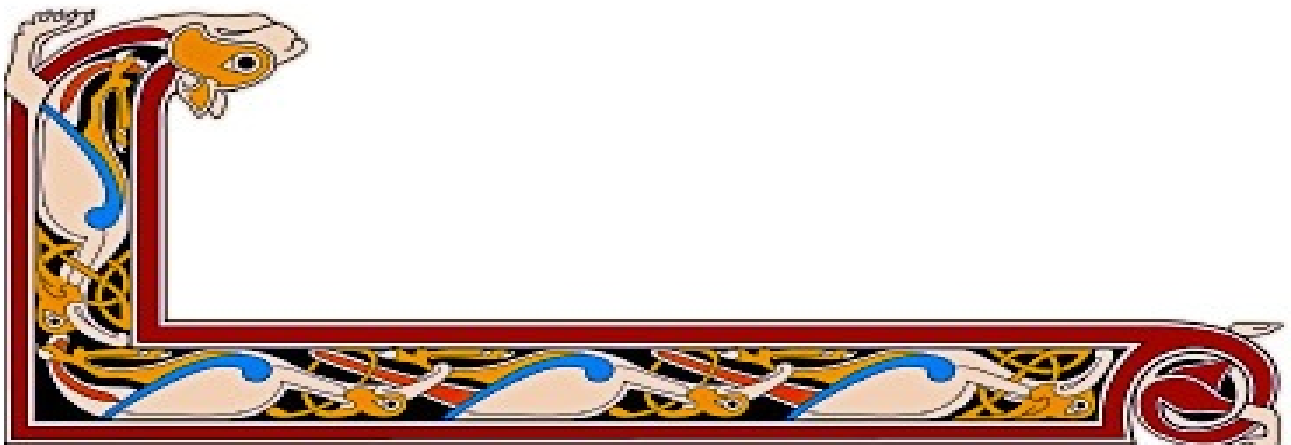


Part 3

THE BEGINNING.



3.1 *The Beginning of American Episcopal Foreign Missions.*

Kenneth Latourette, the originator of modern American Protestant missionary studies, stated that Protestant missionaries in China, including the members of the Episcopal Mission, came from the minority of Americans who were active church members who were in turn a minority of the total American population. While this collection is centred on the Episcopal Church and refers to other Protestant missions this does not minimise the extensive work of European Catholics over many centuries in China. Few American Catholic missionaries went abroad in the 19C.¹

The history of foreign missionary outreach of the Protestant Episcopal Church, following correspondence with the English Church Missionary Society (CMS) in the earliest years of the 19th century, reflects the emergence of a distinctive Episcopal foreign missionary program although the Episcopal Church had neither the funds nor the organization to support missionary work, even at home.² For most of the 19C Britain was the predominant missionary sending nation with the CMS the leading Anglican society—In 1870, for example, the Church Missionary Society supported 14 missionaries in China, while the Episcopal Church had just 4. The *Spirit of Missions*, the journal of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, included frequent extracts from CMS reports and publications, as well as from other American and British Protestant missionary societies.

England established a colony in Sierra Leone for Africans freed from slavery in 1787 where the CMS (and other British Protestant missions) were already active. Opponents of slavery and others who opposed the presence of Africans in the United States formed societies to promote the re-settlement of African-Americans in West Africa.³ The American Colonization Society and later a Maryland society established settlements in West Africa that became the independent country of Liberia in 1847.⁴ The journal, *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, became the popular voice

1 Latourette, Kenneth S., *Missionaries Abroad*, pp 21-30 in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol 368, Americans Abroad, November 1966, p. 22.

2. The appointment of the Rev. Francis Hanson, of Christ Church, Prince George's County, Maryland, was made on 23 March 1835, *Missionary Record etc*, Vol III No 5, May 1835, p 612. Hening, (Mrs) E. F., *History of the African Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church...* (New York, Stafford and Swords, 1850, p 14.

3 For a discussion of the role of the churches in Liberia see Grabill, Joseph L., the "Invisible" Missionary: A Study in American Foreign Relations," pp 93-105 in *Journal of Church and State*, Vol 14 No 1, 1971, pp 99 ff.

4 Information about the American Colonization Society is readily accessible through Google or Bing search engines. An example is online 1 January 2013 at—

<http://english.turkcebilgi.com/American+Colonization+Society>

A timeline of Liberian history at 1 January 2012 is at —

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/libhtml/liberia.html> See also http://www.nh-tems.com/documents/Cultural_Awareness/liberia_orientation.pdf

See also Milnor, James, "A Plea for the American Colonization Society" (New York, 1826). A reprint from Yale University Library (3 September 2010) is available from www.amazon.com.

of the movement in the United States.⁵ The underlying objective was not the evangelisation of African-Americans but their peaceful removal from the United States. Liberia became a major mission field for the Protestant Episcopal Church and the mission was regularly reported in *Spirit of Missions*. About 13,000 black Americans were sponsored by the American Colonization Society [full name—The Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America]. The number of African-Americans who chose Africa was very small—perhaps 200,000 free people by 1810.⁶ The estimate for the African-American population of the US in 1840 was around 3 million. There was little enthusiasm among African-Americans to be repatriated to Africa.

Four Episcopal ministers were associated with the American Colonization Society—the Rev. Samuel Bacon⁷, the Rev. Jehudi Ashmun,⁸ the Rev. Christian Wiltberger⁹ and the Rev. Joseph R. Andrus. Andrus arrived in Sierra Leone for the American Colonization Society on 9 March 1821 and died a year later.¹⁰ Although short lived, Andrus, who might otherwise have joined the CMS mission in Sri Lanka [Ceylon], inadvertently became, indirectly, the first foreign missionary of the Episcopal Church.¹¹

5 *The African Repository and Colonial Journal*, Vol II, 1827, pp 347-348. For an introduction to the American Colonization Society see online 1 January 2013 at—
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Colonization_Society
 On the British venture in Sierra Leone see online 1 January 2013 at—
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sierra_Leone_Company

6 Berlin, Ira, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*, (New York, Pantheon Books, 1974), pp 46-47.

7 Gurley, Ralph R., *Life of Jehudi Ashmun. Late Colonial Agent in Liberia*, (New York, Negro Universities Press, U969). Originally published 1835. Online Internet Archive. See also *The Historical Magazine*, 1863, p. 379.

8 Ashmun J[ehudi]., *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Rev. Samuel Bacon...* (Freeport NY, Books for Libraries Press, 1971). Originally published 1832. Online Internet Archive.

9 Born 10 November 1769, Philadelphia, died 16 October 1851, Philadelphia. Attended St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia. Accompanied a small group of African-Americans to "Liberia" 1819. Later Rector of St. Paul's Church, Rock Creek,

10 *The Missionary Register*, Vol 9, p 201 cites a letter from the Rev. W Johnson to the Church Missionary Society, London, dated 20 March 1821 stating that there were two Episcopal clergymen. The other minister was not named but it seems likely it was the Rev. Samuel Bacon. *The Washington Theological Repertory*, Vol. 3, 1821, p. 186 indicates that prior to his death Andrus was planning to return to the United States to enroll as a missionary "under the Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society..." Denison, S.D., *A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, (New York, Foreign Missions Committee of the Board of Missions, 1871), Ch. 1. Andrus was born in Addison County, Vermont 3 April 1791. Smith, H.P., *History of Addison County, Vermont*; (Syracuse, D. Mason & Co., 1886). Chapter 19: History of the Town of Cornwall, pp. 416-436. *The Christian Journal and Literary Register*, Vol VI No 2, February 1822, p. 64.

11 The conscience of American Episcopalians over the slavery question varied, with many Southern Episcopalians, including clergy, being slave-owners. After the Civil War, the Episcopal Church established the Freedman's Commission. See *Protestant Episcopal Freedman's Commission, Occasional Paper*, January 1866; online 1 January 2013 at— http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/misc/freedmans_commission1866.html

3.2 *The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church 1822.*



A constitution for the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was approved in 1822 after a false start in 1821.¹² Among the key figures in the Episcopal General Convention of 1822 were John Jay, later to be Secretary of State; Francis Key, author of the “*Star Spangled Banner*” and the **Rev. James Milnor** who was to become an advocate for foreign missions. Members of the Episcopal Church were told from the outset that any mission program had to deal with the expanding American domestic population as well as overseas outreach to the “heathen,” i.e., a domestic and foreign program.

While we represent in this important point of view the wants of the members of our own Church, we do not overlook the other branch of our trust; from which it may be gathered that the Convention contemplated the giving of a beginning to efforts, simultaneous with those of other denominations of Christians, for the extending of the light of the Gospel to the benighted heathen. There is no fact more remarkable on the face of the Bible than that the Gospel is to be preached to all nations; this having been announced by the Saviour in person, and by His apostles after His crucifixion. Judging from what we know of the course of Providence, operating through the intervention of second causes, we are led to conclude that these predictions will be fulfilled by human endeavors, under the government of Divine grace.¹³

Rhetoric exceeded achievement in the American Protestant missionary effort and matching the grand vision with “human endeavors” became an enduring challenge. The concept of missionary work, at home or abroad, remained the preoccupation of enthusiasts within churches supported by a minority of the population.¹⁴ The major effort, as indicated above, was directed to West Africa with a later extension into the Middle East and then China. A delegate of the society reported in 1822 that:

I have to regret that my success has not been so great as I had fondly hoped for, but still as great as, under existing circumstances, could have been reasonably anticipated. The formation of a Society for missionary purposes, whose operations are intended to be extensive, is a circumstance yet new to the Episcopalians of our country, and will require some considerable time to produce such a favorable impression as shall lead them to enter into the subject with a zeal and energy at all proportioned to the importance of the object.¹⁵

12 Denison op cit, pp 19-24. The Constitution and By-Laws were constantly amended down the years.

13 Denison op cit, p. 27.

14 Lin Mei-mei, *The Episcopal Missions in China, 1835-1900*, PhD (unpublished) University of Texas at Austin, May 1984. Dr. Lin kindly provided the author with a copy of her thesis.

15 Denison op cit, p. 37.

3.3 *The Rev. Augustus Foster Lyde.*

The creation of a China Mission by the Protestant Episcopal Church is credited to the **Rev. Augustus Foster Lyde**¹⁶ whose vision of a mission in China developed while he was studying for the Episcopal ministry at the General Theological Seminary (GTS) in New York. He enrolled in 1831 and graduated in 1834. A small group of students, including Lyde and **Henry Lockwood**, a mature age student, had formed a GTS Missionary Society in support of the Protestant Episcopal Church's Domestic and Foreign Missionary Board organized in October 1821.¹⁷ Lyde's contribution to the establishment of the PEC China Mission was described as follows:

In the spring of 1834, while travelling to Philadelphia, he met the Rev. Dr. James Milnor¹⁸ and the Hon. E. A. Newton, then on their way to Philadelphia to attend a meeting of "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" of our Church;¹⁹ and so earnestly did this young but even then almost death-struck man, present to the minds of these gentlemen his views as to the importance of establishing a mission to China, that at the meeting of the Society, on the 13th of May, the subject was formally brought before it by the Hon. Mr. Newton; and the next day, on motion of Dr. Milnor, China was designated as a missionary station of the Board.²⁰

The original motion, on 12 May 1834, envisaged a widely spread "mission in East and Southeast Asia—China, Cochin-China [today Vietnam] Siam [Thailand] or Burmah [Myanmar],"²¹ A revised

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- 16 Augustus Foster Lyde b. Wilmington, North Carolina, 4th February 1813. Died of consumption, Philadelphia, 19th November 1834, aged twenty-one years. Educated Trinity College, Hartford, graduating MA 1830. See *Calendar of Trinity College, Hartford, 1847*, Online 1 January 2013 at—
http://dspace.nitle.org/bitstream/handle/10090/7742/Trinity1847_cal.PDF?sequence=1
Bronson, W. W., *The Inscriptions in St. Peter's Churchyard, Philadelphia*. (Camden NJ, 1879). Inscription CXVIII, p. 84 — "When told that he must die, he wept and paced his room crying, "Can it be so? Shall I never be allowed to preach the Gospel in China?" Hotchin, S. F., *Early Clergy of Pennsylvania and Delaware*, (Philadelphia, 1890). Ch XII, St. Peter's Church, pp 134-135. Drane, R. B., *Sketch of St. James's Parish, Wilmington, N.C.*, (New York, J Hale, 1874), pp 40-41. See obituary in *The Churchman*, NY, 6 December 1834 and *The Episcopal Reader*, Philadelphia, 6 December 1834. *Wilmington Morning Star*, 2 February 1950, p 7 — See also *Buds of Spring. Poetical Remains of Augustus Foster Lyde*, Cambridge MA, 1838), p xix.
- 17 Denison, op cit, pp 220-233. Gray, Arthur R and Arthur M Sherman, *The Story of the Church in China*, New York, (The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, 1913), p 4.
- 18 See Part 1. Origin of the American Protestant Episcopal Foreign Missions.
- 19 Although almost universally known today as the Episcopal Church, the Canons and Constitution of the Episcopal Church (2006 state)—online 1 January 2013 at
http://www.episcopalarchives.org/e-archives/canons/CandC_FINAL_11.29.2006.pdf
CANON 3: Of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.
The Constitution of the said Society, which was incorporated by an act of the Legislature of the State of New York, as from time to time amended, is hereby amended and established so as to read as follows:
Constitution of The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America as established in 1821, and since amended at various times.
ARTICLE I This organization shall be called The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and shall be considered as comprehending all persons who are members of the Church
- 20 *Spirit of Missions*, 1836, p 271. On the origins of the PEC China Mission see *The Churchman*, 31 May 1835. Stevens, William Bacon, *A Man of God, Approved in Christ! A Sermon Commemorative of the Life of the Rt. Rev. William Jones Boone, D. D., Missionary Bishop to China, Preached in Calvary Church, New York, January 29, 1865*. Philadelphia, Sherman and Co, Printers.
- 21 Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America,

motion was put the following day to concentrate on China.²² In October 1834, a few weeks before his death, Lyde wrote a farewell letter to the GTS Missionary Society.

Brethren of the Missionary Society.

It matters little to me that my personal connexion with the Association has been dissolved; that I no longer appear in your midst when you meet in pursuance of your glorious objects. I am, and will ever be to the end of life, a member of the Missionary Association in heart.

It is well known to all or most of you that I had determined, by the help of God, to preach the Gospel to the heathen in China; but God in his infinite wisdom has seen fit to dispose it otherwise, and has removed the probability of my preaching the Gospel to Christian or heathen. I do not address you then in levity or inconsiderateness, but in the calm expectation of death.²³

Gravestone of Rev. Augustus Francis Lyde.



An Historical Sketch of the China Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. (New York, The Society, 1893, 3rd Edition)—hereafter cited as *PEC Historical Sketch*. See also Richmond, Annette, *The American Episcopal Church in China*, (New York, The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Board of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1907), p 1.

