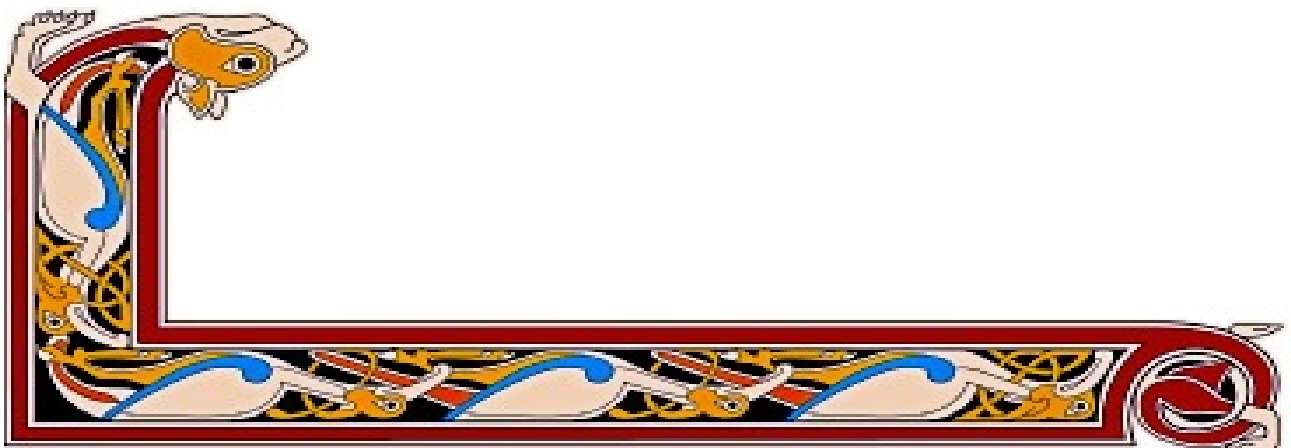


# Part 2

## THE CHINA VISION



**No man is commonplace if ... the real history of his inmost  
heart and anxious mind is honestly disclosed.**  
Rev. Edward W. Syle, Shanghai, 2 September 1860,  
*The Church Journal*, Episcopal Diocese of New York, 13 March 1861.

**Hhuman subjects social existence is constituted through the stories that they tell.**  
Cited in Peel, J.D.Y. "For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things? Missionary Narratives and Historical  
Anthropology," pp 281-607 in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol 37 No 3, July 1995, p 583.

**The man who with undaunted toils  
Sails unknown seas to unknown soils  
With various wonders feasts his sight  
What stranger wonders does he write?**  
POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC, 1740.

**My purpose in this paper ... is written from the perspective of a scholar  
of nineteenth-century historical sources, who is interested particularly in people  
and in an accurate understanding of their actions, motivations and achievements.**

Bickley, Gillian,  
"The Right Reverend Dr. George Smith, Anglican Bishop of Victoria (1849-1865):  
His Advice to the Church Missionary Society and His Missionary Travels on the Chinese Mainland,"  
pp 5-30 in *Ching Feng*, Vol 8 No1-2, 2007.

**[19<sup>th</sup> century missions] are symptomatic of the nature of Western Culture...  
they arise from the common spirit of the age, sharpening certain of its traits;  
and they in turn are refracted, often in grossly reduced and distorted ways,  
in the popular worldview.**

Taber, Charles R.,  
*To Understand the World, To Save the World: the Interface between Missiology and the Social Science*,  
(Trinity Press International, Harrisburg PA, 2000), p. 2.

**Religious history thus does not need less narrative but better ones:  
better suited to religious materials in their full variety and interrelationships,  
to religious intentions and outcomes as these resonated in and were shaped by other domains,  
and to self-critical rather than self-congratulatory interpretations.**

**Its periodization should be tied to critical alterations on the landscape of faith,  
especially if these occur in conjunction with changes of like import in other environments—  
sometimes national-political, but also, or alternately, demographic, economic, or sociocultural.**

Bratt, James D., "The Reorientation of American Protestantism,"  
pp 52-82 in *Church History*, Vol 27 No 1, March 1998, p. 54-55.

**Historians relate, not so much what is done, but what they would have believed.**  
POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC, 1738.

**The Birthplace of American Foreign Missions, 1806.<sup>1</sup>**  
**Mission Park, Williamstown, Massachusetts.**



“The twelve foot tall marble monument...mounts a globe three feet in diameter and proclaims,  
‘The Field is the World.’ “

Mission Park, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

See online 1 July 2013 at— <http://archives.williams.edu/buildinghistories/missionpark/contents.html>

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1 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 32 No 8, August 1867, p. 675.

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

### **Special Thanks.**

I am very grateful to my university for the continued provision of facilities without which this database could not have been developed.

The Department of Pacific and Asian History,  
School of Culture, History and Language,  
College of Asia and Pacific,  
Australian National University, Canberra.

The staff of the many American archives and libraries mentioned in the footnotes have been outstandingly helpful and have earned the compiler's deepest thanks. The material, in this working paper form, is copyright. Persons wishing to use or cite any of this material for commercial purposes are reminded of the provisions of the relevant national copyright laws.

### **Sources.**

China items that appeared in the *Spirit of Missions*, the monthly journal of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, are the principal source of the entries in this collection with occasional duplications as an original item reappears in a subsequent report or statement.<sup>2</sup>

Some items appeared in the *Church Journal* of the Diocese of New York<sup>3</sup> and other journals, mostly in the Eastern United States where the Episcopal Church was strongest in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

There are some items from the *Southern Episcopalian*, a journal linked to the Confederate era that unfortunately, given its historical importance, has not been digitized for public access.

Other material is from contemporary Chinese English-language journals including the *North China Herald*; the *Chinese Repository*; the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* and other sources.

Cost/distance and access limits inhibited use of the **Archives of the Episcopal Church**.

### **The Table of Contents.**

The Table of Contents includes a detailed breakdown of the content for each item. People and themes can be followed by searching under names or common identifiers. This approach recognizes the search capacities of PDF format and reduces the need for a conventional index.

### **Focus.**

The collection centres in the life and episcopate of William Jones Boone, a priest [presbyter] of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the first Episcopal/Anglican Bishop in China, 1845-1864, and his colleagues, male and female, ordained and lay, American, "British" and Chinese. This open access collection of archival material from the twenty-seven years of Boone's missionary experiences

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<sup>2</sup> The *Spirit of Missions* was accessed at the HATHITRUST web site.

<sup>3</sup> These items were provided through the generosity of Mr. Wayne Kempton, Diocesan Archivist, Episcopal Diocese of New York.

includes other material from other denominations and sources that add to an understanding of the work of the Bishop and his colleagues.<sup>4</sup>

It is emphasized that “Part 2. The China Vision” is not, and is not intended to be, a comprehensive coverage of all the issues that arise in this database. It is intended to introduce some themes that are implicit in the letters and reports and were taken for granted by the various writers and reporters.

### ***Missionary History—Observations***

History is the sum of various attempts to reconstruct the story of humanity over time as found in the varied records left by our predecessors. Conventional history relies on an author’s use and interpretation of written or oral records that are mostly inaccessible to non-specialist readers although that is now changing rapidly in the new information technology age.

Interpretation of the past is always a risky exercise of trying to read and interpret surviving records of people from another time. These records are only a part of the story of humanity that involves many parallel disciplines such as archaeology, anthropology, sociology; data techniques such as carbon dating; geophysical studies; linguistic analysis; and importantly, the arts, and related forms of expression.

We live narrative before we tell it; or, rather, our living and our telling of narratives are deeply and continuously implicated with one another.<sup>5</sup>

Complete knowledge of our past and total accuracy in interpretation is not attainable. History is far more intricate than any single book can suggest as the millions of books on similar historical themes demonstrate.<sup>6</sup> As humans we see, as the King James translation of the Bible renders St. Paul: “For now we see through a glass, darkly:<sup>7</sup> or, as a modern translation expresses it: “Now we see only a reflection as in a mirror.”<sup>8</sup>

For centuries Christians believed that whatever happened on earth was the direct outcome of the power and authority of a humanized version of God. This can be seen in this collection as missionaries sought an explanation for the “opening” of China by foreign nations. The concept of human life being at the beck and call of an omnipotent divinity is not as common today as more and more people understand the cause and effects of their behaviour and accept responsibility for those actions. **The Terms for God Debate** over the best way of translating the English word GOD into Chinese characters and word illustrates the difficulties of conveying abstract concepts and the

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4 The only biography of Bishop Boone is by his granddaughter. Boone, Muriel, *The Seed of the Church in China*, (Edinburgh, The Saint Andrew Press, 1973). The publication lacks footnotes.

