of religious tolerance which has characterized the Chinese people for prolonged periods of their history, and that changes will occur in the general world situation, which will bring China where, I suggest, the spirit and genius of her people indicate she rightly belongs, i.e. into full co-operation with the democratic peoples of the world. Otherwise it would seem as though the Chinese Church is destined to face a serious trial of its faith.

It is often said that "compromise" is an inherent characteristic of the Chinese people. That is generally speaking true. But ideally, at least, it does not apply to matters of vital principle. For, in accordance with the best traditions of the race, "Right has precedence over life."

It is true that some of our Chinese Baptist brethren recanted during the persecution of the Church in the Boxer year. But many of them were martyrs for the glory of Christ and His Church. It is right to pray and hope that they may never have to face such an ordeal again. But if the present challenge, which is sufficiently serious, should persist, we can confidently anticipate that members of our Baptist churches, no matter how they may relate themselves to the whole Church within the nation, will remain faithful to that concept which was enunciated with such significance by the late Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke, at the Fifth Assembly of the Baptist World Alliance held in Berlin in 1934, viz., "Baptists as

patriots know that the finest service we can render to our country consists in the free expression of our evangelical-ethical convictions."

If our Chinese Christian brethren could appeal to the twenty million Baptists throughout the world, I imagine it would be for prayer that "the Word of God may have free course and be glorified" amongst them, as it is with most of their fellow believers. While that remains impracticable, I believe that if Baptists everywhere continue to exercise faithfully the ministry of intercessory prayer, which is denied to none, and which we know to be effective, the great majority of our Chinese Baptist brethren will "stand fast, and hold the traditions which they have been taught", and that they will respond, by the Grace of God, to the challenge of the present hour in a manner worthy of the best in their past, and of their Saviour and Lord.

In conclusion, the writer would express his conviction that, in spite of the difficulties, frustrations and set-backs, arising from the changes, disorders, opposition and complexities which have been such a marked feature of our B.M.S. history in China, and which have necessitated constant adaptation, some opportunism, and less methodical planning than was desired, "the excellency of the power of God has been revealed", and the Baptist churches are rooted in China's soil; they are founded on the Rock, Christ Jesus, and "the gates of hell shall not prevail against them".

The glory of this achievement, all B.M.S. missionaries who have been privileged, however humbly, to share in it, will gratefully ascribe to Him, who is Head of the Church and Lord of all.

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APPENDIX

A LIST OF MISSIONARIES OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN CHINA

- 1845 W. Jarrom, res. 1850;
(and Mrs. Jarrom, d. 1848).
Thomas Hall Hudson, res. 1855, d. 1876;
(and Mrs. Hudson).
- 1859 H. Z. Kloekers, res. 1866;
(and Mrs. Kloekers).
Charles James Hall, d. 1862;
(and Mrs. Hall).
- 1862 Richard Frederick Laughton, d. 1870;
(and Mrs. Laughton).
- 1864 W. H. McMechan, res. 1866;
(and Mrs. McMechan).
E. F. Kingdon, res. 1867;
(and Mrs. Kingdon).
- 1869 Timothy Richard, d. 1919;
m. (i) Mary Martin, 1878, d. 1903;
(ii) Dr. Ethel Tribe, 1914, d. 1941.
- 1870 William Brown, res. 1874;
m. Miss Johnstone, res. 1874.
- 1876 Alfred George Jones, d. 1905;
(and Mrs. Jones, m. 1881, ret. 1905).
- 1879 Dr. J. Tate Kitts, res. 1889.
- 1881 Arthur Sowerby, ret. 1923, d. 1934;
m. Louisa Clayton, 1883, d. 1923.
J. S. Whitewright, d. 1926;
m. Martha Allen, 1883, d. 1924.
- 1882 Francis James, res. 1892, d. 1900.¹
- 1883 J. J. Turner, ret. 1920, d. 1937;
m. Miss Crickmay, 1881, d. 1908.
- 1884 Evan Morgan, ret. 1935, d. 1941;
m. Marion Weedon, 1886, ret. 1935, d. 1947.
Herbert Dixon,² d. 1900;¹
(and Mrs. Dixon,² d. 1900).¹
R. C. Forsyth, ret. 1911, d. 1922;
m. Annie Maitland, 1886, ret. 1911, d. 1941.