22 Denison op cit, p 220.

23 Buds of Spring. Poetical Remains of Augustus Foster Lyde, (Cambridge MA, 1838), p xxvii-xxx.

Denison's history of the workings of the PEC Foreign Mission Committee made this observation about Lyde stating that it was:

A previous privilege here to record the following tribute to the memory of Augustus Foster Lyde, whose short life was full of beauty—who gave up his whole being to the service of God our Saviour, and moreover, whose consecration, by every act that was possible to himself, for the cause of MISSIONS IN CHINA was, by God's blessing, the beginning of that work.²⁴

Lyde was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, Philadelphia.²⁵ The Rt. Rev. William Stevens wrote:

In the churchyard of St. Peter's, Philadelphia is a plain marble slab, with this inscription "Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Augustus Foster Lyde, a Deacon of the P. E. C. in the U. S., who was born in Wilmington, N. C., Feb. 4, 1813, and died in the city of Philadelphia, Nov. 19, 1834. It was in his heart to preach the Gospel to the Chinese, and for this service he had offered himself to God and the Church; but it pleased his Heavenly Father to call him early home, and he died aged 21. Patient, cheerful, victorious through the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ." Under that marble slab lies the real founder of the Chinese mission!²⁶

The Rev. Henry Lockwood, deaconed²⁷ with Lyde, was appointed as the first Episcopal missionary to China on 14 July 1834. At the request of the Foreign Committee Lockwood undertook a medical course to prepare him for missionary work although he was later to conclude that trying to combine the role of doctor and clergyman in a foreign mission was impracticable.²⁸

On 23 March 1835 the Rev. Francis R. Hanson, a graduate of the Episcopal Seminary [Virginia Theological Seminary] in Alexandria [then in the District of Columbia], rector of Christ Church, Prince George's County, Maryland, was also appointed to the China Mission.²⁹

The two men visited New York in May 1836 to stimulate interest and collect funds to support the new mission. The *Episcopal Recorder* published the following report.

MISSIONARY MEETING IN NEW YORK.

Messrs Lockwood and *Hanson*, who have been appointed by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society missionaries to China, have been recently acting as agents in its behalf in New York. They have been cordially welcomed in that city... In the course of a few days nearly \$1500 were subscribed for its support. Of this amount, \$1000 was from two individuals, and of course a much larger amount is to be expected from the large number interested in the object, who have not yet had an opportunity to contribute...

24 Denison, op cit, p. 222.

25 The grave is located in Section B, Plot 118. St Peter's Church recently celebrated 250 years of service.

26 Stevens, William Bacon, "Commemorate Discourse" in *Commemorative Commemorations of the Consecration of Bishop White and Bishop Provoost*, Transcribed by Wayne Kempton, Archivist and Historiographer of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, 2008. Online Project Canterbury, 1 January 2013 at— <http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/wbstevens/centennial1887.html>,

27 There are three levels of ordained ministry in the Anglican/Episcopal churches—deacon, priest and bishop. Lyde died before being priested.

28 Richmond, op cit, p 2. See also An historical sketch of the China mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. : from the first appointments in 1834 to include the year 1892. (New York, Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1892), p. 7.

29 Historical Sketch, op cit, p.7. By the outbreak of the American Civil War, eighteen Episcopal clergymen had gone to China of whom sixteen were graduates of the Virginia Theological Seminary. Cohen, Lucy M, *Chinese in the Post Civil War South: A People Without a History*, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1984), p 11.

A meeting was hold in the Church of the Ascension in New York... The Church was crowded to a degree never known in any previous meeting of Episcopalians in the city for the promotion of foreign missions.³⁰

In anticipation of his imminent death, Lyde made visits to churches and seminaries including Virginia Theological Seminary, where a young lawyer turned theological student was deeply moved by Lyde's address. The student was William Jones Boone, transformed from abstract Episcopalianism³¹ to active Christian faith during an 1830 evangelistic campaign in Beaufort conducted within the framework of the Second Great Awakening. There is a story of the impact of Lyde on Boone.

When a student in the Theological Seminary he was one evening walking back and forth in his room, with his hands behind him, as was his custom, and talking most earnestly about going to work in China, when his room-mate said to him: 'But you can't go, China isn't open. It isn't possible.' He turned and stood still. 'Pinckney,' he said, 'if by going to China and staying there the whole term of my natural life I could but oil the hinges of the door so that the next man who comes would be able to go in, I would be glad to go!' ³²

In February 1866, the *Spirit of Missions*, journal of the Episcopal Board of Missions, republished the following account of a Delegate Meeting of the Board of Missions held in Troy, New York.

It was about thirty years ago that our present missionary system was formed, with an outburst of missionary zeal and feeling which he hoped might in some measure be rekindled now. We should strive for some of that higher kind of devotion which made St. Paul ever willing to become accursed for the sake of his brethren according to the flesh. Special mention ought to be made of one whose name was seldom heard at such meetings as this, Mr. Lyde, who, on reading the letters of Gutzlaff concerning China, became deeply interested, and spent a large portion of his nights in prayer after others were asleep. He was a young man of brilliant talents, and had the brightest prospects here at home; yet he gave himself up to this work, and communications written by him (but without his name), and published in the missionary periodical of the time, showed how deep and earnest was his devotion. He graduated in 1834, from the Seminary, and was ordained a deacon by the Bishop of Connecticut: but he was never to preach the Gospel by word of mouth either to heathen or Christian: for immediately after his ordination he was taken sick, languished from June to November, and then died, having never preached his first sermon. He lies buried, with an appropriate epitaph, in St. Peter's churchyard, Philadelphia. He should himself never forget Lyde's last address to the students of the General Theological Seminary, in which he asked their prayers that he might go and be of some use to the perishing millions of heathens in China. Yes: Augustus Foster Lyde might be truly said to have prayed the Chinese Mission into existence: and nine devoted missionaries of the Church had since died in that field. Two years after Lyde's death, in 1837, Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Boone devoted himself to the work there.³³

The Foreign Committee issued a characteristic appeal for support for the China mission in the face of the characteristic lack of interest from Episcopalians.

The degree of interest hitherto manifested in this undertaking, is far from being encouraging to those already engaged in it. But *one* Missionary has as yet been obtained, and the funds hitherto received are but as a *mite*, compared with the importance of the object. Although nearly eight months have elapsed since the Society determined to establish a Mission in China, very little more than \$500 have been

30 *The Missionary Record*, Vol III No 6, June 1865, pp 106-107.

31 Boone, Muriel, *The Seed of the Church in China*, (Edinburgh, The Saint Andrew Press, 1975), pp 47-48. Hereafter cited as Boone 1959.

32 Pott, Rev. F. L. Hawks, "Life of Bishop Boone, Sr.," *Chinese Recorder*, Vol 43. March 1912, p. 156.

33 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 31 No 2, February 1866, pp 186.

contributed towards the success of this enterprise.³⁴

The financial shortfall, and a lack of volunteers, remained a barrier to the China mission.

The Executive Committee are desirous that the Missionaries to China should embark for their field of labour early in the ensuing summer. We regret, however, to state, that the funds as yet received in aid of this undertaking, fall *very far short* of what its expenses require...In this emergency, what is to be done? Shall this interesting and highly important enterprise be abandoned at the very threshold?

34 *Missionary Record*, Vol III No 2, February 1835, p. 29.

3.4 *Thinking About China, 1834.*

In 1834, the Episcopal Mission resolved that the foreign missionary effort should include China and the **Rev. Henry Lockwood** was appointed. The minutes recorded:

That the Missionaries, for some time at least, be altogether itinerants.

That the Missionaries, for the present, be unmarried men.

That the Missionaries be required to pursue medical studies for a period of not less than six months, in this city.

Early in the month of September, Mr. Lockwood arrived in this city, and commenced his medical studies under the direction of Drs. Morris and Wiltbank. In addition to the instruction received from these gentlemen, Mr. L. enjoyed the privilege of daily attending the lectures of the Medical Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Faculty of the Medical Institute.

From the date of Mr. Lockwood's appointment to the month of February, 1835, the efforts of the Committee to obtain another Missionary were ineffectual. At this period, however, the good providence of God opened a door for the accomplishment of this object. The Rev. Francis R. Hanson, Rector of Christ Church, Prince George county, Md., feeling it to be his duty to engage in the Foreign Missionary enterprise, offered himself to the Committee for the Mission to China, and was accepted by them on the 23d of March.³⁵

The first major Episcopal report on China was published in February 1835.

CHINA.

Few, if any plans of modern date, that have been presented to the enterprise and benevolence of Christians, can equal in magnitude and interest the plan of evangelizing China. Whether we consider the immense extent of its territory, its densely crowded and overflowing population, or the habits and condition of the people, the view is full of great and stirring subjects of reflection to every Christian and philanthropist. The course of events within the present century, seems to indicate that the time before determined in the divine counsels is now not very far distant, when this vast empire, containing according to the best authorities 350,000,000, or more than one-third of the entire population of our globe, so long presenting the singular phenomenon of a nation comparatively enlightened and polished, almost entirely secluded from the knowledge and intercourse of the rest of mankind, and an entire stranger to the blessings of Christianity, shall at length be made to partake of its saving influences. Its language has been successfully studied and elucidated; the Bible has been translated, and religious tracts written; great improvements are making in the art of printing; and missionaries are beginning to penetrate its hitherto supposed inaccessible territories. What effect so important and glorious a change, as these things indicate, is destined to produce on the religious as well as civil and secular interests of the western hemisphere, it is impossible to tell; but that in all respects it must be of very great value, cannot be questioned. It will be adding, for all the purposes of civil and social and commercial life, a world almost equal to that at present possessed. Only let the Gospel be sent into China, with all its attendant blessings—freeing her from the shackles of superstition and prejudice—transforming her into an enlightened and virtuous nation—and diffusing the spirit of universal benevolence and love; and who can tell the treasures that she shall send back in return to reward her benefactors?

But much is to be done before results like these can be realized. Thousands of Bibles are to be printed; millions of Tracts are to be furnished; Missionaries are to be sent out and supported in distributing them through every part of the country; in following up as far as possible their effects, by their own instruction and counsel and care, in establishing schools and colleges for instructing the young, and preparing teachers and pastors from among the natives themselves. All this has, for the most part, yet to be commenced; and to carry it out to its full extent, all the means with which God has endowed his people for subduing the nations of the earth to his dominion, will be called into requisition. Already the voice from those distant and long-neglected shores has reached our ears, proclaiming that the time is at hand,

35 The appointment of the Rev. Francis Hanson, of Christ Church, Prince George's County, Maryland, was made on 23 March 1835, *Missionary Record*, Vol III No 5, May 1835, p 61, Denison op cit, p. 269.

that the way of the Lord is prepared, and railing upon each individual to inquire the kind and degree of assistance he is required to give to this great and holy cause. Our General Missionary Society has heard and repeated the cry. In obedience to her part of the duty, she has presented to her constituents the work they are called upon to perform, and offers herself as the instrument by which to effect it. She urges the necessity, the importance, the unavoidable obligation of immediate and vigorous action. She lays before them the wants of millions living and dying in ignorance of the true God and eternal life, and waits for the means of administering to their necessities. Shall she wait in vain? Must neglect and discouragement paralyse this effort of our Society to send the Gospel of Christ where it has never been heard? Are Christians ready to say they care not though the heathen perish in his blindness, that they heed not the solemn command and will of their Redeemer and Lord, whose blood was freely poured out for the wretched idolater as well as for themselves?

The degree of interest hitherto manifested in this undertaking, is far from being encouraging to those already engaged in it. But one Missionary has as yet been obtained, and the funds hitherto received are but as a mite, compared with the importance of the object. Although nearly eight months have elapsed since the Society determined to establish a Mission in China, very little more than \$500 have been contributed towards the success of this enterprise. Can this statement be heard without emotion? Can it be, that the Episcopal Church in the United States shall ineffectually endeavour to plant one Mission on a Pagan soil? To the members of our Zion it belongs to answer these questions. And we hope that all who are concerned in the decision, will weigh candidly and in the fear of God, their responsibilities, and faithfully and promptly discharge them. H. L.³⁶

An important step in energising Episcopalians was a lengthy article outlining the history of Protestant missionary work in China.

CHINA.

In the annexed article will be found the information respecting Dr. Morrison and his invaluable services in China, which was promised in our last number.

LABOUR OF PROTESTANTS FOR THE EVANGELIZATION OF CHINA.

When the Churches in England, during the latter part of the last century, aroused from that indifference with which they had hitherto seen millions of their fellow-creatures dying in idolatry, they also turned their attention toward China. The choice of the directors of the London Missionary Society fell upon the Rev. (now Dr.) Morrison, who had studied in Hoxton Academy, with a view to the ministry at home; but being fully convinced of the deplorable state of the heathen world, he was willing to go to any quarter of the globe where the Gospel was not yet known. With this view he entered the missionary seminary at Gosport. After having obtained a Latin Chinese Dictionary, and 'the Harmony of the Four Gospels' in Chinese, from the British Museum, he sailed in 1807, by way of America, for Canton, accompanied by the prayers of thousands.³⁷ He landed in the September of the same year at Macao, and created a good deal of suspicion among the Romish clergy. In Canton he lived during that season in a godown [warehouse], where he studied, ate, and slept. He let his nails grow, that they might be like those of the Chinese, wore a tail, and became an adept in the use of chopsticks. In the factory he walked about in a Chinese frock, and wore Chinese shoes. But seeing that his wish to conform to the prejudices of the natives had not the desired effect of conciliating their affection, he abandoned their costume and dressed like a European. Very soon afterward he was introduced to Sir George Staunton, a member of the British factory, and became by his means acquainted with Mr. Roberts, the chief. As it was Mr. Morrison's principal object to translate the Scriptures into Chinese, Mr. Roberts, on his death-bed, remarked: 'I see not why your translating the sacred Scriptures into the Chinese language might not be avowed, if occasion called for it. We (the members of the factory) could with reason answer the Chinese thus:—'This volume we deem the best of books.'

The arrival of some troops from Bengal, in 1808, in order to garrison Macao, put him under the necessity of leaving Canton. He had, during all this time, studied Chinese, both the Canton and mandarin

36 *Missionary Record*. Vol III No 1, January 1835, pp 28-29.

37 The British East India Company was not prepared to carry Morrison to China against the wishes of the Chinese Government. Morrison chose an American ship to avoid the EIC ban.

dialects, and even offered up his private prayers to the Almighty in that language. Shortly afterward he was nominated Chinese translator to the British factory, which situation greatly facilitated the accomplishment of his views. He now began to have, on Sunday, a religious meeting at his house with some few Chinese, highly delighted at the feeble beginnings in so great a work. Having ascertained that a copy of the Acts of the Apostles, which he had brought out with him, was perfectly intelligible, he printed it, and completed also a Chinese grammar, with the Gospel of St Luke, in 1810-11. Thus he went on gradually, and printed the New Testament in parts, till the British and Foreign Bible Society voted three hundred pounds toward the translating, printing, and circulating the sacred Scriptures in China.—Dr. Morrison endeavoured to imitate in the translation the most approved works of the Chinese, but could not introduce the style of the classics, which is too concise, and without commentaries, unintelligible to the natives themselves. During the years 1813 and 1814, he undertook the instruction of four orphan boys, both in their native language and the principles of Christianity. As the Chinese prize education, and have made literary acquirements the road to office, the establishment of schools has since proved very beneficial to the promotion of Christianity.

In 1813, the London Missionary Society sent Dr. Morrison a worthy and indefatigable fellow-labourer, in the Rev. Wm. (afterward Dr.) Milne. He landed at Macao, but was ordered away by the governor. He therefore went to Canton, where he could remain and study the Chinese language, without being disturbed by the Chinese government. Dr. Morrison had in the meanwhile written several tracts upon the doctrines of Christianity. By the perusal of one, 'The Redemption of the World,' a wretch, who had formerly been a Roman Catholic, was reclaimed from his vicious life. He had also the great satisfaction of giving the New Testament to the largest nation of the world in their own language. In this work he had been greatly assisted by a manuscript translation of the Acts, and some of Paul's epistles.