5 Cited in Peel, J.D.Y. “For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things? Missionary Narratives and Historical Anthropology,” pp 281-607 in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol 37 No 3, July 1995, p 584.

6 The Library of Congress lists more than 2000 publications on Abraham Lincoln, without listing every academic paper.

7 New Testament. First Letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians, Ch 13 v 12.

8 New International Version.

impact that differing points of view can wreak upon relationships between friends and colleagues of very long standing. The overall nature of the debate is summed up well by John Lai:

The central debate was the translation of the name of “God” into Chinese, basically with two options, namely *shangdi* and *shen* (god or spirit). Generally speaking, most British missionaries proposed the use of *shangdi* while their American counterparts supported *shen*. Their controversy was much more than a mere debate of terminology, but a theological one concerning their perspectives towards Chinese religion and civilisation. They argued about whether or not the ancient Chinese were monotheists who had already possessed some revelation and notion of the Christian God. The LMS missionaries, especially Medhurst and James Legge (1815 –97 ), strongly believed so. *Shangdi* , a native term used in the ancient Chinese classics, was regarded as the equivalent of the Judaeo-Christian God. They trusted that the Chinese culture and people were capable of receiving the Christian message with its existing terminology, that monotheism was not totally alien to the Chinese, and that the truth of God had been revealed to them at the same point. The role of missionaries was to “gather up the fragments of original revelation in the old religions and use them as stepping-stones to Christ”. On the other hand, missionaries such as Boone and McClatchie maintained that the ancient Chinese culture could never have enjoyed the same quality of divine revelation as that available to Christians. The Chinese had been entirely polytheistic and non-Christian. The only channel for them to receive Christian truth was through a new terminology, for the new wine to be poured into the new bottle of Christianity. In their view, the generic term *shen* would serve the purpose. The heated ‘Term Question’ debate intensified in the late nineteenth century and adversely affected the Protestant missionary missions.<sup>9</sup>

The adverse effects are also summed up by Lai.

The ‘Term Question’ controversy remained a thorny problem that disrupted the operations of various tract committees in China. For instance, James Legge, of the Hong Kong Tract Committee, stated that “it appears to be at present impracticable for the members of different denominations of Christians on that Committee to act together in the publication of Chinese Tracts, in consequence of the various opinions held by them relative to the proper term to be used for the name of God.” The disagreement over the ‘Term Question’ had also led to the split in the Translation Committee of the Delegates’ Version of the Bible between the British missionaries led by Medhurst and the American missionaries headed by Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801 –61 ). Two versions of the Bible were subsequently produced with two sets of terms and different principles of translation.<sup>10</sup>

### ***Language and Vision in Missionary History.***

19<sup>th</sup> century English, especially that of religious writers, often involves long and very formal sentences with occasional archaic styles such as “staid” for “stayed.” People familiar with the rhythms and style of the King James Bible and various editions of the Anglican Books of Common Prayer will be comfortable with much of the content of this collection—others may find it over-pious and difficult to read. Biblical references abound and are often applied literally.

Some readers will find the religious language challenging. The missionaries were people who were expressing their faith in ways that were outside the everyday experience of their countrymen. Some of the missionaries found the religious utterances of their colleagues wearing. Jane Edkins, of the London Missionary Society, wrote to her mother:

I went to a ladies’ prayer-meeting last week. I think it might be better conducted. I took no part in it. I did not feel my heart sufficiently enlisted. Perhaps I am myself to blame. Am I right in thinking that religion should not always be on the lip? I feel it should always be in the heart, and should ever actuate the life;

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9 Lai, John T. P., “Doctrinal Dispute within Interdenominational Missions: The Shanghai Tract Committee in the 1840s” pp 307-317 in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, Vol 20 No 3, 2010, pp 311-312.

10 Ibid, p. 315.

but I imagine those people who can, and do at any and every moment talk about religious experience and so on, cannot understand the deep depths of the that love that passeth understanding.<sup>11</sup>

### ***Invisible Missionaries.***

A socially distinguished English clergyman, the Rev. Sydney Smith, discarded missionaries as “little detachments of maniacs,”<sup>12</sup> a line of thought that is illustrated in the American cartoon, “Our Missionary Maniacs.” at page 11.

The late John King Fairbank remarked that: “The missionary in foreign parts seems to be the invisible man of American history.” He added that:

Mission history is a great and underused research laboratory for the comparative observation of cultural stimulus and response in both directions.<sup>13</sup>

Any survey of the Protestant Episcopal Church Mission, or almost any 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestant mission archive, demonstrates the social and physical isolation of the American men and women who served in China during the years from the consecration of the Rt. Rev. William Jones Boone as the American Missionary Bishop to China in October 1844 to his death in 1864. Few American Episcopalians supported foreign missions and for the last four years of Bishop Boone’s life foreign missions were financially lost against the greater pressures of Civil War.

Jane Edkins wrote:

I was very much pleased to get all the home letters on Monday last. I wish you could see how eagerly I snatch at them, and how happy I feel; and on the other hand, how *down* I am if there are none.

and a little later:

Am I not a regular correspondent with home? I don’t think I have missed a mail since we came to China.<sup>14</sup>

Missionary invisibility had many facets reflecting foreign isolation in China. Separation from family and friends in the homeland; emotional and occupational separation from their expatriate contemporaries in China, sometimes through unavoidable physical isolation from the main expatriate population centres and perhaps the most difficult, cultural, educational, and residential separation from the Chinese whom they came to evangelise. The Rev. Edward Syle declared:

If I should constrain myself to write down the half of all the loathsome uncleanness of thought, and word, and act, the knowledge of which has been forced upon me by my four years' intercourse with the people of this city, my reader would be likely to feel that I had done him an ill turn, by defiling his memory with such details. This it is, in a very principal degree, which makes us rejoice that we have houses so situated that part, at least, of this moral stench may be kept away from our minds, and from our poor little

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11 Edkins, Jane, *Chinese Scenes and Letters*, (London, James Nisbet, 1863), p. 94.

12 *The Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, (London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848), Vol 1, p. 248.

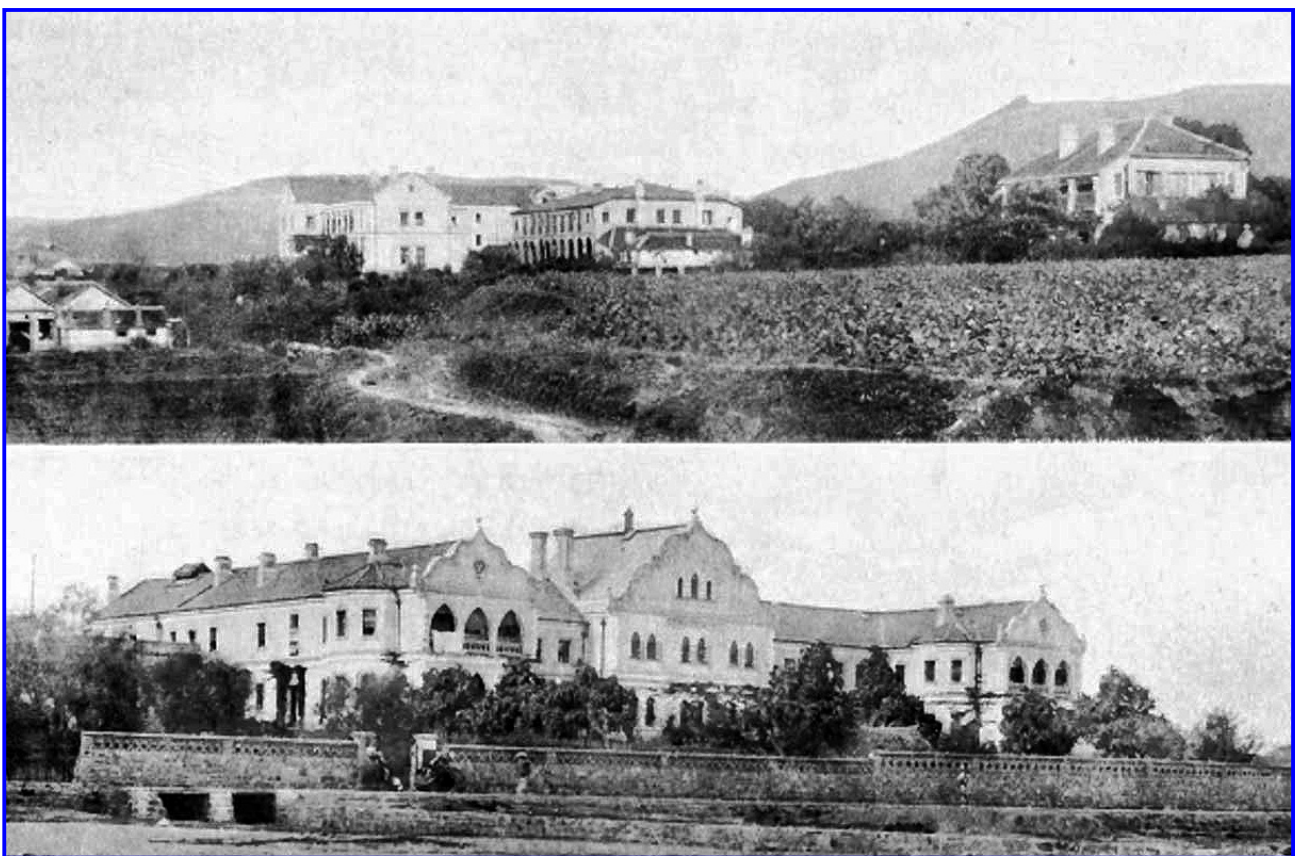
13 Fairbank, John K., “Assignment for the ’70’s,” pp 877-878 in *American Historical Review*, Vol 74, February 1969. See discussions in Grabill, Joseph L., *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, (Minneapolis, University of Minneapolis Press, 1971) and Grabill, Joseph L., The “Invisible” Missionary: A Study in American Foreign Relations, *Journal of Church and State*, Vol 14, Issue 1, 1972, p 93.