¹ Boxer Martyr.

² Transferred from Congo.

- 1884 Samuel Couling, res. 1908, d. 1922;
 (and Mrs. Couling).
 Dr. J. R. Watson, ret. 1923, d. 1937;
 m. (i) Agnes Russell, 1884, d. 1911;
 (ii) Agatha Kittermaster, 1913, ret. 1923.
 C. Spurgeon Medhurst, res. 1904.
- 1885 J. E. Biggs, d. 1887.
- 1886 E. C. Nickalls, ret. 1923, d. 1938;
 m. Mary Kirby, 1888, ret. 1923, d. 1950.
 G. B. Farthing, d. 1900;¹
 m. Miss Wright, 1888, d. 1900.¹
 W. A. Wills, ret. 1907.
 Miss Dawbarn, res. 1887.²
 S. B. Drake, ret. 1910, d. 1935;
 m. Florence Sowerby, 1882, ret. 1910, d. 1939.
- 1887 F. Harmon, ret. 1926, d. 1948;
 m. Matilda Chapman, 1885, ret. 1926, d. 1951.
 E. C. Smyth, ret. 1926, d. 1931;
 m. Edith Farrer, 1891, ret. 1926, d. 1936.
 A. G. Shorrocks, ret. 1927, d. 1945;
 m. Mary Doulton, 1900, d. 1926.
 Moir Duncan, res. 1902, d. 1906;
 m. Miss Lister, 1890, res. 1902.
 J. Percy Bruce, ret. 1924, d. 1934;
 m. Louisa Marshall, 1889, ret. 1924, d. 1929.
- 1892 T. C. Paterson, ret. 1928, d. 1949;
 m. (i) Miss Leet, 1899, d. 1912;
 (ii) Annie Aldridge, 1913, ret. 1928, d. 1939.
 E. W. Burt, ret. 1933, d. 1951;
 m. (i) Miss Tetley, 1894, d. 1904;
 (ii) Ethel M. Tetley, 1910, ret. 1933, d. 1951.
- 1893 Miss Agnes O. Kirkland, ret. 1927, d. 1940.
 Miss Lucy M. Shalders, res. 1899.
 Miss Annie Aldridge, m. Dr. T. C. Paterson, 1913, ret. 1928, d. 1939.
- 1894 Miss Annie Simpson, d. 1917.
- 1896 W. A. McCurrach, d. 1900;¹
 (and Mrs. McCurrach, d. 1900).¹
 J. T. Underwood, d. 1900;¹
 (and Mrs. Underwood, d. 1900).¹
 Miss Foord, res. 1899.

¹ Boxer Martyr.² Transferred to India.