To carry on the work with more success, Mr. Milne went in the following year to Batavia, where many thousand settlers, principally from Fuh-keen [Fukien Province], had fixed their abode. On board of the vessel which conveyed him, he found several hundreds of Chinese emigrants, to whom he gave the New Testament. He also touched at Banca, which is almost entirely peopled by the Chinese miners, and distributed among them several copies of tracts and of the Scriptures. On his arrival at Batavia, he was received in a friendly manner by a Dutch minister and another missionary, who laboured among the Malays. Gov. Raffles³⁸ viewed every judicious attempt to spread the knowledge of Christianity as tending to improve the state of civil society, and to render government prosperous and stable.—Hence he furnished Mr. Milne with the means of travelling, at the expense of government, through the interior and eastern parts of the island; and proposed to afford him facilities for visiting Pontianak, Sam-bas, and Banjermassin, on the island of Borneo, where many myriads of Chinese are settled; but this proposal could not be carried into execution, on account of the wars which shortly afterward broke out. However, Mr. Milne made arrangements to furnish those settlements with tracts. He also visited the island of Madura, and spread throughout the whole of Java many thousand tracts and New Testaments. It is possible, he remarks, that some of them may have been destroyed, some of them neglected, some of them never read, some of them old for gain, and some parts of them only imperfectly understood; yet he was not discouraged by any of these considerations, for he thought if one tenth, yea one hundredth part, should, in the course of a century to come, answer the great end proposed, the heavy expense which the Christian public had been at, in preparing, printing, and circulating them, would be more than amply repaid. On his return he visited Malacca, and spread there the knowledge of Divine truth; while he provided Rhio [Riau], Bintang, Tringano [Trengganu], and Siak with Christian tracts.

When he arrived at Macao, a second edition of the New Testament was published in a more portable form; and in 1815, the first Chinese convert, **Tsae-a-ko**, was baptized. His written confession respecting himself is as follows:

Jesus, making atonement for us, is the blessed sound. Language and thought are both inadequate to exhaust the gracious and admirable goodness of Jesus; and I rely on his merits to obtain the remission of sin. I have sins and defects; and without faith in Jesus for the remission of sin, should be eternally miserable. Now that we have heard of the forgiveness of sins through Jesus, we ought, with all our hearts, to rely on his merits. He who does not do so is not a good man. I by no means rely upon my own goodness. When I reflect, and question myself, I perceive that from childhood

38 Stamford Raffles was the British governor during the occupation of the Dutch East India. Raffles later established the British Colony of Singapore.

till now I have had no strength, no merit, no learning. Till this, my twenty-seventh year, I have done nothing to answer to the goodness of God in giving me existence in this world as a human being. I have not recompensed the kindness of my parents, my relations, my friends. Shall I repine, shall I hope in my good deeds? I entirely call upon God the Father, and rely upon God for the remission of sin. I also always pray to God to confer upon me the Holy Spirit.

Nearly at the same time, two other persons, the one a teacher of the Chinese language, and the other a writer, who had both attended Dr. Morrison's instructions, gave such an account of their views of Christianity as would in the eyes of most Christians have justified their being baptized; but it was thought better to be backward, and err on this side of caution, rather than on that of haste in dispensing baptism."—Gutzlaff's History of China.³⁹

"IS CHINA OPEN TO THE GOSPEL?"

We copy the following spirited appeal from the "Missionary Chronicle," an able and interesting work, published monthly in London."

"Is China open to the Gospel? If it be not, then more than three hundred millions, or one-third of the human race, are placed beyond the reach of the wide and warm sympathies of the living Church of the living God! Is this likely? His spiritual life must be at a low ebb who can take it for granted that China is 'hermetically sealed.' Father, forgive all who have repeated this insult against the Gospel commission! they knew not what they said; they durst not have said so in plain terms—that the girdling and guarded wall of China is as impassable as 'the great gulf fixed between hell and heaven. Any tongue which would try to say that, would cleave to the roof of the mouth. No Christian audience would allow any man to translate the *chemical* phrase into Scriptural English; for it implies that China is as much impaled from hope as hell itself.—Where is the difference if we 'cannot pass to them;' this is just the position of all in heaven towards all in hell, and as that is the final position of the Church, it cannot be her present position to the world.

Is, then, China open to the Gospel? What do you mean by 'open?' It is certainly not open in the same sense as the presidencies of India, the tribes of Africa, and the islands of the Pacific. It is not open as the three continents were to the first missionaries of the cross. But it is not shut, it never was shut entirely, it never can be 'hermetically sealed.' He who hath the keys of David, set before his Church an open door, which no man can shut, into all nations, when he commanded her to preach the Gospel unto all nations. The emperors of China have indeed tried to shut it, and declared it shut; and we, alas, have believed it to be so. They never believed their own pretences—they never could have believed them, except during the pauses of Asiatic enterprise and ambition. *Protestants alone* have been weak enough to believe Chinese pretences. The Buddhists of the first century found the door open enough for their idolatry, and the Nestorians of the seventh century for their heresy, and the Mohammedans of the eighth century for their Koran, and the Papists of the thirteenth century for their mass. Thus, wherever 'Inveniam viam aut faciam' has been the maxim of any sect or system, they have scaled the imperial walls, and penetrated far enough into the celestial empire to prove that neither were impassable. It was not indeed for such missions that Christ opened or kept open the door of China; but he permitted them to enter in succession, in order to prove to his own Church that no man could shut any door which 'the keys of the house of David' had once opened. Look at this historical fact, and be ashamed, and mourn and weep for the Church. She has believed the devil rather than God, in regard to China. Alas, she does so still; she does not intend this, nor is she exactly aware of it, but both her speech and her actions 'bewray' [archaic usage] her unbelief.—Even her champions continue yet to speak as men hoping against hope; and, as might be expected, when standard bearers thus hesitate and falter, she is heartless...

Ignorance has been one great cause of your apathy hitherto; accordingly, at the times of this ignorance God has winked. But now the darkness is past; Gutzlaff has proclaimed to Europe and America, that no country in Asia ruled by native princes is so easy of access as China.⁴⁰

39 *Missionary Record*, Vol 1 No IV, April 1835, pp 64-66.

22. Gutzlaff, Karl F. A., *The journal of two voyages along the coast of China, 1831, & 1832, the first in a Chinese junk, the second in the British ship Lord Amherst : with notices of Siam, Corea, and the Locohoo Islands, and remarks on the policy, religion, etc., of China.* (New York, Haven, 1833.) ... A sketch of Chinese history, ancient and modern; comprising a retrospect of the foreign intercourse and trade with China. (London, Smith Elder, 1834.)

The people fairly robbed me of my books and tracts; I intend to make a voyage through the whole of central China, up to Thibet and Bengal, a matter as practicable as a voyage from Rhio to Batavia.

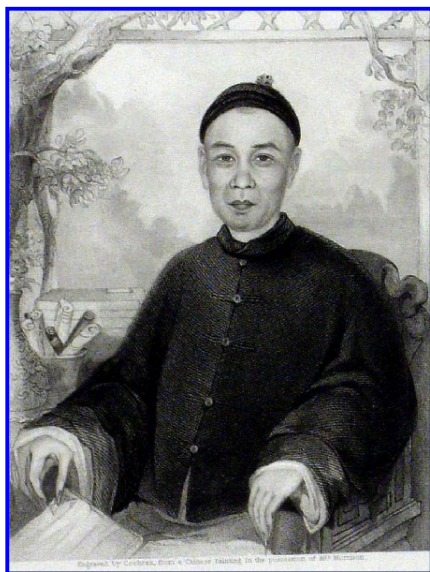
Well might one of the missionaries, Medhurst, say,

If we had known this twenty years ago, how many fruitless experiments and endless expenditures might have been spared; for, instead of spending strength and resources in small contracted spheres in the Malayan archipelago, amongst a few thousand emigrants, we might have gone directly to China, and travelled through the length and breadth of the land, distributing the word of life, and proclaiming spiritual freedom to millions. But even now it is not too late to retrieve what has been lost, if labourers abroad, and the Churches at home, awake to a sense of their duty.

Why are not these facts pealed from pulpit to pulpit, until, like thunder in an amphitheatre of mountains, all the Churches reverberate the cry, 'China is open—let us go in and possess the land!' ... America has begun the work: she remembers that the Jesuits sent the very flower of their army to conquer China for the Pope, and she is pledging the flower of her 'noble army' of missionaries to attempt its conquest for Christ. Two of them are already in the field; and what is their opinion of the enterprise? They frankly confess that it is perilous, that they have no security from the government for safety or continuance, that they may even peril the lives of the natives by trying to convert them, and thus be themselves stigmatized as murderers; thus they weigh consequences, but they add—'the experiment will be made.' This view of the case is not at variance with Gutzlaff's. They wrote, be it remembered, under the meridian of Canton, where the laws are most rigid, and the police strong; whereas, Gutzlaff speaks of central China, and the principal northern parts, and there the empire is as open to missionaries as to merchants. Will, then, the former be less enterprising than the latter? God forbid, and let all the people say Amen, Amen."(From the Sunday-School Journal.)⁴¹

MEMOIR OF THE CONVERTED CHINESE, LEANG AFA.⁴²

Afa is now in the 47th year of his age, and has maintained a consistent Christian character for eighteen years.



He was born about seventy miles from Canton; went to school at the age of eleven, but the poverty of his parents soon obliged him to leave his studies and seek a livelihood, by cutting blocks for printing Chinese books. This business he pursued in Canton and in neighbouring villages, and upon the arrival of Dr. Milne, in 1813, he was employed as printer to the mission at Malacca. It was at this time that he first began to think of his condition as a moral and accountable being. While sitting alone, waiting for the time of embarking, he thus thought with himself—

I am now twenty-seven years old; from the age of nineteen, when I had learned my trade, to the present time, I have had no fixed residence, have associated only with worthless friends and companions, and all the money which I have earned has been wasted by intemperance and gambling. I have not done the least thing that is good, and how can I be esteemed a human being? Now that I am about to go to Malacca, why not renounce my worthless friends; and when I shall have arrived at that place, cease to follow my former wicked practices and become a good man?

While his mind was occupied with these thoughts, the time came for him to leave Canton. Accordingly, in company with Le, who was to go with Milne as teacher of the Chinese language, he started for Malacca; but the ship in which they were to embark had already sailed; they tarried therefore

41 *Missionary Record*, Vol 1 No IV, April 1835, pp 67-68.

42 Leang Afa (Liang A Fa) is a significant figure in the early history of Protestant Christianity in China. He was the collaborator of the Rev. William Milne in the writing and publication of one of the most widely distributed Chinese-language tracts, "The Two Friends." 2 million copies, at least, of this tract is believed to have been published and disseminated. It is mentioned several times in this collection. An 1892 printing is included in the Appendices. His obituary appears in *The Missionary Register for 1855*, (Church Missionary Society), (London, Seeley, Jackston & Halliday, 1855), p. 411.

about two months with Milne in the house of Dr. Morrison. During that time Dr. Milne took frequent opportunities to converse with him, and importuned him to read the holy Scriptures and to worship the living God.

I was surprised,' says he,' and thought it exceedingly strange that he should wish me to do this; and I was much displeased; there was no other way, however, but to comply with his wishes.'

In 1815, he accompanied Dr. Milne to Malacca, and lived a year in his house. At the end of that period, in a review of his character, he says,

I was thoroughly convinced that I was a sinner, but knew not how to obtain the pardon of my transgressions.'

He determined to reform, and 'become a good man,' and twice a month burnt incense and made long prayers to various idols, but found no radical change in his conduct.

Dr. Milne, in the mean time, was constant in maintaining family prayer, with the reading of the Scriptures every night and morning, and also public worship every Sabbath day; but though I read the words of the Bible, and heard him explain their meaning, yet I did not understand the sense of the one, or comprehend the reasoning of the other. Though I yielded in some measure to the wishes of Dr. Milne, yet I disliked exceedingly to read the Bible and worship God; and as I saw that he used no gilt paper, incense, candles or images, I could not comprehend what kind of deity he worshipped, and therefore I did not wish to join with him.

At this time he went to reside in another house. One object of this change was to avoid the admonitions of Dr. Milne, but in this he was disappointed.

Dr. Milne still insisted upon it that all the members of his household should assemble morning and evening to read the Bible and worship God; and though I daily heard him speak of the death of Jesus, and the atonement which he had made for the sins of the world, his words only reached my ear, they did not touch my heart; my thoughts were occupied with other things. Sometimes I would meditate on the doctrines of the Bible, but I could not understand them; again I would listen carefully to Dr. Milne's expositions of Christianity, but I was unable clearly to comprehend the subject; my heart rose in opposition against the new religion, and I wished to hear nothing more about it.

The enmity of his heart at this time was very great, and induced him, when among his companions, to rail at both Dr. Milne and the doctrines which he inculcated. In his perplexity he took counsel of a Budha [Buddha] priest, and commenced, according to his prescription, the recitation of a thousand million pages (by repetition) of a book which he gave him, and which was to ensure his future happiness. After pursuing this course for some time, he perceived the folly of expecting pardon for sin without a consistent life, and abandoned Budha [sic] in disgust.

He now for the first time was willing to listen to the preaching of the Gospel.—Whenever he had opportunity he seized his Bible and read it with interest, and noticed particularly those passages which were levelled most directly against his own evil and wicked practices, lying, deception, and against the worshipping of idols and false gods. Thus he began to understand the meaning of the holy Scriptures, and to see and feel the extent and force of their requirements. The death and sufferings of Jesus deeply affected his mind. The Bible, which he now knew was true, carried conviction to his heart, and he began to understand something of the way in which sins could be forgiven. He found delight in hallowing the Sabbath day, and in joining in the worship of the most high God, and in reading and studying his holy word. When he found difficult passages, which he could not understand, he used to go with them to Dr. Milne, who, not less in accordance with the prompting of his own heart, than with the new desires of Afa, discoursed fully to him concerning the character of the living and true God—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,—the immortality of the soul, and the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishment. As his knowledge increased, he became more and more thoroughly convinced of being a sinner, and sought more and more earnestly to know the way of salvation and redemption by Jesus Christ. He was now about 28 years of age, and having embraced Christianity, was, after a proper interval of instruction and probation, received into the Church in 1816.

After continuing in Malacca four years, he returned to China, and was greatly moved by the idolatry and blindness of his family and friends. For their benefit he wrote a small tract, embodying a few of the plainest texts of Scripture suitable to their condition; but just as the tracts were ready for distribution, the

police seized them and him, destroyed the blocks and the copies he had printed, and threw him into prison, from which he was released through the influence of Dr. Morrison, after receiving a violent beating and paying a fine.

After spending forty days more with his relations, he spent another year in Malacca, and then returned, and became the instrument of the conversion of his wife. He now began to prepare himself for the ministry, studying with Dr. Milne until his death in 1822, then for two or three years with Dr. Morrison, at the end of which time he was ordained as a preacher. From that time to the present, about ten years, he has employed his whole time in making and circulating Christian books, and proclaiming the Gospel in other ways, as he has found opportunity. During the five months ending in March last, he distributed in Canton and adjacent villages, more than 15,000 tracts.⁴³

The enthusiastic promotion of a China Mission did not arouse much enthusiasm or financial support from the members of the Episcopal Church. There were many appeals for increased giving by parishes and individuals to mission funds over subsequent years. In May 1835, the Executive Committee of the Episcopal Board of Missions (prior to the creation of separate foreign and domestic committees), stated:

MISSION TO THE CHINESE.

The Executive Committee are desirous that the Missionaries to China should embark for their field of labour early in the ensuing summer. We regret, however, to state, that the funds as yet received in aid of this undertaking, fall very far short of what its expenses require. More than *treble* the amount which has been contributed, is absolutely necessary to justify a commencement of the Mission.