14 Edkins, Jane, 1863, op cit, p. 73 and p. 78.

children.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the most difficult issue for missionaries was separation from their children although it is rarely discussed how profound an impact boarding schools had on the children of missionaries . By the 20<sup>th</sup> century, missions provided boarding schools in suitable locations to which missionaries could send their children. The boys' and girls' schools of the China Inland Mission are examples.<sup>16</sup> Wealthy families, including many among the Anglican and Episcopal missionaries, were able to send their children back to other family members where they attended schools and colleges with which the families were thoroughly enculturated.

#### China Inland Mission Schools, Chefoo.



While the schools did their best for the students, the story has an unhappy dimension. An Australian former student, now living in rural Victoria, told the writer that his memories of Chefoo were bitter, centering on his sense of abandonment by his parents. There are echoes of this disorientation in the story of Douglas Pike. He was just six years old when he was enrolled.

15 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 16 No 2, February 1851, pp 73 -82.

16 “The Chefoo schools ... had an enviable reputation as the only educational establishment ‘east of Suez’ granted the privilege of administering the Oxford examinations for entry to that university. The teachers were generally university graduates from Britain.” Calvert, John D., *Douglas Pike (1908-1974): South Australian and Australian Historian*, (<A Thesis, University of Adelaide, 2008), p 12.



Leaving his parents at such a young age, ... was overwhelming for him. ... Douglas struggled within himself and formed attitudes that were to haunt him in later life.<sup>17</sup>

Separation of parents and children had two meanings for the Episcopal missionaries in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The first separation was death, when children died, usually very young. The second, reported frequently, was the placing of older children with relatives in the United States, usually for educational reasons or, as in the case of Bishop Boone's children by his first wife, because of family necessity.

The most invisible of invisible missionaries were the Chinese evangelists.<sup>18</sup> In the many references to individuals in this collection there are many passing references to Chinese converts such as the first Anglican/Episcopal minister in China, Wong Kong Chai (Huang Guangci) and other Chinese Episcopal clergymen.

### ***Religious, Church & Missionary Histories.***

Religious, church and missionary history incorporates broad-brush sweeps, such as a history of the Christian Church over two millennia, or the history of religion in China over at least four millennia. The fine-brush work suggested by this collection deals with some aspects of the history of the China Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America (American Church Mission—ACM) between c1835 and c1870 as recorded by the missionaries and their contacts.

Protestant missionary history in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was transnational and united around, for the greater part, a common language, beliefs and behaviour. The Americans, British and other English-speaking Protestants—who made up 90% of the Protestant missionary workforce in China, were part of a wider 19<sup>th</sup> century world missionary movement also shared by Europeans. It is an oversimplification to assume that the predominance of English-speaking people in Protestant missions in China comes down to two distinct identities, Americans and “British.” In the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and its women's associate mission, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) there were English, Irish, Scots, Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders. In addition there were Germans, Norwegians, Swedes, French and other European Protestants, most of whom were competent English-language users.<sup>19</sup>

If American missionaries were invisible, Australians and New Zealanders, and other nationalities in 19C China are almost entirely lost in the archives of the British and European missionary

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17 Calvert, op cit, p. 14.

18 Lutz, Jessie, “A Profile of Chinese Protestant Evangelists in the Mind-Nineteenth Century,” pp 68-86 in Ku Wei-ying and Koen De Ridder, *Authentic Chinese Christianity: Preludes to Its Development, (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (Leuven, Belgium, Leuven University Press, 2001). This is an important contribution to knowledge of the central role of Chinese in the evangelisation of China in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but makes no reference to Episcopal figures such as Wong Kong Chai (Huang Guangci).

19 See interim List of Protestant Missionaries in China, online at — [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Protestant\\_missionaries\\_in\\_China](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Protestant_missionaries_in_China)

societies. As a matter of record Australian missionaries in China from the two major sending organisations are shown below. Anglicans were among the CIM missionaries.

**Table 1. Australian Missionaries in China by Colony of Origin<sup>20</sup> 1890-1950.**

	Victoria	New South Wales	Tasmania	South Aust.	Western Aust.	Queensland	
<b>China Inland Mission</b>	139	63	15	41	10	31	<b>299</b>
<b>CMS/CEZMS</b>	28	28	5	1	-	1	<b>63</b>
	167	91	20	42	10	32	<b>362</b>

### ***Missionary Hagiography.***<sup>21</sup>

The individual items in this collection are coloured by the life experience and values of each writer. This database allows protagonists to speak for themselves although this can confuse if assessments are solely determined by today’s perceptions and worldview.

One major problem is the missions’ own historic propaganda and identity historiography.<sup>22</sup> In the decades of their greatest overall power, – i.e., the high colonial period, from the mid-nineteenth century to the Second World War – their impact (and potential as generators of archives) was made possible by masses of donors who were united in a view of the world that gave their own detailed convictions and patterns of life unique authority. Literature about nonconforming ideas and attitudes in their “mission fields” scarcely existed – or reports about such things were used to emphasize how strong the powers of darkness were there. This means that work in mission archives, searching out indigenous, nonconforming elements in local Christian history, is difficult and onerous.<sup>23</sup>

It is no exaggeration to say that missionary history is overwhelming patriarchal in assumptions and viewpoints. Despite the important role of women reported in this collection no woman had a key part in the decision-making of either the Anglican or the Episcopal missions in China. This simple reality did not sit easily with many of the women, especially single women whose skills matched those of their male colleagues and more experience.

Caroline Tenney wrote to her brother:

I pity intensely any woman, now or in past ages, in private or public station, of masculine mind. Could I choose my own character, and enter again upon life, I would beg to be saved from anything but mere passable sense and the most superlative amiability. ... Indeed, the greatest trial of my life has been to

20 Each of the Australian colonies listed were distinct self-governing British colonies of settlement. They united in 1901 as states in a new federation—the Commonwealth of Australia, that drew significant points from the American federation.

21 Some readers might object that faith always precedes human knowledge, particularly that of a secular, academic kind. This was an issue in New Testament times, prompting the writing of James Ch 2, vv 14-26, arguing for an evidence-based form of Christian experience.

22 Mission historiography – not least in celebration of missionary anniversaries (and this includes major works like their official histories, often published to mark the centenary of their founding) – was aimed at articulating the leadership’s policies and writing up the organization’s achievements in terms of its superior truth and morality, with its supporters as target readership. Heterodox contributions to the mission, in the view of the leadership, were understressed, and as long as a mission was operating according to the terms of a colonial paradigm the contribution of non-Westerners to the mission’s work was also underrepresented.

23 Jenkins, Paul, Catalysts of Concealed Change: Channappa Uttangi and Theophil Opoku as Go\_Betweens in Local Interaction with the ‘Exotic’ Basel Mission, to appear in (ed) Sebastian Jobs & Gesa Mackenthun *Agents of Transculturation: Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go-Betweens*, (Münster, Waxmann, 2013).

content myself with the sphere of woman.<sup>24</sup>

This observation applies well to the changing circumstances of history.