- 1897 A. E. Greening, ret. 1936; d. 1938.
 m. Mary MacFarlane, 1900, ret. 1936, d. 1945.
 F. Madeley, ret. 1930;
 m. Florence Nowell, 1904, ret. 1930, d. 1955.
 Miss Greig, res. 1899 (married Mr. W. Smith of Japan).
 Miss Timmis, d. 1900.
- 1898 Dr. J. A. Creasey-Smith, res. 1908.
- 1899 S. F. Whitehouse, d. 1900;¹
 (and Mrs. Whitehouse, d. 1900).¹
 S. W. Ennals, d. 1900.¹
 Fred Shipway, d. 1902;
 m. Miss Briscoe, 1901, res. 1902.
 Miss Harriette Sifton, ret. 1927.
- 1900 Miss M. E. Shekleton, d. 1925.
 Miss Renaut, d. 1900.¹
 Miss Law, res. 1901.
 Miss Jennie Beckingsale, d. 1913.
- 1902 T. E. Lower, res. 1928, re-app. 1932, ret. 1938, d. 1949;
 m. (i) Miss Morgan, 1904, d. 1908;
 (ii) Ethel Cooper, 1916, res. 1928, re-app. 1932, ret. 1938,
 d. 1955.
 E. H. Edwards, ret. 1926, d. 1945;
 m. Miss F. Kemp, 1885, d. 1916.
- 1903 Miss Edith Biss, res. 1903.
 Charles Cheeseman, d. 1904;
 m. Miss L. Walsh, 1904, ret. 1904.
- 1904 Dr. Benjamin Broomhall, res. 1932;
 m. Marion Aldwinckle, 1905, res. 1932.
 Percy J. Smith, res. 1924; m. Miss F. Fuggett 1906.
 Donald Smith, d. 1923;
 m. Christina Thompson, 1910, ret. 1947.
 George E. Baker, res. 1910, d. 1935.
 Dr. G. A. Charter, res. 1920;
 m. Mary Nelmes, 1909, res. 1920.
 J. C. Keyte, res. 1922.
 Dr. H. Stanley Jenkins, d. 1913;
 m. Miss Loveridge, 1908, res. 1913.
 John Bell,² ret. 1928; d. 1957
 m. Jessie Ives, 1905, ret. 1928.
 Miss E. M. Russell, m. James Watson, 1908, d. 1936.

¹ Boxer Martyr.² Transferred from Congo.

- 1905 J. C. Harlow, ret. 1934, d. 1957;
 m. Edith Rutter, 1907, ret. 1934, d. 1954.
 Henry Payne, ret. 1947;
 m. Elizabeth Farquhar, 1907, ret. 1947.
 A. G. Castleton, ret. 1934, d. 1942;
 m. Edith Gaze, 1908, ret. 1934, d. 1955.
 Dr. Andrew Young,¹ d. 1923;
 m. Charlotte Murdoch, 1907, ret. 1923, d. 1947.
 E. F. Borst-Smith, res. 1931;
 m. Mary Borst, 1908, res. 1931.
 James Watson, ret. 1937, d. 1954;
 m. (i) E. M. Russell, 1908, d. 1936;
 (ii) J. K. Williamson, 1951.
 Miss Lucy Goodchild, ret. 1927, d. 1930.
 Miss K. M. Franklin, d. 1943.
 Miss F. Ward, res. 1913.
 Miss Mary A. Nelmes, m. Dr. G. A. Charter, 1909, res. 1920.
- 1906 A. J. Garnier, ret. 1939;
 m. Jessie Walter, 1910, ret. 1939.
 H. G. Witcher, res. 1914;
 m. Florence Wray, 1908, res. 1914.
 Dr. Harold Balme, res. 1927, d. 1953;
 m. Ruth Carr, 1910, res. 1927.
 H. T. Stonelake,¹ trans. to Jamaica, 1940, ret. 1942, d. 1956;
 m. Mrs. Helen Hodge, 1909, trans. to Jamaica, 1940, ret. 1942.
- 1907 S. Henderson Smith, res. 1928;
 m. Katherine Lane, 1910, res. 1928.
 Miss Annie Cumstock (Nurse), res. 1909.
 Dr. Paula Maier, m. H. J. Fairburn, 1910, res. 1917.
 Miss Katherine Lane (Nurse), m. S. Henderson Smith, 1910, res. 1928.
 Miss E. Weeks, res. 1911, d. 1953 (?), m. J. J. Heeren, American Presbyterian Mission.
- 1908 E. J. Ellison, d. 1923;
 m. Constance May, 1920, res. 1930.
 E. B. Greening, res. 1914.
 J. S. Harris, ret. 1948, d. 1956;
 m. Mabel Moore, 1911, ret. 1948.
 George W. Fisk, res. 1917;
 m. Florence Watson, 1907, res. 1917.
 Baron von Werthern (Dr.), res. 1912;
 m. Miss von Viebahn, 1908, res. 1912.