In this emergency, what is to be done? Shall this interesting and highly important enterprise be abandoned at the very threshold? Shall those devoted ministers of God who are willing to sacrifice their personal comforts and convenience and to peril their very lives for the benefit of their fellow-men in China, be told that the Church is not prepared to sustain them in this holy work? Shall the wants of the millions in that land of moral desolation be disregarded, and the command of the Saviour, "Go preach my Gospel to every creature," waste itself, as though it had been addressed to the lifeless tenants of the grave? We trust not. We cannot bring ourselves to the conclusion, that Episcopalians are prepared for so mortifying and painful an issue? We *must* believe, that it has been any thing save indifference to the designs of the Society respecting China, that has kept back from its treasury the offerings of the Church. And, *however un-propitious at present may be the prospect*, we still will entertain the hope which has long been cherished in our breast, that our Missionaries shall not only be enabled, at the appointed time, to proceed unimpeded on their way, but that when arrived at their destination, their every effort for the diffusion of the light of divine truth where idolatry superstition and vice now triumphantly reign, will be fully and permanently sustained by the pious liberality of the Church.

Christian friends, shall we be disappointed in these expectations? Contemplate, we beseech you, for a moment, the spiritual wretchedness and degradation of our brethren the Chinese. Reflect upon the eagerness, as described by Gutzlaff, of these ignorant and unhappy beings to possess themselves of the word of eternal life. Listen to the spirit-stirring appeal of that man of God to Christian ministers in Europe and America for assistance in the arduous course of duty to which he has devoted himself. Let the fact come up before you with all its force and in all its loveliness, that two of those who minister at our own altars have solemnly resolved to answer this call, and are now anxiously awaiting the hour which will bear them away from home and kindred. And when you have done all this, then let it be determined, whether your love to Christ and those for whom he died, will not constrain you to do something towards the planting of our first Mission on a Pagan soil.

Many into whose hands this paper will come, are able to appropriate much in behalf of this object. *All can in some way* advance its interests. And we hesitate not to say, that none who call themselves the friends of Missions, should think they have done their duty until they have furthered the cause according

43 *Missionary Record*, Vol 1 No IV, April 1835, pp 68-69. The Leang family prospered through the skills of Leang Afa.

to the ability wherewith God has blessed them.⁴⁴



Karl [Charles] Gutzlaff was a major influence on Euro-American attitudes towards China.⁴⁵ The Episcopal Church's foreign mission advocates drew on his many publications to support their appeals for the China mission.

The Episcopal Board of Missions reprinted an article from the American Home Missionary Society journal, *The Home Missionary*.

The attention of our Church being at this time particularly directed to China, we deem it important to give in the present number, the whole of the following interesting letter from the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff. It was addressed to the Rev. Dr. Reed, of London, and dated Canton, March, 1834. From the Home Missionary.

Canton, March, 1834.

My dear Friend—I think you will be anxious to hear about my further proceedings, therefore you ought not to get tired with a large journal.

Labourers heeded.—12th November, 1833.—Received orders to embark for Fakien [Fukien]. My last stay at Canton had proved very beneficial. As the work of evangelizing China has greatly increased, the expenses are in equal proportion. I was, therefore, anxious to consolidate my connexion with an association now forming in England and America, for the express purpose of benefiting the Chinese Empire.⁴⁶ One of the number, a man very enthusiastic and firm in the promotion of the good cause, was at Canton; with him I conferred; he gave immediate assistance, and powerfully advocated the cause. A Scottish gentleman promised to furnish the steamboat which will be required to penetrate the central part of China—Keangsoo, Gowkwang, Flookwang, Tyechuen-ad, Yunnan, to its western frontiers. I engaged, at the time, some scientific English gentlemen to take a part in the enterprise, and gained a few advocates of the holy cause in Bengal; but nothing delighted me so much as the readiness of a Chinese bookseller, who carries on an extensive trade in all sorts of books, to circulate the divine oracles with all our religious and scientific productions, throughout the vast empire. If God graciously bestow life and health, I shall follow up this plan immediately after my return; but what increased sums will henceforth be required! Yet the Almighty has hitherto furnished the means, and to Him I look for further assistance.

I have suffered more than ever before for want of a coadjutor. I have been obliged to neglect many important things which are indispensably necessary in order to carry on the work with vigour. Alas! I have not yet done the least for Chinese families; but this ought to come next in rotation.

Demand for Bibles.—On the 15th, I embarked (at Canton) with the kind-hearted captain. We weighed anchor; and, after much tacking, arrived two days afterward at Tactom. Here I opened my treasures. The demand for the Word of Life, throughout the hostile neighbourhood of Canton, was very great. We spent a dismal day; and were afterwards prevented, by wind and tide, from proceeding much in our intended voyage.

It is only by incessant labour that a work, now of such magnitude, can be carried on. In vain have I tried to substitute others; the most important business has been often neglected, and I have had to commence afresh. My situation is, humanly speaking, forlorn; but with the help of my all-merciful

44 *Missionary Register*, Vol III No 5, May 1835, pp 81-82.

45 See online 1 January 2013 at— http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Gutzlaff

46 Gutzlaff refers to the Chinese Evangelization Society which had a chequered history. The CES was designed to use Chinese as colporteurs, distributing Christian literature. There is an extensive literature on Gutzlaff's vision and achievements. Lutz, Jessie G., *Opening China: Karl F. A. Gutzlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827-1852*, (Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2007, 2008). See also Lutz, Jessie G., "Karl F. A. Gutzlaff: Missionary Entrepreneur", pp 61-87 in Barnett Suzanne Wilson and Faribank, John King (eds.), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985). Lutz, Jessie G., "The Grand Illusion: Karl Gutzlaff and Popularization of China Missions in the United States in the 1830s", pp 46-77 on Neils, Patricia, (ed.), *United States Attitudes and Policies toward China. The Impact of American Missionaries*, (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1990)

Saviour, I shall again rally my strength; around me is an innumerable nation, to whom God has granted access; before me a crown of glory—behind me, former mercies in long array. I am encouraged to persevere. Oh! that the end may be glorious!

Female Education.—I am much struck with our Anglo-Chinese female friends. How zealous have they been in the cause of Malacca. I laud their endeavours there, but cannot applaud their apathy in promoting the Gospel among their own sex in China itself; a more extensive sphere of usefulness will never be exhibited. I have been obliged, for want of help, to stop my negotiations for the promotion of female education in CheKeang; this is a matter of grief to my heart. Idle complaints will benefit you very little, and therefore I shall pursue my journal.

Eagerness for Books.—In the channel of Formosa we met with very hard blowing weather. I arrived, however, at my parish, near Haoa, on Sunday, December 1. God lie praised for all his mercies. My sphere of operation here extends round a bay, thirty miles in circuit. Though the country is hilly, and exceedingly barren, it is nevertheless well inhabited by fishermen, sailors, and merchants. The population I may pronounce the wildest and most degraded in my extensive route. It is now three times I have visited this place within the course of one year. When I go amongst the inhabitants, I generally take a few thousand books, tracts, and Scriptures with me. When I am still very far off from the villages, the crowd collect and seize upon the books like vultures. In vain have I tried to reprove their impetuosity; they want the books, and as I am come to distribute them gratuitously, the books they will have. Within a few moments there is not one volume left, and then I am at leisure to turn my attention to the bodily wants of these eager applicants. Half the community is generally sick with various diseases, and it requires a great deal of exertion to satisfy all demands. In one village, which I had never visited before, as it is inhabited by ruffians, I entered without waiting for the bearers of the books to come up. I was very soon met by four men, who told me plainly, if I had brought no books I should not be permitted to enter. Not heeding this harsh language, a sudden cry from the bearers roused me; they had seized upon the whole, and more than fifty men were dividing the spoil. Remonstrances were fruitless. I exposed this brutal behaviour, and received a polite message from three literary gentlemen, accompanied by some of their books, and a few presents, in order to assuage my wrath.

Strong Missionaries Wanted.—Incessant labour at home, stormy weather, and other accidents, often prevent my making the usual circuits. I had to-day planned an extensive ramble, and appeared well prepared in front of a borough, but the surf was so high, that I found it impossible to land. To my great regret I have therefore to withdraw without having effected any thing, after six hours of hard toil, whilst the people on shore waited for me with extreme eagerness. At other times, I have been thoroughly drenched with salt water, and waded through the surf; yet these are things not worth mentioning; I humbly hope that these poor wretches will be benefitted by my visits. The God of all grace will carry on his own work, and fructify the seed so abundantly sown. If I should have a voice in choosing your missionaries to China, I should say, never send feeble-hearted men to this province; we want some iron characters, who can face dangers and bear with fatigue. Though we are in lat. 25, the climate is very bracing, so that we are not apprehensive of getting the liver complaint; but we are all as ruddy as if we were living in the Highlands of Scotland.

Condition of the People.—The people are, in general, badly off for clothing, as well as for food. Much of their suffering arises from their being in a state of semi-barbarism. The houses, built of stone, are extremely filthy; for the Chinese ladies, though generally neat in their persons, pay not the least regard to true comfort, and a snug home. You look in vain for furniture; a small form or stool, and perhaps a table, are luxuries; the floor is not paved, but mere mud, exhibiting all the varieties of hill and dale. The little urchins, who are everywhere extremely numerous, consider mud their element, and themselves very well situated. These remarks, however, principally apply to the villages of this district; the capital has very neat buildings, and the inhabitants are well dressed; but though the common people are in such a low state of civilization, they are very shrewd, possessing a great share of common sense, and if they were well educated, would yield to few in ability. Oh that the glorious Gospel may run and have free course, that they may be emancipated from the slavery of Satan. Mr. Tomlin very kindly forwarded me a large investment of choice books, printed at Malacca. I pray God that I may be enabled to circulate them all, and unless I be immediately recalled, I shall be enabled to do so.

Bible-ship from America.—12th January.—Time is on the wing; the last year is past. It was full of trials; O, may this year be accompanied by more extensive blessings! Yet the recollection of past mercies

cheers my heart; I rejoice that about 100,000 Christian books have been circulated in China. Though there are hitherto no signs of the overthrow of heathenism, I trust in the Almighty Saviour that he will do his gracious work. Anew I have consecrated myself to his service; gladly would I pour a million of books into this vast empire, during this year, if I had the means and opportunity to do so. Our American friends have already taken into consideration the sending out of a vessel, in order to go along the whole coast, for the express purpose of circulating Christian tracts and Bibles, whilst the Cis-Atlantic public will continue to tell us that China is inaccessible.

Distribution of Books.—We landed, on a boisterous morning, at Takut, a trading place; the coast was lined by the populace, expecting a large grant of books. Three considerable boxes of the inestimable treasure of the Word of God were distributed to these eager people. Thus the Malacca books, an immense stock, have vanished. At this time we espied a brig; it was the long expected Fairy, from Liverpool, the swiftest craft in these seas. As the Canton owners are my friends, they promised that I should make occasional tours in her, and therefore I proposed, at her return, a trip to Formosa. She brought in a large stock of books from **Mr. Medhurst** and **Dr. Morrison**. Wishing to circulate them as soon as possible, I took my road in the direction of the capital, Tsuen-choo-foo. Here I met with a gentler race; at least willing to wait till I had offered them the tracts. Never did I distribute so many at once as at Potoa. Severe weather prevented my further operations; but as soon as I shall be permitted to cruize about, I intend, with the help of God, to make fresh excursions.

New Tracts.—Having commenced the series of tracts for this year, I subjoin a list: 1st., 'Eternal truth ; or, Letters from Fuhkeen men abroad to their families at home;' the contrasts are the great leading doctrines of the Gospel, compared with heathenism in all its bearings; this will be about 200 pages. 2dly. 'The Holy Trinity in a sententious style. 3dly. 'The Life of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ;' in the style of historical narrative. 4thly. 'History of the Jews till our times,' wherein I hope to imitate the Chinese histories. The first will very soon be in print. To defray the expenses will fall to my share; for this, and a hundred other things, I just look up to the Lord. In the literary department I have to perform a very difficult task, and to conciliate the interests of many. If God, however, grant health and vigour of mind, work is a real pleasure.

Medicines.—I have used a great quantity of medicines amongst a population eaten up with disease. An independent American gentleman has made grants of drugs to a large amount, and continues to prove my benefactor. My Dutch friends, who are now quite reconciled with my projects, have sent out a fresh investment, so that there still remains a large stock in hand.

TOO MUCH CAUTION BAD POLICY. *Afat* carries on the great work with vigour. In pursuing a cautious line of conduct we have all been foiled ; and I hope that this method of Christianizing China will be entirely discarded.

The Cbiidren.—**Lam Kea, January 23.**—Still I am on my adventurous tour in a district adjacent to Tang-oa, of which the mandarins declare me to be a native. This is rather a happy coincidence, for I became a naturalized citizen of the same place. The people are here far superior to those I left. On my first visit, they hailed me with great joy, which was considerably heightened by the large presents of books I made them. Their dwellings are comfortable though very irregularly built, and they dress well. When I saw the multitudes carrying away the bread of life, my eye was uplifted to the Saviour, that he might feed them with the food he promises in the Gospel of St. John, 6th ch. The little boys constituted a third part of the population we saw, whilst the bashful girls scarcely dared to peep out in order to show their pale faces to the strangers. Their lot is here exceedingly direful; the greater part of their sex is murdered shortly after their birth, and in few districts is **female infanticide** carried to so great an extent.⁴⁷

47 Fukien (Fujian Province) has a long history of female infanticide, with statistics over the 19th and 20th centuries reporting that as many as half of all female children were killed before reaching one year of age. An Australian woman missionary, Nellie Saunders, wrote to her mother: "There was one man near Ku Cheong [Kucheng] who had several girls one after another, and no boys. They threw them all away as they arrived—poor little wretches!—threw them out on the hillside to die; but when the fourth little girl arrived on the scene, this model father destroyed the poor baby in a most cruel manner, saying triumphantly to the evil spirit, which was supposed to have possessed each of these girl children. 'There now, will you come back any more?' Berry, Digby Marsh, *The sister martyrs of Ku Cheng Memoir and letters of Eleanor and Elizabeth Saunders*, (Melbourne. Melville, Mullen and Slade, and London, James Nisbet & Co. 1895), p. 128. Lydia Mary Fay of the Episcopal Mission wrote: "Infanticide is fearfully prevalent in China, although there are some localities where it

China open to Missionaries.—How many schools must you establish to instruct these myriads of children in the principles of Christianity, and especially to enfranchise the softer sex! If you saw these multitudes, you would for a while forget Malacca. China is a living bee-hive, with a population increasing at the rate of 14 per cent, within ten years, notwithstanding the horrible custom of infanticide. I raise my heart in steadfast hope to the gracious Redeemer, that the glorious work of converting these immense numbers, now feebly begun, may be carried on until its glorious accomplishment. Consider this not as a common-place observation; it is a deep-felt conviction, an earnest and constant subject and theme of my prayers, and it is the concentration of all my wishes. The coast of China is full of bays, harbours, and rivers, which, at the opening of the trade, will become the rendezvous of your countrymen. It is less known than the inhospitable shores of Labrador, and I have therefore requested most earnestly one of your statesmen to send out a vessel to survey the whole. Courageous missionaries will be able to establish themselves in every part where British ships may find access. There spheres will be amongst millions who live in the immediate neighbourhood of the emporiums: they will not need to pursue a system of timid precaution, but with Christian wisdom announce to these multitudes the blessed Saviour. Before this reaches you, measures will perhaps have been taken by your government to insure a free trade to all the ports. I do not trust in an arm of flesh, but upon an all-wise Saviour, who will open a wide and effectual door for his Gospel; but I merely mention this to rouse you at this eventful crisis to earnest prayers and vigorous exertions. Believe me, with all the specious arguments which you use in your reports, that China is inaccessible, you will not fill up the breaches which have been made in the wall of separation by an omnipotent hand. God reigneth, and he loudly proclaims to the Chinese by his word, 'Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' How much do I regret to have no advocate of this holy cause from your country! Your Secretary, Mr. Ellis, sympathizes with me, thinking that I have returned from Siam, and am spending these days of sickness at Singapore, whilst another gentleman asks me whether I meant China Proper! Now, only think, all the while I am many thousands of miles from Singapore, with the inestimable blessing of health, in China Proper, roaming about in a space of ground almost equal in extent to the whole coast of Europe. I should not have mentioned this, if it were not my desire to prevent all misunderstanding, and to reassure you that China Proper is becoming the largest of all our Protestant missionary spheres.