All narratives are constructed out of specific socio-political and historical contexts, and all have their limits in terms of what is left in, left out and rejected, and ultimately what counts as a “truth.” ... In analysing histories and narratives of specific individuals it is important to be sensitive to the unforeseen consequences that arose out of the dynamics of individuals’ everyday struggles situated within structures of privilege and inequality; tensions between the constraints and opportunities involved in nineteenth-century notions of femininity, and the entitlements of class and Western imperialism that framed behaviours overseas.<sup>25</sup>

Missionary history has not been a major thread in academic research into foreign relations with China from the 19<sup>th</sup> century “opening” of China to the present time. The distrust of religion in much of English-speaking secular history has downplayed the roles of missionaries. Insufficient attention has been given by American historians to the evangelical wing of the Protestant Episcopal Church and its place in the Protestant and intellectual history of the United States and China. There were several expressions of Anglican Christianity in 19<sup>th</sup> century China—the several British Anglican missions,<sup>26</sup> the American Protestant Episcopal Church as well as significant Anglican participation in the China Inland Mission and other of the more than 100 Protestant missions that worked in China. Missionaries integrated their religion into a behavioural whole that made sense to them even if it seemed eccentric, as it did, to many of their countrymen.

Foreign missionaries were well aware that the Chinese saw them and Christianity as alien imports. One outcome has been the patronizing nationalism inspired critique labelled “cultural imperialism” that ignores the enduring disinterest of most Chinese, irrespective of education, wealth and culture, to the religion of foreigners and in a wider sense, to their institutions.<sup>27</sup> For their part, missionaries were convinced that their religion and cultural heritage was superior to that of China.

We are a modern nation, a Western nation, and a Christian nation. It is not meant by the last statement that we dwell in a land where everyone lives up to the high moral code of the New Testament, but simply that the great forces of evil, which are the same all the world over, are here restrained and held in check by our religion. We are a modern nation, and it is very difficult for us to form a correct opinion concerning the state of things in a nation that has practically stepped at once out of the ages of antiquity into the present. We are a Western nation, we are essentially the product of Roman civilization, or more strictly of the Greek civilization which preceded it; their architecture, their literature, their language, their logic, their very thought color everything in this Western world. When we come to China and the Chinese, we go back and antedate all that is Roman or Greek; so that even the very phraseology that we use when speaking of this Eastern people, is oftentimes erroneous. What do we mean, for instance, when we speak of their civilization, government, education or literature? Are we using the terms in the same sense in

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24 Caroline Tenney to William Tenney, 2 April 1849, Tenney, William C., *Memoir of Mrs. Caroline P. Keith, Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church to China*, (New York, D. Appleton, 1864), p. 63.

25 Lee, Janet, “Between Subordination and She-Tiger: Social Constructions of White Femininity in the Lives of Single, Protestant Missionaries in China, 1905-1930,” pp 621-632 in *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Vol 19 No 6, p. 622.

26 The Church Missionary Society; the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society; the Bible Churchman’s Missionary Society; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the Female Education Society.

27 Harris, Paul W., “Cultural Imperialism and American Protestant Missionaries: Collaboration and Dependency in Mid-Nineteenth-Century China,” pp 309-338 in *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol 60 No 3, August 1991.

which we apply them to our own people and country?<sup>28</sup>

Christian missionaries were, undeniably, committed to changing China and almost all believed that societal reconstruction went hand in hand with their religious work. Education, health and medical services, and other social welfare activities, were intended to improve the life of poor and marginalized people who were the overwhelming majority of China's population.<sup>29</sup>

### ***Missionary Exceptionalism.***

Missionaries, especially Protestant evangelical missionaries, based their outreach to the Chinese in the authority of the Bible that was unavoidably interpreted through their own culture and experience. An American has noted that the authority of the Bible was shared.

For the greater period of our foreign mission work the spread of American democratic ways and values were a strong source of inspiration.<sup>30</sup>

There is no evidence that, overall, Americans went about their evangelizing work in ways that were distinctively different to those of other Protestant missionaries. In one field, higher education, it is undeniable that American culture generated a commitment not matched by the missionaries of any other national background.

What is very clear is that Americans and other English-speaking missionaries generally followed similar policies and practices. It is also apparent that Episcopalians and Anglicans placed their historic legacy of the English Prayer Book and English liturgical traditions at the centre of their efforts to evangelise China and transform Chinese society.

An English minister, who lived briefly in Boston in the mid 29<sup>th</sup> century, made an observation about the place of liturgy in the Episcopal Church.

A newcomer soon becomes aware...of the stress that is laid upon the ordered worship of the Prayer Book. ... The Episcopal Church is in a very real way the Church of the Prayer Book.<sup>31</sup>

The importance of translating the Prayer Book from English to various Chinese dialects, and into Mandarin will be seen many times throughout this collection.

### ***Female Education.***

This is a topic that recurs throughout the collection in regard to American women and their life opportunities but equally in regard to the belief and behaviour of American missionaries, in particular, towards the education of Chinese women and girls.

Nothing can exceed the ignorance and the degradation of a great proportion of the females in China. Shut

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28 Partridge, Sydney C., "Our Mission in China," pp 74-89 in *The Sewanee Review*, Vol 1 No 1, November 1892. p.74.

29 Choa, G. H., "Heal the Sick" was their Motto: The Protestant Medical Missionaries in China, (Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, 1990).

30 Henery, Charles R., Review of Douglas, Ian, *Fling Out the Banner!*, *The National Church Ideal and the Foreign Mission of the Episcopal Church*, (New York, Church Hymnal Corporation, 1996) pp 721-724 in *Anglican Theological Review*, Vol 81 No 4, Fall 1999).

31 Dillstone, F. W. "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the USA," *The Churchman*, (UK), Vol 62 Issue 4, December 1948, pp 196-197.

up and crippled from their infancy, the higher classes spend their time in the decoration of their persons, the amusements of the theatre, and games of chance. A little embroidery, perhaps, may occupy a small portion of their time; but the most beautiful specimens of work are done by men; the women are astonishingly deficient in the use of the needle, and as to being able to read their own language, probably not one in a hundred, even of the better class, receive any instruction from native teachers.

Parents sometimes destroy their female offspring soon after birth, and in cases of want, some of both sexes are left to starvation in the streets. All this seems to be done without compunction of conscience.

Many are maimed, to be made beggars; their eyes are put out; a foot perhaps amputated; sometimes children are exhibited in the streets, apparently covered with small-pox, to excite pity, and extort money. You examine the child and it is all a deception; something is put upon the face that appears like the disease, by which the passer-by is deceived. It is well known that the Chinese place little or no value upon their daughters; and if questioned as to how many children they have, they answer according to the number of their sons, omitting to bring their daughters into the account.

I once asked a tailor, "Why do your people always rejoice at the birth of a son, and not at the birth of a daughter?" "Because the girls are so much trouble and expense, they cannot work and get money."

Again I asked an officer of government, "Why do you not teach your daughters as well as your sons to read?" He replied, "It is of no use." I said, "Will you send your little daughter to <sup>32</sup>me to be taught?" His answer in broken English was, "No can do;" meaning that it would be of no use.

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32 Bridgman, Eliza, *Daughters of China, or Sketches of Domestic Life in the Celestial Empire*, (New York, Carter Bros, 1853), pp 126-127.

## 2.2 MISSIONS & IMPERIALISM.

Protestant missions were inseparably linked to foreign economic and military imperialism although missionaries sought to explain this by references to the intervention of God rather than to the commercial interests of 19<sup>th</sup> century capitalist entrepreneurism. Where foreign culture and foreign political and military systems coincided, as in the “opening” of China by British naval and military assault, the missionaries invariably thanked “Divine Providence” for the success of foreign military and naval actions—conveniently avoiding the impropriety of violence in the propagation of Christianity. A critical image of the link between missions and imperialism appeared in the American satirical journal, “Puck.” Soldiers and guns (British and American) frame the central image in which the puritanical images of Protestant missionaries are matched with bags of money.

According to the Ideas of our Missionary Maniacs.