¹ Transferred from Congo.

LIST OF B.M.S. MISSIONARIES WHO SERVED IN CHINA 367

- 1908 H. R. Williamson, trans. to B.M.S. Headquarters, 1939, ret. 1951;
 m. Emily Stevens, 1910, China, 1909-38, ret. 1951.
 E. R. Fowles, res. 1926;
 m. Kate Shipley, 1910, res. 1926.
 J. Shields, ret. 1931;
 m. M. H. Green, 1912, ret. 1931.
 Miss Jessie Manger, ret. 1938, d. 1945.
 Miss F. M. Wood, ret. 1937.
 Miss Helen Watt (Nurse), m. T. Scollay, 1913, res. 1918.
 Miss Jessie Walter, m. A. J. Garnier, 1910, ret. 1939.
- 1909 Dr. John Lewis, d. 1916;
 m. Laura Nellie Turner, 1911, app. 1920, ret. 1948.
 P. D. Evans, res. 1912.
 H. J. Fairburn (Architect), res. 1917;
 m. Dr. Paula Maier, 1910, res. 1917.
 G. H. Perriam (Architect), res. 1917;
 m. Elizabeth Dennis, 1905, res. 1917.
 Miss Margaret Thomas, ret. 1946.
 Miss M. H. Green, ret. 1931, m. J. Shields, 1912.
 Dr. C. F. Robertson, d. 1913.
 William Mudd, ret. 1949, d. 1953;
 m. Charlotte Haworth, 1911, ret. 1949.
 Miss M. Logan (Nurse), ret. 1940.
 Miss E. R. Ellis (Nurse), m. A. G. Toone 1916, res. 1916.
 W. E. Comerford, res. 1917;
 m. Eleanor Jeter, 1914, res. 1917.
 A. R. Whitewright (Short term—Assistant).
- 1910 Dr. William Fleming, res. 1926, d. 1944;
 m. Euphemia Graham, 1913, res. 1926.
 H. H. Stanley
 Miss H. M. Turner, ret. 1933.
 Miss Ada Sowerby, res. 1926.
 Miss S. K. Olney, res. 1915.
- 1911 Miss E. A. Rossiter (Nurse), ret. 1946.
 Miss F. E. Coombs, d. 1940.
 H. Sutton-Smith,¹ d. 1917;
 m. Ethel Thursfield,¹ 1909, ret. 1917, d. 1945.
 Dr. John Jones, res. 1927;
 m. Anna Goddard, 1907, res. 1927.
 R. S. McHardy, res. 1928;
 m. Mary Wilson, 1915, res. 1928.

¹ Transferred from Congo.