Rush for Books.—Ying-Ling, Feb. 2.—A fever attacked me on a sudden, and made me extremely wretched for several days. When I began to recover, by the mighty help of God, the *Fairy* made her appearance. It having been left to my option to sail in her to Canton, and from thence to Malacca, or to go over to Formosa with another vessel, I considered it my duty to choose the latter. All the regions of our wide missionary sphere must be explored again and again; and I should rather forego very thing, even a visit to my dear Malacca friends, than neglect such an opportunity. Before, however, we could enter upon this new expedition, we had to visit other places in Fokien. It was a fine day when we started, a great rarity during this season. The inhabitants, never having seen an European, crowded in large numbers around me, still uncertain whether I was not a Chinaman in disguise. How eagerly they grasped the books, of which I had taken with me about two thousand volumes! When the crowd increased, one man requested me to stand out and expound the new doctrines, and assisted with a stentorian voice to repeat what I had said. Today, we went to an emporium built upon solid rock, in a most barren spot, but the inhabitants are wealthy on account of the great trade they carry on. The throng of people here was immense; they rushed with violence upon a box of books which I had with me, and when this was empty, which was in a few minutes, they continually demanded more. Whilst pacing the streets, I had to endure the taunts of the populace for not having brought off a larger supply. Having administered to their bodily infirmities, I withdrew from an immense crowd with the humble prayer that God might bestow his blessing upon the reading of the Divine Word, in which a great part of the inhabitants were engaged when I left them. The store is now exhausted. At my renewed visit at Ying-Ling, a large borough on the declivity of a hill, I had to answer the many applicants: 'I have no more.' More books than we used to circulate at all our Chinese missionary stations, have been sent forth in Fokien during a few months; but this is like a drop in a sea. Those who follow me will be astonished at the multitude for whom they have to provide Christian instruction; they will wonder that the most extensive sphere in Asia has been neglected so long without any cause :—they will rally their strength, and carry on the glorious work without ceasing. God will pour down from on high his divine grace, and convert and revive a nation

is not practised. This is true of the northern provinces, but there are others where not more than one or two girls in a household are endured." *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 37 No 3, March 1872, p 577.

hitherto unborn. Such are my fondest hopes, and I shall not be disappointed, having founded them upon the Rock of Ages.

21st March.—I am just now returned, but have no more time to write. May the Lord bless you and your dear children. Your unworthy,
C. GUTZLAFF.⁴⁸

The departure of Lockwood and Hanson was heralded by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society as the dawn of a new era in Episcopal missionary engagement.

From the facts which have now been placed before our readers, it is evident, we think, that a new era has dawned upon our Church and a period commenced in her history which is well calculated to inspire the breast of Episcopalians with lively gratitude and joy. Who, six months ago, would have believed that before the close of the present year, two Episcopal missionaries would be on their way to plant the standard of the cross on a Pagan soil? Yet such is the heart-cheering fact. And we doubt not, from communications which have recently been made to us by students in the Theological Seminaries at New-York and Alexandria, that ere another twelve month shall have elapsed, many others will be seen going forth from our communion into every quarter of the globe, with the glad tidings of salvation. We feel authorized to state that there are at least nine of our brethren at these Institutions who have not only decided on connecting themselves with the foreign missionary enterprise, but are, at this moment, diligently preparing themselves for those extensive fields of usefulness which China, Greece and Africa hold out to the devoted missionary. Surely these are considerations in which all who rejoice in the spread of divine truth will see much that is encouraging, and which should call forth from every heart sincere thankfulness and praise to the gracious Dispenser of all good. Let us then see to it that we be duly affected by the glorious prospects which are beginning to unfold themselves before our eyes. And while we rejoice in the present and contemplated efforts of our Church in behalf of a perishing world, let us not forget to seek, by ardent and persevering supplication, God's blessing upon them all. Especially should we remember in our closets, and at our family altars, those beloved missionaries who have just left our shores to tell to China's sons and daughters the story of a Saviour's love. Earnestly did these dear brethren solicit an interest in the prayers of their fellow Churchmen, and even with tears entreat that this, their last request, might not be forgotten. Let us then be careful that we do not come short of our duty towards them in this particular. Let our petitions in their behalf daily ascend to heaven. Let us pray that God's spirit may be poured out upon them from on high—that an effectual door of usefulness may be opened unto them—that the hearts of multitudes may be prepared to welcome their message—that they may be preserved from sickness and persecution and dangers—that they may be armed with faith and patience, clothed with humility, endued with meekness and wisdom, and made of one heart and one soul; and that their converts may be as the "willows by the water courses," and in number like the sands on the ocean's shore.

We have every reason to believe that our missionaries will, in all good conscience, discharge the arduous duties connected with the work which lies before them. Be it ours, therefore, faithfully to cooperate with them by every means in our power. Then may we with confidence expect that God will prosper their undertaking, and that through their instrumentality, the wilderness of China will yet become a fruitful field, and her deserts "bud and blossom as the rose."⁴⁹

In 1835 the Episcopal Church reviewed its missionary management arrangements reflecting growing concern that Episcopalians were showing little enthusiasm for missionary efforts and, incidentally, the missions work was proving too much for one Secretary. There was a strong condemnation of the "coldness and indifference of a large proportion" of the clergy.⁵⁰

48 *The Home Missionary*, (American Home Missionary Society, New York), Vol VII No 12, April 1, 1835, pp 205-209. *Missionary Record*, Vol III No 5, May 1835, pp 82-86. A letter from Gutzlaff dated 20 December 1834 provided an account of a visit to Formosa (Taiwan) with similar content to that cited above. *Missionary Record*, Vol 111 No 6, June 1835, pp 109-110; Vol III No 7, July 1835, pp 124-125; Vol III no 8, August 1835, pp 141-142;

49 *Missionary Record*, Vol III No 7, July 1835, p. 117.

50 *Missionary Record*, Vol III No 8, August 1835, pp 129-130.

3.5 PEC Board of Missions and Committees for Domestic and Foreign Missions.

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Board of Missions was held in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. The following minute was recorded on the 21 August:

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Doane, on behalf of the Committee, appointed to consider and report whether any, and what measures should be adopted, for the more efficient organization of the Society, and the future conduct of its concerns, presented the following Report:

The Committee appointed by the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, at their late Special Meeting, to consider and report "**Whether any, and what, measures should be adopted for the more efficient organization of this Society, and the future conduct of its concerns,**" unanimously present the following Report as the result of their most serious consideration. They do not profess to give the reasons for the several measures which they propose, believing that these will be fully and most forcibly suggested in the discussions of the Board. They do not attempt the full detail of necessary arrangements, inasmuch as these must be dependent on the ultimate course which the Board may adopt. All that they now propose is to present fundamental principles; the immediate adoption of which, they respectfully, yet most earnestly, recommend.

In the first place, then, after the most mature deliberation, and much conference with the friends of the Society from various parts of the Church, they are decidedly of the opinion, that the best interests of religion and of man, **require an immediate and extensive change** in the mode in which the Church has hitherto discharged the great Missionary trust, committed to her by the Divine Saviour, "to preach the Gospel unto every creature.

As the mode of operations which they propose to substitute for that which has hitherto prevailed, the Committee unanimously recommend that the Church herself, in dependence on her divine Head, and for the promotion of his glory, undertake and carry on in her character as the Church, and as "the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," the work of Christian Missions; for the accomplishment of which purpose, they recommend the following alterations in the Constitution:

- I. That the General Convention, as the representative of the whole Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States, be the constituted organ for the prosecution of this work.
- II. That at the present meeting of the General Convention there be elected, by a concurrent vote, on the nomination of a joint Committee of the two houses, a Board of thirty members, to be called "the **Board of Missions** of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," to which shall be entrusted, in the recess of the General Convention, the supervision of the General Missionary operations of the Church; with power, during such recess, to fill any vacancies in their number which may occur. Of this Board, the Committee recommend,
 - 1, That all the Bishops shall be ex-officio members.
 2. That the presiding Bishop shall be the President, and that at all its meetings, in the absence of the presiding Bishop, the senior Bishop present shall preside. In the absence of the Bishops, the Board shall elect a President pro tempore.
 3. That such persons as, by the payment of money, are now members of the Board of Directors of the Society, shall be members of the Board of Missions, it being understood that this privilege is not to be extended, but to cease with those who now enjoy it.
- III. The Board of Missions shall meet annually...for the transaction of such business as shall be committed to it; and shall also meet in the week preceding the meeting of the General Convention, and at its place of meeting, for the purpose of preparing the triennial report to the Convention. A Special Meeting of the Board may be called in such way as shall be provided hereafter. Ten members shall form a quorum.
- IV. The Board shall have power to make by-laws for its own government, and for the government of its

Committees.

V. The Board, as soon as may be after it has been constituted, shall proceed to appoint seven persons as a **Committee for Domestic Missions**, and seven other persons as a **Committee for Foreign Missions**. The Bishops shall be ex-officio members of both Committees. When vacancies occur in either of the Committees, during the recess of the Board, they may be filled by the Committees respectively, subject to the approval of the Board at its next meeting.

1. To the Committees of the Board thus constituted, shall be referred, in their respective fields, the whole executive administration of the General Missionary department of the Church, subject to the provisions of the Board; the Committee to make reports of all their proceedings to the Board of Missions, at its Annual Meeting.

2. The Committee for Domestic Missions shall meet weekly in the city of New York, and the Committee for Foreign Missions shall meet weekly in the city of Philadelphia. Each Committee, besides such other officers and agents as they may deem proper, (to all of whom they shall be authorized to pay suitable salaries,) shall appoint a Secretary and General Agent, who shall be the Executive Officer of the Committee, and ex-officio a member, to collect information, to conduct its correspondence, to devise and recommend plans of operation, and, in general, to execute all the purposes of the Board in his respective sphere, submitting all his measures before their adoption to the Committee by whom he is appointed, for their approval or disapproval.

In connexion with this outline of fundamental provisions, the Committee unanimously recommend the following as general principles for the direction of the Board.

I. The Missionary field is always to be regarded as one, THE WORLD—the terms Domestic and Foreign, being understood as terms of locality, adopted for convenience. Domestic Missions are those which are exercised within, and foreign Missions are those which are exercised without, the territory of the United States.

II. The appeal of the Church through the Board for the support of Missions, is made expressly to all baptized persons, as such, and on the ground of their baptismal vows.

III. The reliance of the Church for carrying on its Missionary plans beyond the direct operation of the Board, and its Committees, and their officers, is mainly on the parochial organization, each parish being regarded as a Missionary Association, and its Pastor as the Agent of the Board, for Jesus' sake. It is not designed by any thing which is here said, to discourage existing Missionary Associations.

IV. It is especially recommended that the contributions of the members of the Church to the support of Missions be made, so far as may be convenient, upon some plan of systematic charity, that their permanent continuance may be the more relied on. There is of course no discouragement of any other acts of benevolence to which the Lord may move the hearts of his people in this most holy cause.

V. In addition to the general agencies constituted by the Board, local agents may from time to time be appointed by either of the Committees, who shall consider themselves especially instructed to avoid all appearance of competition between the Domestic and Foreign operations of the Board, and also to encourage the support of Missions upon Christian principles, by the conviction of the judgment and engagement of the affections, rather than by special appeals to local interests or transient excitements.

The Committee desire to call attention in an especial manner to the **subject of a Missionary paper** in the Church. Should the proposed organization be adopted, they would recommend that its establishment and direction be committed to the Board of Missions—that it be edited under their direction for the promotion of the whole object contemplated by their Constitution, and committed respectively to the two Committees for Domestic and Foreign Missions. Such a periodical, conducted with discretion and ability, and imbued with the true and abiding fervour of the Missionary spirit, would be received with avidity, would attain at once to a large circulation, would yield a handsome profit to the Board, and, with the blessing of the Divine and Holy Spirit, would do incalculable good.

The Committee are anxious to be understood that they do not present this as a full report, but rather as an outline of the plan which they propose. Should its principles be adopted by the Board, they are capable of being commended to the Church, the Committee confidently believe, by arguments which cannot be set aside. In conclusion, they invoke for the Directors and for the Society, in the consideration of this great subject, and in the prosecution of their whole momentous work, the guidance and protection of Him,

who has promised to be with his own Missionary Society, the Apostolical Church, "always, even unto the end of the world."

All which is respectfully submitted by the Committee, George W. Doane, Charles P. McIlvaine, James Milnor, J. P. K. Henshaw, Jackson Kemper, Frederick Beasley, A. C Magruder.⁵¹

The recommendation was endorsed by the General Convention. The Rev. James Milnor served as Secretary of the Foreign Committee in 1835-1836.⁵² By 1837, the Foreign Committee had settled upon four mission fields—Greece and the revival of the Orthodox tradition (to save, not wing; to deliver and repair, not add); the Islamic world; China; and Africa (with peculiar claims upon Americans).⁵³

51 *Missionary Record*, Vol III No 9, September 1835, pp 151-152. The minutes of the meeting of the new Board of Missions held in Philadelphia will be found in the *Missionary Record*, Vol III No 9, September 1835, pp 161-164.

52 In accepting appointment as the first Secretary of the Foreign Committee, James Milnor retained his connection with St. George's Church. An explanation of the arrangement is provided in the *Missionary Record*. Vol III No 11, November 1835, pp 189-190.

53 Emery, Julia C, *A Century of Endeavor 1821-1921*, (New York, The Department of Missions, 1921), pp 87-91.

3.6 *Ecclesiological Trends in the Protestant Episcopal Church.*

Underlying discussions about missionary matters in the Episcopal Church “flowed a current strong and deep” that influenced Anglican missionary approaches in all the English-speaking countries of the 19th century.⁵⁴ Two broad schools of thought —“Low” and “High” church— were in constant tension within the Anglican and Protestant traditions of the Episcopal Church and within the Church of England. Put simply, the “High” church preferred formal liturgical worship while the “Low” were less formal, although both movements followed the Book of Common Prayer. Over time, the “high” church school, later linked with the Anglo-Catholic movement although probably better viewed as a parallel vision that ultimately outlived Anglo-Catholicism, became the dominant “broad church” viewpoint of the Episcopal Church in America, marked most obviously by the dropping of the word “Protestant” in the nomenclature of the Episcopal Church and a distinct preference for clergy dress and worship practices reflective of ‘catholic’ Christianity.⁵⁵

The “ritualist” movement, as it is also identified, also had an effect in foreign missionary work. In England, the “high” tradition tended to be linked with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Church Missionary Society and later the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society were linked to the ‘low’ church vision. This pattern was clear, and remains so, in British colonies such as Australia and New Zealand where the “high’ tradition tends to be associated with the Australian Board of Mission and the “low” with the Australian CMS. During the early years of the Domestic and Foreign missions evolution the ‘high” view was identified with, if personalities are to be asserted, Bishop John Henry Hobart and the “low” with Bishop Frederick Griswold.