The first American Episcopal missionaries established themselves among the Chinese immigrant community in Java in 1837 at a time when China was closed to foreigners other than the Portuguese toe-hold in Macao. The arrival of American Protestant missionaries in China was:

Closely connected to a major change in the China trade. In 1834 the British formally abolished the East India Company's monopoly, and the leading role in the China trade now passed to the "private merchants," who already dominated the opium traffic. Missionaries' collaboration with imperialism had its origins in an unusually cooperative relationship they developed with these private merchants. This relationship was initiated by the American firm of D. W. C. Olyphant & Co., probably the only private merchant to refrain from opium trading on principle, but it grew to include the leading firms in the opium business as well. This collaboration could be explained as strictly a marriage of convenience between partners uneasy in one another's company and looking forward to the day when they could make it on their own. A number of merchants kept their distance from missionary projects aimed at promoting the Westernization of China.<sup>33</sup>

Two "Opium Wars" later, and the final defeat of the Taiping Rebellion, cover the years that have been described as the "formative period of the ... Protestant mission in China."<sup>34</sup>



A significant element in American diplomacy, and military power, in East Asia was the role of United States Navy officers, notably **Commodores James Biddle** and **Matthew Perry**, in carrying out American government instructions to bring Japan into the international community. Beneath these commanders served officers of Christian

convictions who used their positions to advance the work of American missionaries. The main example of this was the captain of the USS *Minnesota*, one of Biddle's squadron, Captain Samuel Francis "Frank" Dupont, of the famous American industrial family, was an active member of the Episcopal Board of Missions and had on board *Minnesota*, as his personal guest, the Rev. Edward W. Syle of the Protestant Episcopal Mission. Syle's letters to Dupont mix economic, cultural, political and social themes: residual American dependency on British institutions; jingoism; racism; religiously centred self-sacrifice, prejudice, and triumphalism; all wrapped in everyday human elements of family, joy, suffering, endurance, hope and patience.

The role of United States naval commanders in connection with the opening of Protestant missionary work in Japan is apparent in the reports of American clergymen who visited Japan under US Navy patronage. American efforts culminated in Townsend Harris' negotiation of a treaty of friendship and commerce with Japan. It was in Townsend's dwelling (a former Buddhist temple) that the first Protestant religious service was held in Japan. The contribution of American

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33 Harris, Paul W., "Cultural Imperialism and American Protestant Missionaries: Collaboration and Dependency in Mid-Nineteenth-Century China." pp 309-338 in *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol 60 No 3 August 1991, p. 316.

34 Marr, Joshua T, *Religion Beyond the Empire: British Religious Politics in China, 1842-1866*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Louisiana State University, December 2007, p. 2.

missionaries as interpreters and writers, as US Commissioner William Reed stated, materially advanced Townsend's negotiations.<sup>35</sup> The following comment applies, particularly, to American missionaries. The British mission attitude was generally to avoid involving missionaries in governmental affairs in China as evidenced by the concerns over the involvement of the Rev..William Banister in the Huashan Commission of Enquiry.<sup>36</sup>

Merchants and diplomats found missionaries useful because the missionaries were in the business of communication and were among the few Westerners who bothered to learn the difficult Chinese language. Missionaries served the Western community as interpreters for diplomatic and commercial negotiations, as an important source of news and information about China and the Chinese.<sup>37</sup>

Despite their active participation in official American relations with China and Japan, most American missionaries remain "dim figures" with only the most prominent given passing mentions.<sup>38</sup> The involvement of missionaries in American diplomatic and consular negotiations is particularly important in relation to the 1850-1860 period but extended into later years.

Official American policy regarded American missionaries as having no more status, diplomatically, as any other American citizen. The British Government appointed and subsidised official chaplains to British colonial possessions, such as Hong Kong, or placed official chaplains in places with significant British expatriate communities, such as Shanghai but no similar appointments were made by the United States.<sup>39</sup> As many of these appointments involved missionaries who began their China career with the Church Missionary Society, there was a small but significant overlap between being an official and being a missionary.

The Church of England was, and is, part of the government of England and its bishops are appointed by the British monarch.<sup>40</sup> In the English rules of precedence, the Archbishop of Canterbury follows members of the Royal Family with the Archbishop of York next. Both archbishops precede the Prime Minister.

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35 The significance of American missionaries in shaping American foreign policy is discussed in Phillips, Clifton J, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half-Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*, (Harvard East Asian Monographs, # 32, Cambridge MA, Harvard University, 1969). See Part 15.

36 Banister, Rev. William, Foochow, China, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 23 January 1896. In Welch, Ian, "The Flower Mountain Murders: A "missionary Case" Data-base, Part 6. Online 1 July 2013 at— <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/7273>

37 Harris, op cit, p, 317.

38 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, p. 94.

39 The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" Article VI specifies that "no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States." The Australian federal Constitution follows these principles. Section 116 says: "The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth."

40 The Established Church of Scotland is Presbyterian. The Episcopal Church in Scotland is entirely independent of the government. The Anglican Church in Wales was disestablished in 1914 but elements of establishment status remained-burial and marriage-and are now under review (*Church of England Newspaper*, 30 June 2013). The Church of Ireland was disestablished in 1871.



The United States (and Australian) official orders of precedence list persons holding office within the secular state but omit holders of a religious office. These differences in the constitutional makeup of the English Anglican and the American Episcopal churches underpinned relationships between the Anglican and Episcopal churches in Asia and shaped the creation of the Anglican Communion.

The key points can be summarized as:

- (1) Provision for the election of bishops by both clerical and lay representatives, and the limiting and defining of the powers of the episcopate by a written constitution.
- (2) The establishment of a graduated system of representative and synodical government reflecting the civil order of government.
- (3) The right of the laity to share in legislation and administration.
- (4) Voluntary financial support by the laity, i.e., clergy empowered by lay finance.<sup>41</sup>

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41 Boshier, Rev. Robert S., (1962), "The American Church and the Formation of the Anglican Communion, 1823-1853," online 1 July 2013 at Project Canterbury, <http://anglicanhistory.org/academic/boshier1962.pdf>

## 2.3 MISSIONARIES & SOCIAL STATUS IN CHINA.

Episcopal missionaries in 19C China were from middle and upper class social backgrounds and had a college or university education. With three exceptions the early Episcopal missionaries were clergymen, mostly from the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia (see Part One: Introduction). Two of the four lay missionaries were college graduates employed as teachers who were subsequently ordained. The other two were medical doctors who each served less than a year.

American middle and upper-class women were also well-educated. Lydia Mary Fay<sup>42</sup>, for example, was “a tolerably good Latin scholar and has read the New Testament in Greek.”<sup>43</sup> She became an outstanding scholar of Chinese.

Miss Fay’s early training at a school in her native city, Albany, N.Y., was unusually thorough... Miss Fay had been well grounded and instructed in several languages, especially English, Latin and French (she also had a useful working knowledge of Greek), in much of the best English literature, in botany and chemistry. She was decidedly the best English grammarian of my acquaintance, and Murray’s Grammar was almost as much her own as the English alphabet. Of history ancient and modern, ecclesiastical, political, and general, she had large and accurate knowledge. Her logical and critical perceptions of the unities I prized as highly as often to avail myself of them. I make special mention of her knowledge of botany and chemistry, because by it she was enabled (through her acquaintance with Chinese and English), to render valuable assistance to Dr. S. Wells Williams (now of New Haven, Connecticut), in preparing his valuable Chinese and English dictionary, which is now the standard in this field.<sup>44</sup>

A review of American foreign missions in 1932 concluded:

The missionary's western style and scale of living subject him to some criticism by nationals and contribute in a measure to the "foreignness" which handicaps him in his work. To the average Oriental, he appears to be a man of wealth, living not only in comfort but in luxury. ...

It is true that not a few missionary compounds and bungalows are unnecessarily large and imposing. Sometimes they seem unnecessarily remote from the life of the town. Such developments should certainly be guarded against, for they only add to the sense of aloofness with which the missionary at best has to contend.<sup>45</sup>

Underpinning American education was a Protestant value that literacy and numeracy should be available to all. This was a core principle of the early English settlers of North America that deepened as America expanded westward after independence from Britain.<sup>46</sup> The fabled 3R’s (Reading, “Riting” and “Rithmetic”) illustrate a religious belief that everyone should be able to read

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42 Welch, Ian, “Lydia Mary Fay and the Episcopal Church Mission in China,” pp 33-37 in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol 36 No 1, January 2012.

43 Rev. Charles B. Dana, Rector, Christ Episcopal Church, Alexandria, to Rev. Pierre P. Irving, Secretary, Foreign Missions Committee, Protestant Episcopal Church, 20 July 1844. Episcopal Church Archives. See also Montgomery, Helen Barrett, *Western Women in Eastern Lands*, (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910), pp 6-9.