368 LIST OF B.M.S. MISSIONARIES WHO SERVED IN CHINA

- 1911 Dr. T. Scollay, d. 1918;
 m. Helen Watt, 1913, res. 1918.
 F. W. Price, ret. 1947;
 m. May Nicolle, 1915, ret. 1947.
- 1912 Dr. T. Kirkwood, res. 1915;
 m. Essie Miller, 1906, res. 1915.
 Miss J. L. Smyth (Nurse), res. 1921.
 Miss A. M. Lewis, d. 1914.
- 1913 H. Carey Edmunds (Architect), res. 1915.
 A. G. Toone (Architect), res. 1916;
 m. E. R. Ellis, res. 1916.
 F. S. Russell, ret. 1949;
 m. Gertrude Thomas, 1915, ret. 1949.
 Miss C. Waddington, ret. 1947.
- 1914 W. P. Pailing, d. 1946;
 m. Muriel Coombs, 1916, ret. 1946.
 F. S. Drake, ret. 1952;
 m. (i) Dorothy Palmer, 1916, d. 1917;
 (ii) Dora Cracknell, 1930, ret. 1952.
 Dr. E. S. Sowerby, res. 1919.
 Miss Kate Kelsey, ret. 1934, d. 1954.
 Miss Priscilla Willis, res. 1927.
- 1915 Dr. G. K. Edwards, d. 1919;
 m. Ethel Chandler, 1915, res. 1919.
 S. C. Harrison, res. 1927;
 m. Emily Piggott, 1919, res. 1927.
- 1916 Miss G. E. Taylor (Nurse), res. 1918.
 Miss Ethel Pollard (Nurse), res. 1928.
 Miss G. Jaques (Nurse), d. 1941.
 Miss Elsie Beckingsale, res. 1927.
 Miss Dorothy Curtis, trans. to Ceylon, 1949, ret. 1954.
 Miss Constance May (Nurse), m. E. J. Ellison, 1920, res. 1930.
- 1918 F. H. B. Harmon, res. 1927;
 m. (i) Mary Hislop, 1910, d. 1927.
 Dr. E. R. Wheeler, res. 1930;
 m. Emily Meech, 1910, res. 1930.
 H. W. Burdett, ret. 1939;
 m. Ethel Jenkins, 1912, ret. 1939.
- 1919 Dr. R. K. Ford, res. 1922;
 m. Marion Davies, 1918, res. 1922.
 Dr. L. M. Ingle, res. 1940;
 m. Agnes Ferguson, 1921, res. 1940.

- 1919 Dr. Florence Edwards, res. 1927.
 Dr. Alec Lees, res. 1931;
 m. Elizabeth Evans, 1920, res. 1931.
 Miss Mary Pearson, ret. 1945.
 Miss M. L. Watson, res. 1924.
- 1920 Dr. C. I. Stockley, res. 1928;
 m. Martha Jaccard, 1920, res. 1928.
 Dr. S. E. Bethell, res. 1936;
 m. Edith Carr, 1916, res. 1936.
 Miss M. S. Walker (Nurse), res. 1933.
 Miss W. F. Cropley (Nurse), m. H. A. Emmott, 1925, d. 1947.
 Miss L. L. Dillow (Nurse), res. 1927.
 Miss M. G. Hawker, res. on marriage, 1924.
 Mrs. John Lewis (*née* Laura Nellie Turner, m. 1911-16), (served
 as single worker, 1909-11), ret. 1948.
 Miss A. S. Rogers (Nurse), res. 1928.
 Miss L. G. Smith (Nurse), res. 1924.
 Miss A. Smurthwaite (served in Ceylon, 1928-9), ret. 1950,
 m. H. A. Emmott, 1948.
 Miss F. M. Watson, ret. 1951.
 Miss F. Major (Nurse), ret. 1946.
- 1921 Dr. D. J. Evans, res. 1928;
 m. Mary Hancock, 1919, res. 1928.
 Miss F. H. Moore, res. 1924.
 H. H. Rowley, res. 1929;
 m. Gladys Shaw, before appointment, res. 1929.
 Miss Dora Cracknell, m. F. S. Drake, 1930, ret. 1952.
 Miss Maud Mary Northmore.
- 1922 Miss Emily Pentelow, ret. 1948.
 Henry William Flood, res. 1923.
- 1923 Miss E. L. Chapple, res. 1940.
 Miss J. K. Williamson, ret. 1951, m. J. Watson, 1951-54.
 Miss L. Haslop, m. G. A. Young, 1927, ret. 1952.
 Adam Black (Associate Missionary), ret. 1951;
 m. Marion Riddell, 1921, ret. 1951.
- 1924 L. T. Comber, trans. to Jamaica, 1928;
 m. Marguerite Nash, 1922, trans. to Jamaica, 1928.
 Dr. H. G. Stockley, ret. 1950, reapp. 1956, to India;
 m. Jean Menzies, 1927, ret. 1950, reapp. 1956 to India.
 Dr. Ruth M. Tait, ret. 1950.
 H. A. Emmott, ret. 1950;
 m. (i) W. F. Cropley, 1925, d. 1947;
 (ii) A. Smurthwaite, 1948, ret. 1950.