Generalisations are always difficult but perhaps it might suffice to say that “low” churchmen adhered to reformed theology stressing preaching, prayer and Bible study groups, evangelistic outreach to the unconverted and a personal experience of Christ through conversion. “High” churchmen pursued an understanding of a Christian faith transmitted by an established ecclesiastical order—bishops, priests (presbyters) and deacons—in which the clergy were predominant and ceremonial forms of worship highly esteemed, especially in respect of the Holy Communion or Eucharist as the central act of Christian worship.

The widely shared term, “Christendom,” assumed that baptism was effectively a certificate of national and spiritual identity in the wider European world, including Russia. The two strands of thought were so closely linked that caution is needed in making assumptions about where individuals fitted into the 19th century American worldview which was overwhelmingly Protestant

54 Emery op cit, p. 106.

55 Zahl, Paul F., *The Protestant Face of Anglicanism*, (Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1998).

and marked by a belief in the divine destiny of the American republic—i.e., American Exceptionalism.

In England, missionary vision centred on two great evangelistic societies. The first was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts established in 1701, initially to provide clergy and teachers to the British North American colonies. There was no resident Anglican episcopate in British America before the War of Independence.

For many years the church people here were left without any episcopal supervision, for, though by an Order in Council in the time of Charles I. all British subjects in foreign parts were declared to be under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London as their diocesan, yet at that day and at that distance, his oversight was nominal, and his knowledge of this part of his flock small. Subsequently the lack of episcopal supervision was partially supplied by the appointment of Commissaries, i. e., persons appointed to the special end of supplying the office and jurisdiction of the Bishop [6/7] in the far-distant places of his diocese; without, however, the right of ordaining or confirming. These Commissaries were sent to several of the Colonies and exercised a quasi-episcopal authority therein. It was evident, however, that they could not supply the place of Bishops, and that pressing necessity arose in nearly every quarter, demanding their appointment for America. Abortive attempts to meet this demand were made at various times, but there were always political or ecclesiastical obstacles, which no effort could remove; and so the church languished without a recognized head and leader.⁵⁶

The Founding Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.



Biahop Samuel Seabury.



Bishop William White.



Bishop Samuel Provoost.

56 Stevens, William Bacon, "Commemorate Discourse" in *Commemorative Commemorations of the Consecration of Bishop White and Bishop Provoost*, Transcribed by Wayne Kempton, Archivist and Historiographer of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, 2008. Online Project Canterbury, 1 January 2013 at— <http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/wbstevens/centennial1887.html>,

When the Episcopal Church sought to establish an American episcopate after Independence the Rev. Samuel Seabury (although a Loyalist throughout the Revolutionary War) was unable to obtain consecration from the Church of England because he could not take the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown. Seabury was later consecrated by the Episcopal Church of Scotland on 14 November 1784. In 1787, following the passage through the British Parliament of the *Act for the Consecration of Bishops Abroad* that freed the Americans from the requirement to take the Oath of Allegiance, the Rev. William White of Pennsylvania and the Rev. Samuel Provoost of New York were consecrated by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the two senior bishops of the Church of England, assisted by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Seabury, White and Provoost ensured the “Apostolic Succession” of the American Episcopal House of Bishops.⁵⁷

The second English Anglican missionary society, and the largest, was the Church Missionary Society, whose focus was always on primary evangelism—conversions followed by church order, i.e., the CMS did not establish the later American pattern of having its foreign missions under a “missionary bishop.” The CMS was identified with the Protestant and Reformed theological tradition.

As the Protestant Episcopal Church struggled with “low” and “high” sentiments in its polity it was inevitable that divisions similar to those in the English church would arise. Added to discussion of forms of worship is, always, the role of individual character in relation to authority and status. Emery remarks that “the Foreign Committee was distinctly evangelical and Low, the Domestic ecclesiastical and High.”⁵⁸ The remarkable achievement of the Episcopal Church in China, at least during the period of the first four missionary bishops, was the balance maintained between these differing emphases.

57 There are many works on the American Episcopate. One widely cited work is Elliott, Kenneth R., *Anglican Church Policy, Eighteenth Century Conflict, and the American Episcopate*, (New York, Peter Lang, 2011).

58 Ibid pp 106-108. See discussion in Chapters V and VI: A Divided House, 1844-1853, pp 109-142 and 143-162.

3.7 *William Jones Boone and the Beaufort Revival, 1831.*

According to *The History of Beaufort County, SC*, Part 1, written by ... Dr. Larry Rowland, “Nearly a whole generation of wealth and influential young planters and professional men were swept away by the religious fervor that began with this revival. Six men from one law firm abandoned their profession to take up the ministry in various denominations...

I believe the 1831 revival played a central role not only for St. Helena's but for the South as a whole. It occurred at a critical moment, spoke to both latent and manifest concerns that were spiritual, economic, social, and political. It was a transforming event. It is enough to say that during the period 1830-32, the South experienced a slave rebellion (Nat Turner, in Virginia), a political and economic crisis over the tariff (Nullification), a social crisis (the founding of the abolitionist *Liberator* by William Lloyd Garrison), and a total eclipse of the sun.⁵⁹

A Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Daniel Baker of Savannah, Georgia⁶⁰ was invited to Beaufort by the Episcopalian minister, Rev. Joseph Walker, of St. Helena's Church, Beaufort, the parish church attended by Boone. St Helena's was founded in 1712, a year after the foundation of Beaufort, and is the oldest church in the city.

St Helena Episcopal Church, Beaufort, South Carolina.



59 “An Interview with John McCardell,” online 1 January 2013 at — <http://www.lcweekly.com/local-color/1905-an-interview-with-john-mccardell> Dr. John McCardell is 16th Vice Chancellor and President of Sewanee: The University of the South, an Episcopal University. Rowland, Lawrence S, et al, *The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina, 1514-1861*, (Columbia SC, University of South Carolina Press, 1996). Cuttino, Bob, “A Harvard Lawyer’s Advice to Preachers— And Everyone Else.” *Savannah Morning News*, 20 October 2007, p. 14. See also Helsley, Alexia J., *Beaufort: A History*, (Charleston SC, History press, 2005-6), pp 79-81.

60 Baker, William H., *The Life and Labours of the Rev. Daniel Baker, D. D.*, (Philadelphia, W.S. & Alfred Martien. 1858).

Boone described his experience in terms that most evangelicals would perceive as a personal conversion:

It came to me as a joyous revelation that salvation through Jesus Christ was meant for me. [Baker] spoke of the forgiveness of sins, of reconciliation with God, and of putting oneself wholly in God's hands so he could mold and guide and use each of us... I took the step of humble confession and experienced the joy of cleansing and acceptance into his love by my Lord and my God.⁶¹

Baker's son recorded the experience of Boone and his friends as follows:

Many of the converts were young men; eight of whom, as I have since been informed, devoted themselves to the service of God, in the sacred office. One of them, a talented lawyer, upon his conversion, grasped my hand with strong emotion, and exclaimed, "O, Mr. Baker, I have an ocean of joy!" —adding, "what would have become of me, if you had not come here]" Another, seeing me pass by the door of his house, rushed out, and seizing me by the hand, observed, "Only to think, that that name which I used to blaspheme, is now my only hope! And now," said he, "I think I can forgive a person every thing in the world except one thing." "You must forgive your bitterest enemy," said I. "But what," said he, "if any person should attempt to take away my Saviour?" Another of the young men, devoted to the ministry, has, for many years, been the Episcopal Bishop of Georgia. Mr. R. Barnwell, subsequently President of South Carolina College, was also brought in at this meeting; and so was Mr. Grayson, who has since been a distinguished member of Congress.⁶²

At the time of this life-changing spiritual experience Boone was a lawyer, working for the De Saussure law firm.

Chancellor Henry William De Saussure.



Boone's legal background, and probably a natural tendency to conservatism as a member of a wealthy family, placed him within 19th century Episcopalian conventional belief that he described as: "formalism that kept people from each other and from God."⁶³ One of his closest friends converted at the Baker Mission was also a lawyer in the Du Saussure law office — Stephen Elliott—later the first Bishop of Georgia and by the fortunes of civil war, the Presiding Bishop of

61 Boone 1959, op cit, p. 49.

62 Baker, op cit, pp 145-146. See also "Bishop Elliott's Conversion." Online 1 July 2013 at — http://archives.georgiaepiscopal.org/?page_id=151

63 Ibid

the Confederate era Episcopal Church in the southern states.⁶⁴ Boone's first wife was Henry William De Saussure's daughter and his second wife was Elliott's sister.

Another friend from the De Saussure firm, William Barnwell, wrote the account following of his change of life that took him into the Episcopal ministry. The letter is an excellent example of the mindset associated with the Second Great Revival in South Carolina in the late 1820s. Readers will note Barnwell's reference to his plantation and his slaves. He remained a slaveowner throughout the period of Boone's service in Shanghai. It is unclear how many of the predominantly Southern clergy in China were associated with slavery but it is certain that a majority supported, or benefitted economically, from the institution.⁶⁵

Laurel Bay, Jany 18th 1832

My dear Day,

I thank you sincerely for your very kind and interesting letter, and I thank our Heavenly Father that he has made by his Grace, my old fellow student my new brother in Christ. Oh, what shall we render to our God for all his love... and tender mercies. My cup was already running over, but when I read your precious letter last night, my dear Day, with my wife and son at my side, and learnt the glad tidings of great joy which it brought, my heart was filled with a sense of Gods infinite loving-kindness to me and my own utter unworthiness to receive them. Oh that my resolution to devote myself soul and body to his service may be strengthened by this fresh and delightful instance of his mercy to me!

But you will be anxious to hear something of me and mine since as you justly complain our correspondence was broken off in 1828. I will give you a brief outline of my history since then, which has been one series of mercies and blessings. In the fall of that year I became engaged to be married to a cousin whose virtues, of course I am not the person to record, suffice it to say that pure religion and undefiled reigned in her heart. In 1829 after my brothers being elected to Congress, I removed to our Course House Town and joined his Practice which was extensive. During the Summer of that year my mind was much exercised on the subject of Religion, and the Study of the Scriptures. Prayer and Meditation formed part of my daily business, but pride and shame and ambition and the cares of this world, in short the carnal heart maintained its hold, and I still continued treading the broad road to destruction. In the fall I was taken down with a fever which I have always viewed since my change of heart as a blessing, for though it did not entirely subdue the natural obduracy of my heart, it softened it very much. After my recovery I was married, how happily you I trust will one day be able to realize by a similar blessing. My business prospered—friends increased—mind matured—character amended—and to crown the whole the cry of a first-born son gladdened my heart. Yet thankless are ... that I was, I could not give up myself to the Lord, notwithstanding all these blessings. At times the sacrifice seemed nothing, I was almost persuaded to become a Christian but pride and self would again restrain me. At length in September last there was a four days Meeting in the Village where I resided, Gillison Village. On the second day of the Meeting, having heard from the Pulpit powerful invitations to Sinners to come to Christ, by prayer for a change of heart, I was deeply impressed. At night I requested, after a great struggle, my wife to unite with me in prayer. I called upon Christ from the bottom of an afflicted and contrite heart, and in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, the mystery of Godliness was cleared to me by a most overpowering and almost entrancing manifestation of the Glory of God, as it is in Christ Jesus. "Old things passed away and all things became new." Since then I can really say that I have rejoiced in the Lord and through his Grace I have formed the resolution to relinquish my present Profession and to

64 An explanation of Bishop Elliott's commitment to the State's Rights issue incipient in the formation of the Confederacy is provided in "Memoir of Bishop Elliott." Online 1 July 2013 at — http://archives.georgiaepiscopal.org/?page_id=206

65 Pierce, Biswajit 2006, ed Clarence Bolden, Diocese of Alaska. "The Summative History of the Episcopal Church Policies Regarding Slavery and Segregation," Student paper, Seattle University, online 1 January 2012 at — <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~lcrew/dojustice/j352.html> This is a very brief summary covering the key issues that confronted the Episcopal Church in regard to slavery.

devote myself to the service of our blessed Redeemer in his sacred Ministry.

You thus see my dear Day, how gracious the Lord has been to your friend as well as to yourself. How are our blessings thus multiplied by being reflected from our friends! Oh that our dear Saviour would vouchsafe to reveal his blessed countenance to many others of our old friends at Litchfield!⁶⁶

I regret that you should have been prevented from the pursuit of your Profession by so distressing an affliction as that of the eyes usually is, and rejoice that you are enjoying the high privilege (sic) of deriving consolation from every trouble by looking to the hand whence it comes, by relying strongly on the promise that all things will work well for you. It is somewhat remarkable that at the time of receiving your delightful letter in which you allude to the nobleness of the Temperance cause, we were some of the humble followers of Jesus, agitating the propriety of forming ourselves into a Temperance Society in this Neighbourhood. In fact we are to have a Public Meeting at the Court House for the purpose the day after Tomorrow.

I am so persuaded of their utility that I design establishing one upon my Plantation among my Negroes as soon as I can. You would be much delighted to learn what the Lord has wrought for us here, but my letter will not enable me to give you a satisfactory account...⁶⁷

The impact of Baker's preaching was reported in the local *Beaufort Gazette*:

We had frequently heard of religious revivals with no concern, we regret to say, when our little town became the scene of these striking and interesting events. The Rev. Daniel Baker, of Savannah, has been with us for some time, and never, surely, since the days of the Apostles, has more fervid zeal, or ardent piety, or untiring labour been devoted by a Christian minister to his cause. For ten unwearied days, from morning until nine at night, have we heard the strongest and most impassioned appeals to the heads and hearts of his hearers. All that is terrible or beautiful; all that is winning or appalling; all that could steal, and charm, and sooth the heart, or shake its careless security, and command its attention to the truths of religion, we have seen pressed upon our community with an earnestness, energy, and affectionate persuasiveness almost irresistible.

The effect no one can conceive, who was not present. Politics were forgotten, business stood still; the shops and stores were shut; and schools closed; one subject only appeared to occupy all minds, and engross all hearts. The church was filled to overflowing; seats, galleries, aisles, exhibited a dense mass of human beings, from hoary age to childhood. In this multitude of all ages and conditions, there were occasional pauses, when a pin dropping might have been distinctly heard. When the solemn stillness was broken by the voice of the preacher, citing the impenitent to appear before the judgement-seat of heaven ... crowds moved forward and fell prostrate at the foot of the altar...

The union of sects produced on the occasion was not the least striking feature of the event. Distinctions were laid aside. Christians of all denominations met and worshipped together, indiscriminately in either church [Methodist Tabernacle and St. Helena's].⁶⁸

An unnamed Anglican minister of South Carolina, later wrote:

The results of this revival upon the congregation in Beaufort, are as follows: The number of communicants was increased manifold. At the first visitation of Bishop Bowen after this meeting, seventy, chiefly of the young, the refined, and the wealthy, presented themselves for confirmation, sincerely offering their hearts to God... It is a singular fact that out of two or three hundred conversions in Beaufort, under Mr. Baker, not one became a Presbyterian. The Episcopalians and Baptists reaped the fruit of his labours... Others came in more slowly to the Episcopal church, making the addition of

66 See notes on Litchfield Law School online 1 January 2013 at — http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Litchfield_Law_School Although not a chartered college, this school enrolled one fifth of its students from the Southern States.