44 Rev. Robert Nelson, *Southern Churchman*, Alexandria, Va Thursday November 28, 1878, Vol XLIV, No 48.

45 Hocking, William E., *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen’s Inquiry After One Hundred Years*, (New York, Harper, 1932), p. 299.

46 Madigan, Jennifer C., “The Education of Girls and Women in the United States: A Historical Perspective,” pp 11-13 in *Advances in Gender and Education*, Vol 1, 2009. Online 1 July 2012 at — [http://www.mcrcad.org/Web\\_Madigan.pdf](http://www.mcrcad.org/Web_Madigan.pdf)

the Bible in English while a growing economy stimulated the need for numeracy.

The process of individual social improvement, as well as the mixing of missionary and official status, can be seen in the instance of the Rev. Richard J. Wolfe, the longest serving missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Fujian Province (arrived 1862). Wolfe came from a lower middle class Protestant farming family in Skibbereen, County Cork, Ireland. He did not, as was the case with almost all the other Irish Anglican missionaries in China, attend Trinity College, Dublin but was a graduate of the CMS Training College at Islington and viewed himself as a minister of the Church of England and not of the Church of Ireland. Once appointed Archdeacon of Fuzhou by the Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, Wolfe regarded himself as having ecclesiastical authority over all British Anglican missionaries in Fujian Province, even those who did not belong to the CMS.<sup>47</sup> Decision-making in the Church Missionary Society was supposed to be taken collectively but Wolfe projected his self-image so well that one British Consul referred to him as the “Pope” of Fuzhou.<sup>48</sup>

An important element in the improved lifestyle of many Protestant missionaries was the employment of servants.<sup>49</sup> Caroline Tenney-Keith arrived in China as a single woman teacher in the American Episcopal Boys’ School. After her marriage to the Rev. Cleveland Keith, she described her domestic management challenges:

The great event in the last week, to me, was the departure of the cook, who had been a very good one ... He charged me almost double price for things, and was deeply in debt, too. ... Have I ever told you, that, to cook, to wash, and to do the sweeping, washing dishes, &c., requires three servants? And I have a woman come to take care of my room. For the last there are reasons I cannot fully explain; but partly because sweeping and making a bed are tiresome, and I cannot do both hard manual and mental work. ... So true is it that "missionaries have many servants."<sup>50</sup>

The usual complement of servants included a cook, who was in charge of the rest of the Chinese servants and dedicated to making money out of his employer; a table boy; a water coolie to bring water to the house; and an amah, or children’s nurse and general housemaid.<sup>51</sup> Nothing changed in succeeding years.

The cook in China does the marketing, and he also gets his commission or “squeeze” as it is popularly called. that is, he buys a pound and a half of meat and brings in a bill for two, or he charges his mistress a few coppers more a pound than he has paid. This squeezing business is perfectly understood by both parties, and providing it does not exceed certain bounds, nothing is said about it.<sup>52</sup>

One prominent foreign scholar concluded:

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47 In addition to the Church Missionary Society, there were two closely linked but organizationally distinct women’s societies—the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) and the Female Education Society (FES) working in Fujian Province.

48 Banister, Rev. William, Foochow, China, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 23 January 1896. In Welch, Ian, “The Flower Mountain Murders: A “missionary Case” Data-base, Part 6. Online 1 July 2013 at— <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/7273>

49 MacGowan, Rev. John, ‘*Sidelights on Chinese Life*, (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1907), Ch V, pp 94-111 provides a detailed description of the complex relationships between Europeans and their Chinese servants.

50 Caroline Tenney to Miss Goodridge, March 1852. Tenney, 1864, op cit, p. 238.

51 MacGowan 1907, op cit, p. 94.

52 Gamewell, Mary N., *The Gateway to China*, (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1916), p. 85.

The disadvantages of ignoring alike the language and customs of the Chinese are daily and hourly exemplified in the unsatisfactory relations which exist as a rule between master and servant. That the latter almost invariably despise their foreign patrons, and are only tempted to serve under them by the remunerative nature of the employment, is a fact too well known to be contradicted.<sup>53</sup>

### Chinese Amah [Nanny] with Missionary Children.



Banister Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia,  
University of Lyons, France.

Foreign residents in China did not hesitate in reporting the luxurious lifestyle of missionaries.

Eliza Gillett Bridgman wrote in response:

The number of servants, too, employed is often matter of animadversion, and we hear from letters and other sources, that missionaries in the East, are living in a style unbecoming their high and holy calling. But could those who censure, understand all the facts of the case, perhaps a more charitable judgment would be exercised. Manual labor in the East, is much cheaper than in America ; and what one strong man or woman can do in a day, takes two to do in China. The climate is debilitating to the native, and much more to the foreigner.

Men have to do the work of horses, and for half the wages laborers receive in America. We have no carriages, nor steamboats, nor railroad cars. If we ride on land, it must be in a Sedan chair borne on the shoulders of two men.

The missionary is placed in entirely different circumstances than when enjoying the privileges of his native land. It is expected that he and his wife will learn the language, take care of their families, and instruct the heathen. Now how can they do this, unless native servants are employed in their households to perform the manual labor necessary to be done in a pagan city? There is just so much to be done every day. If the missionary must practise that strict economy which would deprive him of these helpers—he leaves his proper vocation, and occupies his time in duties which defeat the purpose for which he was sent.

The missionary mother, too, perhaps would gladly do with one servant and put her own shoulder to the work—but she is sensitive to an enervating climate — she has no school where her children can be educated. She has the same feelings and anxiety for their intellectual and moral culture, with the happy

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53 Giles, Herbert A, *Chinese Sketches*, (Shanghai, Kelly & Co, 1876).

mothers in America, but who is to perform the office of training, to whom are her little ones to look? All these responsibilities, as well as domestic cares, devolve on her.<sup>54</sup>

Foreigners had no difficulty in recruiting Chinese staff. Positions with foreign employers were eagerly sought after. Quite apart from regular pay and good working conditions, there were endless opportunities for profiting on purchases or even downright theft, as reported by the Episcopal missionary, the Rev. Augustus Hohing who described his experience while living in Beijing.

I am sorry to state that we have been twice robbed by servants to the amount of over two hundred dollars. One has been arrested but the things are gone. They broke open the lock of our door on Christmas Eve, while we were visiting at Dr. Williams'. All our linen articles and bedding are gone, besides many other articles.<sup>55</sup>

Relationships between Chinese servants and their foreign employers were routinely unsettled.

A certain level of dishonesty was routinely accepted by Europeans...but the vulnerability of European households to theft by servants remained a constant source of anxiety.<sup>56</sup>

Servants had no particular obligations of loyalty to their foreign employers.

They watched every movement of the intruder, misinterpreted his actions and frequently in anger, malice, or pure mischief, circulated among their friends the most outrageous lies about their employers.<sup>57</sup>

Some servants were brave enough to defend their employers but not infrequently, when faced with almost certain death, servants would abandon their employers during riots or other hostile events.<sup>58</sup>

Chinese servants were well aware of the benefits, for security of employment and opportunities for extra income, of adopting the religion of their employers.<sup>59</sup> Many early “conversions” were of their servants. The appellation, “rice Christian” was used to describe people who sought baptism to secure economic benefits, such as mission domestic employees.<sup>60</sup> The term is defined as:

The apparent convert who desires only the material benefits from association with the mission: food, employment, legal protection, even books (to sell).<sup>61</sup>

Bishop Boone reported from Shanghai that two of the servants of the Rev. Dr. Medhurst had been baptized and that two of his own servants had asked for instruction.<sup>62</sup>

There is clear evidence that the families of Chinese Christians prospered by their association

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54 Bridgman 1853, op cit, pp 117-118.

55 Rev. Augustus Hohing, Peking, 9 February 1867, *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 32

56 Henriot, Christian and Wen-Hsin Yeh, eds, *Visualising China, 1845-1965: Moving and Still Images in Historical Narratives*, (Leiden, Brill 2012).

57 Woodbridge, Samuel I. *Fifty Years in China*, (Richmond Va, Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1919), p. 40.

58 When the Anglican missionaries were attacked at Huashan in August 1893, their Chinese servants were conspicuous by their departure at the first sign of trouble. Welch, Ian, *The Flower Mountain Murders: A Missionary Case data-base*, online 1 July 2013, at — <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/7273> Part Six. Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry. Report 3, 23 August to 26 August 1895.