- 1924 A. K. Bryan, ret. 1950;
 m. C. M. Birrell, 1929, ret. 1950.
 G. A. Young, ret. 1952;
 m. L. Haslop, 1927, ret. 1952.
 E. L. Phillips, ret. 1951;
 m. Enid Gibbon, 1927, ret. 1951.
 Dr. Mary Ellison, m. Gordon King, 1927, res. 1940.
 Miss M. J. Weate, res. 1926.
 Miss B. Glasby, killed 1938.
 Miss C. M. Birrell,¹ ret. 1950, m. A. K. Bryan, 1929.
 Mrs. Donald Smith (*née* Christina A. Thompson, m. 1910-23),
 ret. 1947.
 Miss G. M. Hickson,² ret. 1947.
- 1925 Miss E. H. Holden, m. H. G. Wyatt, 1927, ret. 1938.
 Miss Grace Mann, killed 1928.
 Mrs. H. V. Wenham, res. 1928.
 R. H. P. Dart, ret. 1954;
 m. F. E. George, 1929, d. 1953.
 Dr. H. G. Wyatt, killed 1938;
 m. E. H. Holden, 1927, ret. 1938.
- 1926 Miss E. S. A. Wheal (Nurse), ret. 1949, d. 1957.
 Miss H. A. Stacey, res. 1936.
- 1927 Dr. Gordon King, res. 1940;
 m. Dr. Mary Ellison, 1927, res. 1940.
- 1928 Dr. Ellen M. Clow, trans. to B.M.S. Headquarters, 1948.
 Dr. W. S. Flowers, ret. 1949;
 m. Annie McLean Irvine, 1929, ret. 1949.
 Miss F. E. George (Nurse), m. R. H. P. Dart, 1929, d. 1953.
- 1929 Dr. James M. Clow, res. 1951;
 m. Dr. Elizabeth Jack, 1931, res. 1951.
 Miss M. A. McKinnon (Nurse), res. 1931.
 J. Cameron Scott, res. 1951;
 m. Caroline Prentice, 1931, res. 1951.
 Miss G. E. Goss, m. J. Henderson Smith, 1937, res. 1949.
- 1930 H. W. Spillett, served in Ceylon, 1938-45, returned to China
 1946, Hong Kong, 1953;
 m. Violet Smith, 1931, served in Ceylon, 1938-45, Hong
 Kong, 1953.
- 1931 Dr. C. V. Bloom, res. 1946;
 m. Beryl Horton Johnson, 1930, res. 1946.
 Miss C. M. Greening, m. T. W. Allen, 1934, trans. to Ceylon,
 1951, ret. 1956.

¹ Transferred from Congo.