67 William H. W. Barnwell to Edgar B. Day, 18 January 1832., Item 003, Barnwell Family Papers, Lowcountry Digital Library, Charleston, SC.

68 Baker, op cit, pp 148-50. See also Helsey, Alexia Jones, *Beaufort: A History*, (Charleston SC, History Press, 2005), Ch. 6: Antebellum Beaufort, 1830-1860. This chapter discusses the attitudes of white Beaufortians to slavery.

communicants, during the year, one hundred.⁶⁹

Boone's response to his attendance at the meetings was direct:

I felt at once that God was asking me to give up the dry matters of the law and an easy berth in Beaufort. I didn't know how he wanted to use me but I felt he was asking me to take a first step by entering the theological seminary at Alexandria, Virginia, to be better prepared. So I went, and those two years gave me a rich experience indeed... And among them stands out **Augustus Lyde**, whom I met so briefly but who had such a tremendous influence on the direction my life has taken.⁷⁰

A Baptist minister from Georgia, who was familiar with South Carolina and in particular, with Beaufort County, identified:

Beaufort District (now county) was probably the largest slaveholding district in the State.⁷¹

69 Baker, 1859; op cit, pp150-156.

70 Boone 1959, op cit, p. 50.

71 Lathrop, Rev. Edward to Mrs. N. B. De Saussure, 23 July 1903, in De Saussure, Mrs. N. B., *Old Plantation Days, Being Recollections of Southern Life Before the Civil War*, (New York, Duffield & Company, 1909). p. 22.

3.8. *The Episcopal Concept of a “Missionary Bishop.”*

The concept of a “missionary bishop” is uniquely American in terms of episcopal jurisdiction. In 19th century Anglican usage the term missionary bishop referred to a diocesan bishop in a colonised territory such as the colonial bishoprics in India, Hong Kong, Australia, Africa and New Zealand. The appointment of Anglican “missionary” bishops almost invariably came after a mission district had been established by years without resident episcopal supervision—as in British America before the War of Independence. The American concept of “missionary bishops” was grounded in a different socio-political situation through an analysis and interpretation of what it believed was the New Testament model of superintendency. It was summarised at the Annual Meeting of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church held at Baltimore on 7 June 1837 when it was stated.

Convinced that the most suitable representative of the Missionary Society, in the work of visitations, is some one invested with Episcopal authority. Therefore, Resolved. That the Board will take measures to procure the consecration of a Foreign Missionary Bishop, pursuant to the canon, as soon as circumstances will permit.

The Committee further resolved:

The committee, to whom the resolutions on the subject of a Foreign Missionary Bishop were referred, having given to the same all the consideration which the brief time allotted them since the morning session would allow, respectfully report—that it appears to have been the design of the framers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society under its new organization, as soon as circumstances would render it expedient, to employ as its Missionaries both at home and abroad, men clothed with all the powers and prerogatives of the Episcopal office; and, that this design met with the sanction and approbation of the Church, is manifest from the adoption of the canon relating to the appointing of Missionary Bishops by the General Convention of 1835. This design, in the belief of your committee, is in full conformity with Apostolic example and the usage of the Church of Christ in its purest and best days; and our branch of the Church can never do the part which Providence has assigned to it in the great work of the conversion of the world, till this design is carried into execution. The committee would hail that day as an auspicious era in the history of Missionary operations, when our Church shall have representatives and agents in all unevangelized nations, clothed with the full powers of the Apostolic commission, not only qualified to preach the gospel themselves, but also to administer those rites and ordinances which are beyond the powers of the lower orders of the ministry—and also to exercise, in conformity to the prescriptions of the gospel and of our ecclesiastical canons, a paternal supervision and control, over the subordinate laborers in their respective spheres of operation. But this desirable state of things, at which the Church has aimed in previous legislation, must be small in its beginning and slower in its progress—and the longer a commencement is delayed, the more remote will be the consummation so devoutly hoped for. The committee are of opinion, that the existing state of our Missions in Africa, Greece and China—the measures now in progress for strengthening and increasing them—and the prospect of a continual enlargement of our evangelical efforts in other lands, imperiously demand that immediate measures should be taken to secure the election and consecration of a Foreign Missionary Bishop at the earliest practicable period.⁷²

72 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol II No 7, July 1837, p. 199. See summary of discussion in Emery op cit, p. 95-98.

In his address to the 1861 Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, Bishop Stephen Elliott declared that an overseas Missionary Bishop “shall have no jurisdiction except in the place or country for which they may have been elected or consecrated.”⁷³ Elliott was endorsing the Anglican/Roman Catholic/Orthodox episcopal tradition that a bishop exercised authority in a geographically defined diocese and could not exercise authority at large as seems to have been the ancient practice in northern England and Scotland prior to the adoption of Roman legalism following the Synod of Whitby c664. The American missionary bishops were to **lead and direct** evangelistic efforts that would, if successful, lead to the creation of a delineated geographical diocese.

Missionary Bishops are those who are sent “to exercise Episcopal functions in states and territories not organized as dioceses.” Before the General Convention of 1835, our Missions had invariably been committed to the care of presbyters and deacons, and consequently, in remote districts, the ministerial order of the Church was always presented in the imperfect shape of a body deprived of its head. Besides this, there were other difficulties flowing from the want of the proper officer to administer confirmation, etc. —to watch over and encourage the resident clergy, and to go forth like the Apostles of old, and with their authority, to lay strong and deep the first foundations of the Christian Church. To meet this exigency, the 2d Canon of 1835 was passed, which provides that Bishops may be consecrated for this service, on nomination by the House of Bishops, and election by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies; such Bishops to “exercise Episcopal functions in such states and territories as the House of Bishops may prescribe.” By the same Canon it is ordered “each Missionary Bishop shall have jurisdiction over the Clergy in the district assigned him.” Missionary Bishops may also be consecrated for foreign parts, under certain regulations prescribed in the Canon; and all Missionary Bishops are entitled to a seat in the House of Bishops, —are eligible for election to any vacant diocese in this Church, and are required to report their proceedings to each General Convention, and also annually, at least, to the Board of Missions.⁷⁴

The Episcopal Church concluded that a “missionary bishop” should be appointed by the governing agencies of the Church because this was the “apostolic” approach exemplified by the ministry of St. Peter and St. Paul in Europe and St. Thomas in Asia. Yates connects the American concept to Tractarian (Anglo-Catholic) movements in the Church of England but the concept preceded the rise of this movement in the United States as seen in the writings of the Rt. Rev. John Hobart, the third Episcopal bishop of New York and a fervent advocate of the historic “Laudian” Catholicity of the Anglican tradition.⁷⁵ Yates notes that the idea had the support of a prominent English evangelical minister in 1841 although that argument did stress that episcopacy might naturally follow, not precede, evangelisation,⁷⁶—a position that remained constant in the policy of the Church Missionary Society.

The apostles did not, in the outset, map out the Heathen World into skeleton dioceses and plant a bishop at Crete, at Ephesus, at Antioch—no, but they themselves, first of all, went everywhere preaching the word ... then multitudes had been gathered from among the Heathen, then pastors had been set over the

73 Elliott, Rt. Rev. Stephen, Address of the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., to the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia. (Savannah, Power Press of John M. Cooper & Co, 1861), p. 7.

74 Staunton, Rev. William, *A Dictionary of the Church*, (New York, Sherman and Trevett, 1839). p. 76.

75 Hobart, John Henry, ed, *A Collection of the Essays on the Subject of Episcopacy*, (New York, T & J Swords, 1806). ... *An Apology for Apostolic Order and Its Advocates*, (New York, T & J Swords, 1807).

76 Yates, Timothy, “The Idea of a ‘Missionary Bishop’ in the Spread of the Anglican Communion in the Nineteenth Century,” pp 52-61 in *Journal of Anglican Studies*, Vol 2 NO 1, 2004, p. 55.

infant churches ... and when these pastors themselves needed chief shepherds, then at length, when a fixed episcopacy was required and when the Apostles, hitherto itinerating Bishops of the Universal Church, were about to enter into their rest, they instituted and added Diocesan Episcopacy, to consolidate, perpetuate and govern the Church; and Timothy was appointed to Ephesus, Titus to Crete and Ignatius to Antioch ... thus it has been in our modern missionary progress. The Society did not tarry ... till haply there might be a bishop set over the wild Western Isle of New Zealand ... the island began to wear a general aspect of Christianization; the Episcopate was now called for, to give order and perpetuity to the work and lo! As the result of our labours, a Bishop has been consecrated to the fair Western See. [Episcopacy] ought not to anticipate but to follow evangelisation ... it is when a country has been evangelized that episcopate comes in, to crown and consummate the work.

Eugene Stock, the Editorial Secretary of the British Church Missionary Society, summed up the general evangelical view.

The work of the Church of Christ in the foreign field is two-fold: first, to proclaim the Gospel—evangelization; secondly, to gather those who believe and accept it into the Church—which involves organization.⁷⁷

The 19th century colonial expansion of the Church of England rested on the appointment, by the Crown, of bishops to oversee native Anglicans was the primary concern of the Anglican tradition overseas as it had been in British America. Evangelism of indigenous populations was a by-product rather than a primary motivation. Anglican practice, like the Catholic tradition it maintained after the Reformation, emphasises ordained clergy as church planters supported by lay people who usually served, under clerical leadership, in roles such as teachers, doctors, nurses, industrial managers, etc.

Episcopalians generally stressed the integration of theological and ecclesiastical frameworks through distinctive Anglican forms of worship and governance centred in most cases on the Holy Communion.⁷⁸ Eugene Stock, the long-serving and influential lay editor of the Church Missionary Society wrote:

An episcopal church is obviously imperfect if it has no bishops; but all sorts of legal difficulties, arising mainly from the State connexion of the Church of England, stood in the way of providing them.⁷⁹

Unlike the “Established” Church of England the Episcopal Church was, and is, a voluntary association in which a balance is sought between a participatory system of government while retaining “apostolic succession” with the elitist culture of an episcopal order.⁸⁰ Many, and evangelicals especially, prefer to believe that the true source of authority in the Christian Church, rests not in the institutional episcopate but in the integrity of the doctrine, the “faith once delivered

77 Stock, Eugene, “The C. M. S. and Native Church Organization,” *International Review of Mission*, Vol 3 No 2, April 1914, p. 266.

78 This theme is thoroughly discussed in Butler, Diana H. *Standing Against the Whirlwind: Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth Century America*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1995).

79 Stock 1914, op cit, p. 268.

80 The American Episcopal Mission to Constantinople and the Orthodox world provides many 19C instances of formerly independent Orthodox groups moving in and out of relationships with the Papacy and thereby repudiating historical links to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. See reports of Bishop Southgate in *Spirit of Missions*. In the United States, the Reformed Episcopal Church was established in 1873 when evangelicals rejected changes in the forms of worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

to the saints,” that incorporates the Bible; the doctrinal consensus over time within the whole Church (*consensus fidelium* or the “mind of Christ” mediated by the Holy Spirit and accepted by believers), and tradition; each one being interdependent on the other and each being agreed by the whole Church and not any particular part or group. In the Anglican/Episcopal world today, episcopacy is less and less a symbol of ecclesiastical unity providing certainty about what constitutes historic, orthodox Anglican Christianity. The formation of the Reformed Episcopal Church in the later 19th century did not endorse episcopacy stating that:

This Church recognizes and adheres to Episcopacy, not as of Divine right, but as a very ancient and desirable form of Church polity.⁸¹

Episcopal Bishop Stephen Bayne, onetime Executive Officer of the Anglican Communion, summarised the difficulty in defining Anglican unity.

We have no particular theological statement of our own to fence us off from other Churches. We have no international power structure which forces our younger Churches to conform to some alien pattern of life. We have no central executive power. We have no uniform Prayer Book. We have no common language. We have no laws which limit the freedom of any Church to decide its life as it will. We have no ecclesiastical colonies. We have no ‘Anglican’ religion. We have no test of membership save that of Baptism itself. We have nothing to hold us together except the one essential unity given us in our full communion. And even that is not limited to Anglican Churches, for we share in the table of other Churches as well, in increasing number.⁸²

The Church of England had learned from its mistake in having no resident bishops in British America prior to the American Revolution.⁸³

Nova Scotia...was erected into a Bishop’s See in the year 1787... Canada was formed into a separate diocese in 1793; and in 1839 the island of Newfoundland, with Bermuda attached, was placed under the superintendence of an independent Bishop...a further subdivision is contemplated, by the endowment of a Bishopric for New Brunswick.⁸⁴

After Independence America experienced a continuing increase in population through immigration in which a “Westward Movement” created unique challenges for a grouping of mostly eastern state middle class congregations. The “missionary bishop” model was adopted to lead ordained “missionaries” into the regions of the United States in which no Episcopal dioceses had been formed. This model applied also to “missionary bishops” in the foreign missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church that included, until 1846, the independent Republic of Texas as well as missions in West Africa and China.

The 1835 General Convention ... authorized the consecration of missionary bishops to serve in areas where the Episcopal Church was not yet formally established. Rather than having to form a diocese and then elect a bishop, Episcopalians in America’s western territories were to receive the ministrations of a bishop, chosen by the General Convention, who would lead them in evangelism and in the founding of

81 See online 1 July 2013 at — <http://justus.anglican.org/~maffin/nic/>

82 Stephen Bayne Jr, *An Anglican Turning Point. Documents and Interpretations*, Austin, Texas, 1964, pp 271 ff.

83 Cross, Arthur Lyon, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, (New York, Longman’s Green 1902). Kessinger Reprint. Original Harvard Historical Studies Vol IX.

84 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol XI No 2, February 1846, p 42.

parishes. (This policy was consistent with the views of high church Episcopalians, who believed that bishops, as heirs of the apostles, had a divinely ordained duty to lead Christian missionary endeavors.⁸⁵

The Rev. William Jones Boone of South Carolina was an advocate of the need for a missionary bishop in China and his name began to be discussed as the best qualified man to be consecrated a missionary bishop in that field.

EPISCOPACY ESSENTIAL TO THE COMPLETE SUCCESS OF OUR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

We cannot think of TEXAS, AFRICA, and CHINA, without lamenting that an essential part of that Apostolic ecclesiastical organization which gives, with GOD'S blessing, such efficiency to the CHURCH in her integrity is wanting in those countries. Why is this? Is there a defect in Episcopacy, that it is not adapted to the Missionary work? Or, while it is found greatly to promote the extension of the CHURCH, through Missionary effort in our own land, are its benefits restricted by national limits, so that it becomes a different thing in TEXAS, in AFRICA, and in CHINA, from what it is in these UNITED STATES? Why, practically, do we work as Presbyterians abroad, and as Episcopalians at home? Admit that the number of Presbyters is small at any given station; is there a GOSPEL rule defining the number of Presbyters that must be found before the CHURCH can exist in her integrity? Is it not more consistent that the very first Missionary to any country should be himself a BISHOP, (carefully selected, and well qualified in all things,) sent to collect his flock, as GOD should give him souls as the fruit of his ministry? It was the pious boast of a primitive BISHOP, that HE did not build on another man's foundation. Let, then, the PRESBYTERS follow the BISHOP, and not the BISHOP the PRESBYTERS. The first Gospel Missionary to the HEATHEN was himself a BISHOP, called and appointed by CHRIST himself.⁸⁶ There is an incongruity in this respect, in the mode of conducting our FOREIGN MISSIONS, which we hope soon to see removed.