59 Brotchie, op cit, p. 32 notes that many of the converts of Australians with the China Inland Mission “came from amongst their own servants.”

60 Reinders, op cit, p 510.

61 Ibid p. 525.

62 Boone, Muriel, *The Seed of the Church in China*, (Edinburgh, The Saint Andrew Press, 1975), pp 121-124.

with Christianity. Leang Afa was the first Chinese to be ordained a Christian minister. His son, Liang Ateh, a pupil of the Rev. Elijah Bridgman, used his English language skills to secure employment as a government interpreter and translator.<sup>63</sup>

His dress gave him quite a commanding appearance. The under garment, which came nearly to his feet, was of figured Canton crape, of Mazarine blue, and lined with handsome fur. A belt of black crape confined it around the waist, and in this belt on one side, was an embroidered fan case, and a watch on the other. Over this was a garment of fur, which came down below the waist, with sleeves lined with purple satin and leggings and shoes of the same rich material. His whole figure was surmounted by a cap, somewhat after the official style.<sup>64</sup>

Mrs. Bridgman's mention of the "embroidered fan case" points to the importance of the fan.

Perhaps were it not for the abundant use of the fan, so common amongst them, even the Chinese might not be able to live in their crowded streets through the severe summer heat. Its constant use tends much to the comfort and, therefore, to the health of the people. They use the fan, not as Europeans, in a quick and hurried way, which requires some exertion and soon wearies, but with a quiet, uninterrupted motion, which, while dispersing the heated air and serving the purpose of a refrigerator, causes no fatigue.<sup>65</sup>

Another example of a sincere Christian convert whose family prospered from its connection with Protestant missions was Ho Fook Tong [Ho Fuk Tong].

When the London Mission Society moved to Hong Kong, the Rev. James Legge brought with him from Malacca ... Ho Tsun Shin ... alias Ho Fook Tong ... alias Ho Yeung. ... Ho Fuk Tong died in 1871. (His)\_estate was \$150,000. It was one of the largest estates appearing on the schedules up to that date.<sup>66</sup>

One example of the extent to which foreigners took full advantage of the availability of cheap Chinese servants is the Australian journalist, and China correspondent for the London *Times*, George Ernest Morrison of Melbourne, better known as "Chinese" Morrison. He had a large personal staff although he did not have a family household. The other illustration shows the Chinese servants of the American Consulate in Fuzhou in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The employment of Chinese servants by foreigners in China is strongly imaged in the website *Visual Cultures in East Asia*.<sup>67</sup>

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63 Bridgman 1853, op cit, p. 84.

64 Bridgman 1853, op cit pp 45-46.

65 Barnes, Irene H, *Between Life and Death: The Story of C.E.Z.M.S., Medical Missions in India, China, and Ceylon*, (London, Marshall Brothers and Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1901), p. 23. Citing W. Lockhart, Esq., F.R.C.S., F.R.G.S.

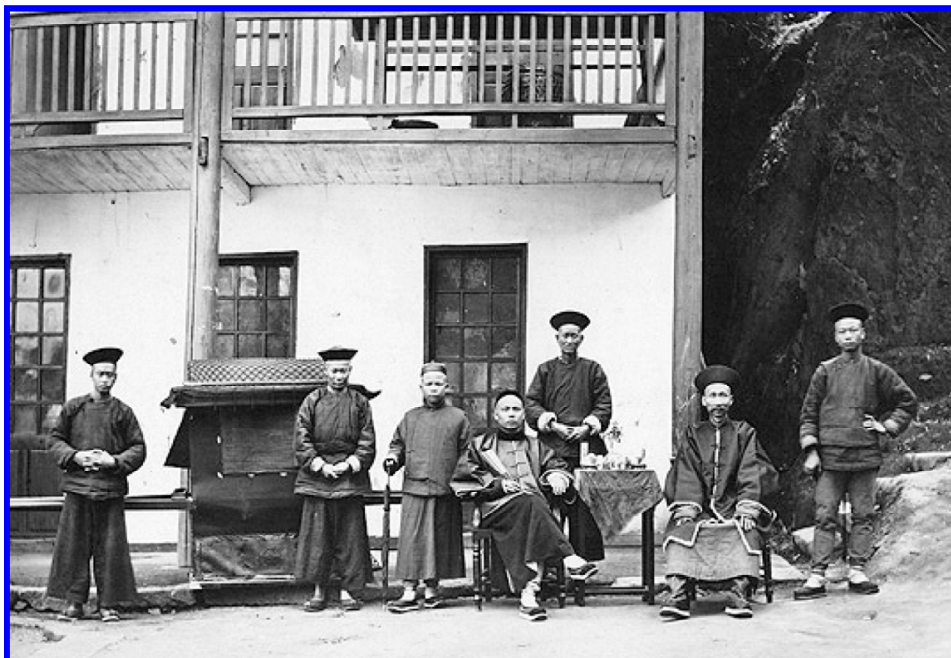
66 "Ho Fuk Tong accompanied ... was ordained as the Chinese pastor of the London Missionary Society congregation in 1846. He continued as a faithful minister of the congregation (now Hop Yat Church) until his death in 1871. He was conscientious and faithful in his service to the church, but he was also very successful as a financier. After his death there were numerous Court suits over the interpretation of his will and the administration of his estate. Some of the difficulties arose because Ho Fuk Tong held his property under various aliases. In one of the cases a barrister gives his opinion why Ho Fuk Tong followed this procedure: 'He was not only perhaps a god preacher but a remarkably good man of business. He undoubtedly made a good use of his time, money and opportunities. He was a man who, from comparatively small beginnings, invested small sums of money in lots of land which he held on to, undoubtedly became in course of some years a man of considerable means and property character disposition of the gentleman under whom he was working in his special services as a preacher. He came to the conclusion that Dr. Chalmers, the head of the Mission by whom he was employed, would not like a man engaged in such services to have too great an interest in money. It was not wise for him to pose as a man possessing very much property.' Smith, Carl, (1971), 'The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong,' a lecture delivered to the Branch on 15 March 1971, pp 74-115 in *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 11 (1971), pp 104-105.

67 See online 1 July 2013 at — [http://www.vcea.net/Digital\\_Library/Images\\_en.php](http://www.vcea.net/Digital_Library/Images_en.php)

G. E. "Chinese" Morrison with Servants, Beijing.



Servants of the American Consulate, Foochow (Fuzhou).



## 2.4 MISSIONARIES & HOUSING.

Housing provides another means of assessing the social status of missionaries in China. Missionary housing in a Treaty Port such as Shanghai was rented from Chinese, and missionaries were forced to make improvements at their own cost. The state of the initial Episcopal housing in the old city of Shanghai was described by Eliza Gillett Bridgman.

Our house was principally of wood, two stories high, with a court in the centre paved with tiles, and lighted with windows of their oyster-shell plates, used instead of glass. The second story where we lived, had windows of glass, an improvement introduced by Mr. Graham. The floors were of rough boards, in dry weather gaping open, almost wide enough, in some places, to put one's finger through. The rooms had no proper ceiling overhead, some thin boards had been nailed on the rafters, and the sides were plastered and whitewashed.

In the upper rooms the Chinese have nothing over their heads but the roof of tiles. These become heated by the sun to such a degree in the summer months, as to render it insupportable to stay above, and we were frequently forced to the court below for relief to an aching head.

In constructing their houses, the Chinese have no regard to proper ventilation in summer, and in winter no arrangement to warm their dwellings. They have no fires themselves, except a little for cooking, which goes out immediately after the meal is prepared. The winters in Shanghai are very severe, although it is in the latitude of Charleston, S. C. It is situated on a vast plain, and there is nothing to break the power of the wind; but with comfortable dwellings, which those engaged in the commercial business secure, and which missionaries are also striving to obtain as fast as means are afforded, Shanghai is as healthy as most cities in America.<sup>68</sup>

As the foreign settlements matured missionary housing was usually of a very high standard incorporating family residences, accommodation for visitors, mission office, schools and chapels. The general mood of other foreigners in Shanghai is summed up as follows:

The foreigners lived by preference outside the walled Chinese city, in wide-spreading houses with lofty columns, extended verandas, elaborate courts, and gardens.

In rural areas, it was normal practice to rent or buy Chinese houses and undertake major renovations and this proved, for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to be a source of regular conflict between missionaries and local officials.

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68 Bridgman 1853, op cit, pp 101-103.



**Archdeacon John R. Wolfe's (CMS) House in Fuzhou, Fujian Province.**



Banister Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, University of Lyons, France.