- 1931 T. W. Allen, trans. to Ceylon, 1951, ret. 1956;
 m. C. M. Greening, 1934, trans. to Ceylon, 1951, ret. 1956.
 W. C. Bell, China to 1952, trans. to Trinidad, 1956;
 m. (i) Dora King, 1933, d. 1947;
 (ii) Eileen Wheatley, 1950, China to 1952, trans. to
 Trinidad, 1956.
- 1932 Miss B. S. Eagle (Nurse), res. 1936.
 A. L. Suter, trans. to Trinidad, 1952;
 m. Nellie Winkfield, 1934, trans. to Trinidad, 1952.
- 1933 Miss J. I. Bell, trans. to Pakistan, 1953.
 Miss S. M. Scott, res. 1938.
 G. F. Folkard, res. 1937;
 m. Mary Moffatt, 1935, res. 1937.
- 1934 Miss E. M. Down (Nurse), m. E. G. T. Madge, 1937, trans. to
 India, 1951.
 Miss W. Natten (Nurse), res. 1952, m. W. D. Gunn, 1939.
 V. E. W. Hayward, trans. to B.M.S. Headquarters, 1951;
 m. Eva Hayward, 1936, China to 1951.
- 1935 E. G. T. Madge, trans. to India, 1951;
 m. E. M. Down, 1937, trans. to India, 1951.
 J. Henderson Smith, res. 1949;
 m. G. E. Goss, 1937, res. 1949.
 Dr. R. J. Still, res. 1949;
 m. Gwyneth Johnson, 1935, res. 1949.
 W. S. Upchurch, res. 1952;
 m. Winifred Meakin, 1945, res. 1952.
 Miss N. K. Wright (Nurse), m. S. R. Dawson, 1939, res. 1946.
 Miss Mary Edith King, m. J. Mudd, 1942, res. 1952.
- 1936 W. G. D. Gunn, res. 1952;
 m. W. Natten, 1939, res. 1952.
 V. J. Jasper, res. 1946;
 m. Ceridwen Lloyd, 1937, res. 1946.
 J. C. Newton, res. 1955;
 m. Marjorie Belcham, 1938, res. 1955.
 S. R. Dawson, res. 1946;
 m. N. K. Wright, 1939, res. 1946.
 Miss Margaret Alice Killip, res. 1949.
- 1937 Miss J. M. Bain, res. 1940, m. L. E. Tomkinson, 1940.
- 1938 Miss Amy Jagger (Nurse), res. 1950.
 Dr. Margaret Winifred Jenkins, res. 1957.
 Dr. John Llewellyn Lewis, res. 1947;
 m. Georgina Menzie, 1939, res. 1947.
 Miss Edith May Maltby (Nurse), trans. to India, 1952.

- 1939 Arthur Barrington Light, res. 1946;
 m. Constance Williamson, 1940, res. 1946.
 John Mudd, res. 1952;
 m. Mary King, 1942, res. 1952.
 Brynmor Francis Price, trans. to India, 1950;
 m. Margaret Watson, 1939, trans. to India, 1950.
 Eric Sutton Smith, res. 1952.
- 1940 Arthur Chalmers Elder, trans. to Brazil, 1953;
 m. Kathleen Shuttleworth, 1940, trans. to Brazil, 1953.
 Miss Eileen Dorothy Wheatley, m. W. C. Bell, 1950, China to
 1952, trans. to Trinidad, 1956.
- 1943 Miss Wilma Orion Harkness, trans. to India, 1953.
 Dr. Stephen Lane Henderson Smith, trans. to Congo, 1951,
 res. 1955;
 m. Dorothy Morris, 1945, trans. to Congo, 1951, res. 1955.
 Miss Grace Hetty Stageman (Nurse), trans. to Headquarters,
 1953.
 James Sutton, trans. to Malaya, 1953;
 m. Edna Walters, 1944, trans. to Malaya, 1953.
- 1944 Edward George Collins, trans. to India, 1952;
 m. Margaret Wigner, 1945, trans. to India, 1952.
- 1945 Albert Edward Bastable, trans. to India, 1950;
 m. Joyce Gray, 1946, trans. to India, 1950.
- 1946 Dr. Olive Nancy Bywaters, res. 1952.
 Miss Betty Joan Cleaver (Nurse), res. 1949.
 Miss Vera Harrison, trans. to Angola, 1953.
 Miss Catherine M. Mackinnon, res. 1950.
 Peter Frederick Nelson, res. 1952;
 m. Helen Turner, 1950, res. 1952.
- 1947 David Richard Edwards, trans. to Pakistan, 1951;
 m. Melva Robinson, 1947, trans. to Pakistan, 1951.
 Percy Keyte Jenkins, res. 1953;
 m. Josephine Billings, 1949, res. 1953.
 Miss Gladys Mary Seymour, trans. to India, 1952.

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CHINA: SHOWING PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES AND PLACES WHERE B.M.S. MISSIONARIES SERVED