If we are conscientious Episcopalians, holding to Episcopacy as a matter of principle, then let us show it in our efforts for the diffusion of the GOSPEL of SALVATION. It is of little use to be talking of, and magnifying, this Apostolic Institution, by mere word and pen—it should be identified with all our operations as a CHURCH, whether at home or abroad. As the first Missionary BISHOP to the HEATHEN once said, that " I had rather speak five words with his understanding, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue," (although he intended not to disparage the latter gift). So should we rather covet the privilege of aiding in sending out one godly BISHOP who will extend the REDEEMERS KINGDOM, than write or speak, a thousand essays on the Apostolic character of the office. We mean no disparagement to many excellent tracts on this subject. But we do mean to say, *if we have the Apostolic principle, let us have also the Apostate practice.* Then with GODS blessing, we shall witness an advance in the Missionary work, far more commensurate with our hopes and prayers. Whenever the CHURCH in AMERICA like the CHURCH in ENGLAND, shall send out her godly Hebers and Wilsons, it will be a glorious day for MISSIONS. The LORD hasten it in His time.

As this is the last opportunity which the present Foreign Secretary will have of speaking editorially, he would repeat what he has stated in a former number, that in all remarks involving principles in the conduct of our FOREIGN MISSIONS not settled by the CHURCH, he must be understood as speaking editorially, and not with authority. The Foreign Committee should not be held responsible for any suggestions as to measures other than those formally recognized by them.⁸⁷

The importance of Boone as the pioneer Anglican/Episcopal missionary in China was recognized in the Foreign Committee's annual report for 1842-1843. The American Church found itself in a position where it could potentially be in conflict with the Church of England, the church associated with the principal foreign power in China.

85 Hein, David and Gardiner H. Shattuck, *The Episcopalians*, (New York, Church Publishing Inc, 2004), p. 70.

86 This apparently refers to St. Paul and his experience of conversion on the Damascus Road. *Acts of the Apostles*, Ch 9, vv 3-9; 13-19; Ch 22, vv 6-21; Ch 26 vv12-18.

87 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol VIII, No 6, June 1843, p 202.

The mission to China has more than realized the expectation of its most sanguine friends. Not only has the access to that mighty nation, anticipated in the last report, been freely established, and the way opened for the Cross into the very heart of China; but the missionary himself is here, after six years of unremitting devotion to his work, with all the qualifications which time, study and experience alone can give, to tell us of the acceptance which the mission finds among all sorts and conditions of men, and to assure us, on the amplest grounds of conviction, that no mission to the heathen can be more encouraging than that to the Chinese. Well and truly may this Church thank God for the eminent privilege bestowed on her of planting and maintaining, for six years, the Gospel in the Church upon the confines of that land of mystery and shadows; and being the first to enter in when that old wall was broken through, and take possession, in the Saviour's name. The vantage-ground thus granted to us must not be lost. The pledge thus given must not be forfeited. It is our bounden duty, in sending Dr. Boone back to the work to which his life is dedicated, to send him not alone. This duty is confirmed, while it is encouraged by the fact, the work of God in human hearts, that by two members of the Church, the support of three missionaries to China, for a term of years, has been guaranteed to the Board. The committee refer with great pleasure to the clear and conclusive arguments by which the report enforces the duty of furnishing the China mission with an apostolic head. It is suggested, in reply to this, by some, that the Church of England, abundant in good works, and leading in the fore-front of the missionary host, will send a Bishop to China. Most probably she will. She will scarcely do less for the millions there, than she has done for New Zealand. But what is that to us? How does that affect our duty in the premises? Are we to have no presbyters in China, because she has just appointed a chaplain to Hong Kong? Or does the statute of limitations lie only against Bishops? No. China is ours, for duty and devotion, by the right of pre-occupation. That duty and devotion we owe to God for her. England cannot discharge it for us, however nobly she may meet her own. As well might we doubt about the extension of our mission at Cape Palmas, because she contemplates a colonial Bishop at the Cape of Good Hope. Doubtless, Christian courtesy, and the economy of Christian effort, require that we should confer in this great matter with our sister Church. Doubtless, into such a conference she will come with her great heart. Three hundred millions of heathen souls give "ample room, and verge enough," for our united efforts. A plan of co-operation can be concerted by correspondence with the proper authorities in England. How beautiful a spectacle! A Bishop and his clergy from the branch of Christ's Catholic Church in England, and a Bishop and his clergy from the branch of Christ's Catholic Church in America, pouring their common prayers, plying their utmost efforts, in the heart of that one empire, which, five years ago, seemed most effectually delivered over "to Satan, to be tormented," and the very last that hope could dream of to fulfil that gracious promise of the Scriptures, that the kingdoms of this world shall all become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ!⁸⁸

Accordingly the Episcopal Board resolved that:

(5) That it is necessary to the redemption of the Church's pledge to China, in sending a missionary there, and to the grateful acknowledgement of God's blessing on his work, not only to increase the number of laborers in that field, but to send a Bishop at their head; and inasmuch as it is understood to be probable that the sister Church of England will shortly propose the establishment of a bishopric to supervise her missions there, therefore, further—

(6) Resolved, that a committee of three from this Board, to open a correspondence with the proper authorities, as to the best mode in which the churches can co-operate in this labor of love without interference with each other.⁸⁹

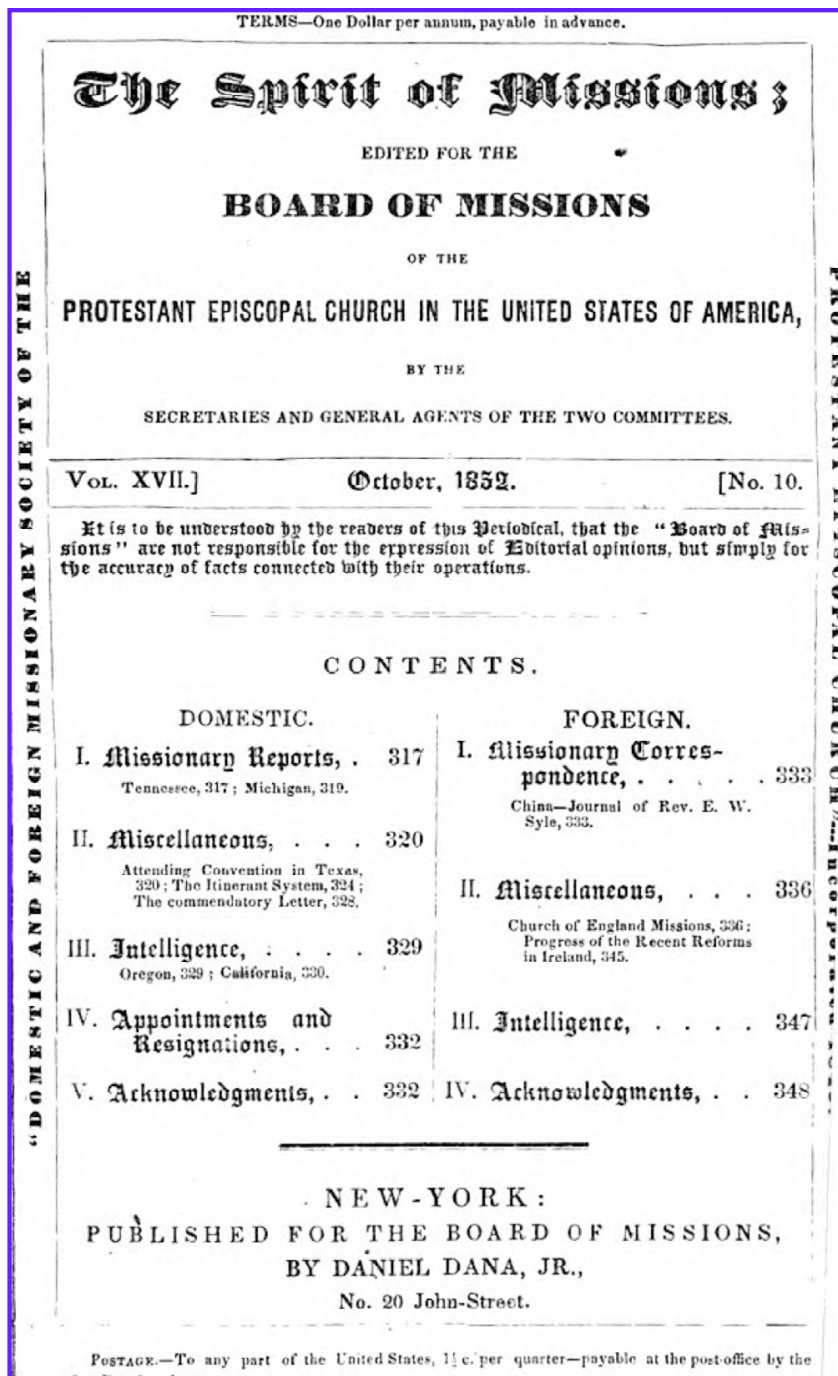
The Americans advised the Archbishop of Canterbury of its intentions but, as an independent Anglican jurisdiction, the Episcopal Church did not need the approval of the Church of England to appoint a missionary bishop in China. The Episcopal Church expressed its desire to work in a spirit of cooperation that would allow both churches to conduct missions in China "without interference."

88 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol VIII No 7, July 1843, p 237.

89 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol VIII No 7, July 1843, p 241.

3.9 PEC missionary journal—“*The Spirit of Missions.*”

Most of the citations in this data-base are drawn from the missionary journal of the Board of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.⁹⁰ A brief report, prepared in 1843, explains the origins and functions of the *Spirit of Missions* the name adopted in January 1836.⁹¹



90 The writer does not have access to the Archives of the Episcopal Church in Austin, Texas.

91 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol VIII, No 8, August 1843, pp 295-297. See also Slocum, *The Spirit of Missions*, online 1 January 2013 at— http://www.episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/the_living_church/TLCarticle.pl?volume=223&issue=4&article_id=1

JOINT REPORT
Of the condition of the Spirit of Missions,
required by Resolution of the Board of 1842.
(See page 19, Proceedings.)
TO WHICH IS APPENDED,

A brief History of this Missionary paper of the Church.

This subject has two aspects—The character of a publication conducted by Editors who have at the same time other duties—and its circulation.

I. Its character.

"Variety and interest" are the constituents of this upon which stress has been laid.

A difficulty in the way of obtaining these is found to be in the want of a proper library. The Foreign Department possesses some books (chiefly the reports of missionary bodies); the Domestic, until within a few weeks, one or two old gazetteers.

Many are the works, either parent or offspring of missions—descriptive of men and countries, opinions and efforts, —not to be found in any one of our city libraries, and only to be gathered from various quarters and at some expense, which ought to be in the library, and are not.

The Editors should have convenient access to all the new publications and periodicals, illustrative of their fields of labor at home and abroad. It is a question whether true economy does not demand a liberal though judicious expenditure for these things. If we are laying foundations for the missions of a Church which is to take possession of its field—the world—a Mission Library ought not to be neglected.

A second difficulty arises from the varied duties of the Editors. Called off for months perhaps, from the central point, the mind absorbed and time occupied with the collection of funds, the sources of information then cut off, how difficult, nay, impossible, to keep an eye upon what is every where transpiring.

A third difficulty springs from the religious weeklies. They are enabled to, and do draw from all parts of the world and present vividly, promptly and popularly, intelligence from every clime. The nature of our periodical does not admit of prompt publication. What we give to a printer on the 16th, goes forth on the 30th of the month, and may have been anticipated for weeks in other periodicals.

A fourth difficulty is found in the narrow range of topic allowed, and aversion to the introduction or incidental treatment of controverted questions. When it is remembered how few the topics on which there is perfect agreement; how impatient the spirit of the age of differences of opinion; the difficulty of giving "increased variety and interest" to a publication for the whole Church, without giving offence also, may be estimated.

II. Its circulation.

The number of copies printed is	4,250	
The number of copies distributed gratuitously,	1,150	
The number of paying subscribers (about) -	8,700	
The number of copies used,	3,850	
The number of copies retained,	400	
The nett proceeds of the work, say		\$1,900
ESTIMATED EXPENSES FOR 1843.		
Printing,	\$1,000	
Paper, -	600	
Covers,	160	
Binding,	160	
Clerk,	200	
Carrier,	60	
Porter,	50	
Wrapping paper	50	
Twine, &c. ,	20	
Room rent,	125	
Deductions that might possibly be made on some items by putting it out of doors,	325	
		\$2,100
Nett proceeds,	1,900	

Leaving to be supplied by the Committees or Board,		
a balance of	200	
There are due from old subscribers,		\$2,600

In view of the preceding, the undersigned are persuaded that the benefits of this periodical, however they may be estimated, are very dearly purchased. In justice to the other claims upon them, and to the cause, they consider some modifications called for. The following are among the alternatives:

I. AS TO CHARACTER.

Keep it as at present, a monthly, each number confined to one department or embracing both, with a quarterly alternation between the Editors, by which either could be absent from the centre three months continuously. The business department managed out of doors. Or, make it a quarterly, the Editors alternating. Or, make it an annual, like the organ of the Propagation Society—embracing the annual proceedings of the Board, annual reports of the Committees, of the missionaries, &c. &c. , with occasional papers or occasional use of other Church periodicals. Or, have no fixed arrangements, but let pages and sheets be sent forth by either Editor, or by the Committees jointly, as occasion may require, reference being had to their forming a volume annually or biennially.

II. AS TO CIRCULATION.

Let it be sent as now, gratuitously, to the parochial clergy, and to all others paying in advance. Or, send to the clergy only an exchange list. Or, each committee be at the cost of its own papers; send them to whom, when, and on what conditions it may judge best. All which is respectfully submitted.

N. S. HARRIS. J. W. COOKE.

HISTORICAL FACTS.

The Board of Directors, at a meeting holden October 25 and 26, 1827,

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee to commence the publication quarterly, or oftener if they should deem it expedient, of articles of intelligence in relation to missions, calculated to interest the members of the Church in this great cause of Christian benevolence. " In pursuance of this resolution, in March, 1828, the first number of" the Quarterly Papers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" was printed, and was continued in this form until March, 1831, when it made its appearance as "The Periodical Paper," to be published every other month.

This paper was designed to contain "a regular history of the Society's proceedings, copious extracts from the correspondence and reports of its missionaries, together with the most important and encouraging facts collected from the publications of other societies, particularly those of our own Church in England and elsewhere. In January, 1833, it was deemed advisable again to change the form of the periodical, and to present it more frequently to the Church. It accordingly made its appearance, monthly, as the "Missionary Record," and was thus continued until January, 1836, when the first number of the "Spirit of Missions" was issued.

The publication which was then presented to the Church, was issued under authority of the Board of Missions, and was at first placed under the charge of an editor, specially appointed for that purpose. Much difficulty was experienced in the attempt to carry out this arrangement, and accordingly the Board, at its second annual meeting, placed the periodical under the joint editorial supervision of the Secretaries of the two Committees, nor has since thought fit in any wise to alter this arrangement.

The periodical, however, in passing from the Missionary Record into the Spirit of Missions, was materially changed as to character. The missionary field was declared to be the world; and from thenceforth this paper was to present an account of whatever the Church might do in the fulfilment of her own high mission; to re-echo the call from ancient river and sunny plain; to tell of the missionary's toils and tears; to be "as the silver trumpet of the sanctuary. "

Payments made by the two Committees on account of the Spirit of Mission.

	1. Foreign Committee.	
1838, May 31,		\$516 16
1840, June 15,		394 82
1843, June 15,		<u>1,154 86</u>

2. Domestic Committee.

1837, June 1,	\$67 50
1838, June 15,	353 66
1840, June 15,	594 82
1843, June 15,	<u>1,198 15</u>
	\$2,214 13
Total payments,	\$4,279 9