**House of Rev. J. V. N. Talmage,  
American Reformed Church Mission, Amoy [Xiamen], Fujian Province.**



Pitcher, P., Fifty Years in Amoy or a History of the Amoy Mission, China. (New York, Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1893), p. 107.

**American Missionary Compound in Swatow.**



Yale University, Divinity School Library.

**English Baptist House, Guangdong (Canton).**



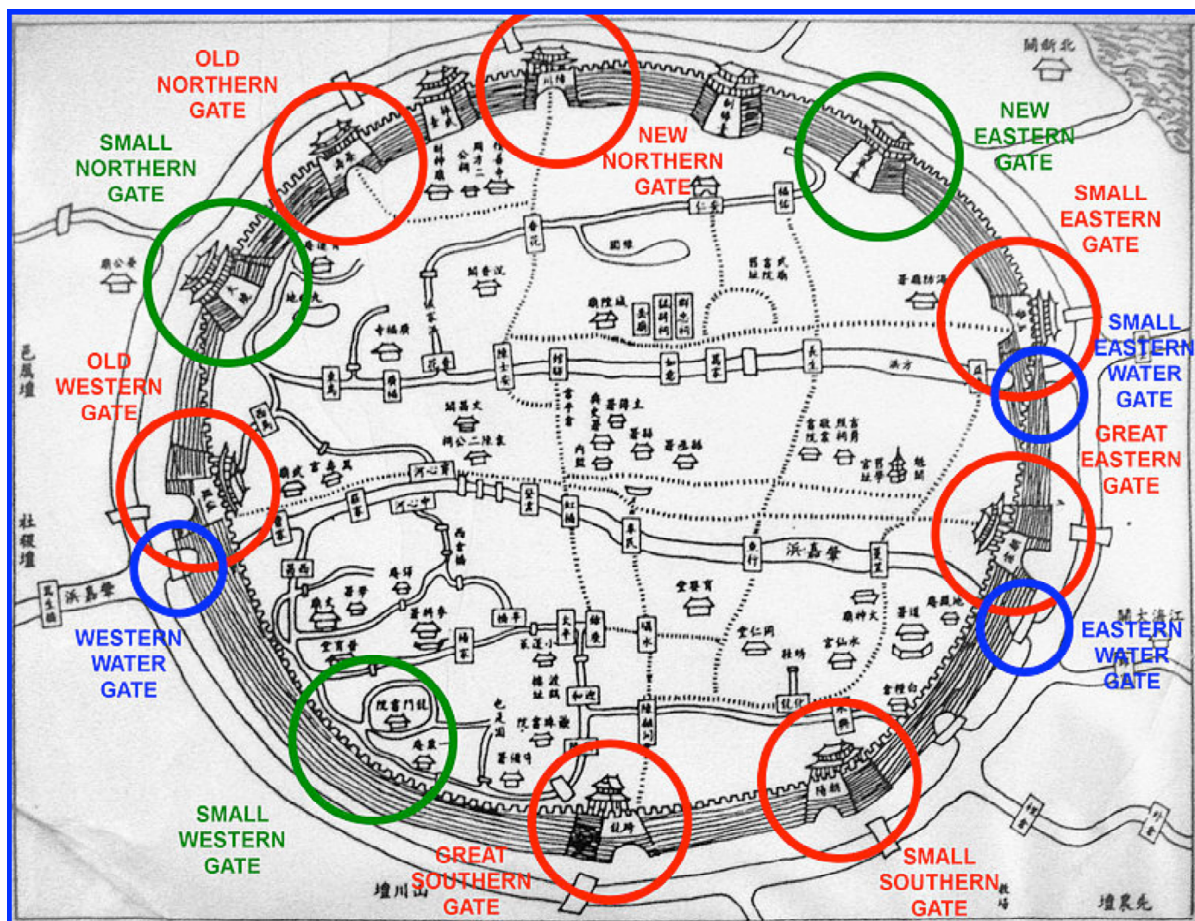
## 2.5 MISSIONARIES & SOCIAL SEPARATION IN CHINA.

In a comprehensive study of Australians members of the China Inland Mission missionary compounds were described as:

Fortresses which insulated the Westerners from contact with the Chinese people except on their own terms?<sup>69</sup>

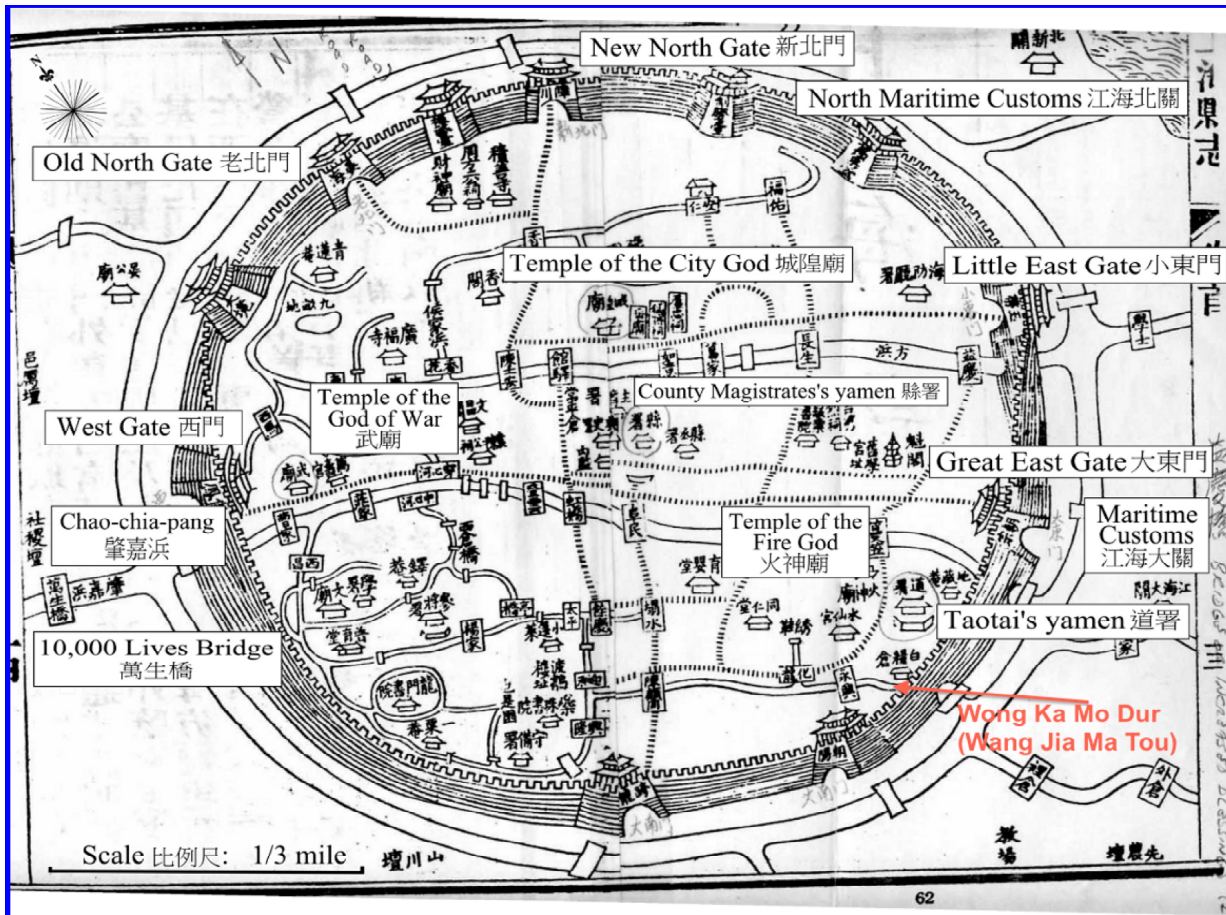
Living in a walled compound was not unique to foreigners in China. Safety considerations over millennia made security walls a common practice for wealthy Chinese, and missionaries, to physically separate themselves. It was common, from ancient times and in all civilisations, for people to seek security behind walls as the famous Norman castles of England and Wales attest. Families required space for children and servants. Missionaries were expected to provide accommodation for visitors.

The City Wall and Gates of the old Chinese City of Shanghai.



69 Brothie, Phillip, (2003), *The Importance of the contribution of Australians to the penetration of China by the China Inland Mission in the period 1888-1953, with particular reference to the work of Australian Women Missionaries*, PhD Deakin University, Victoria, (unpublished). Jiangyin Mission Compound, p. 413.

Key Chinese Sites in the old Chinese City of Shanghai.

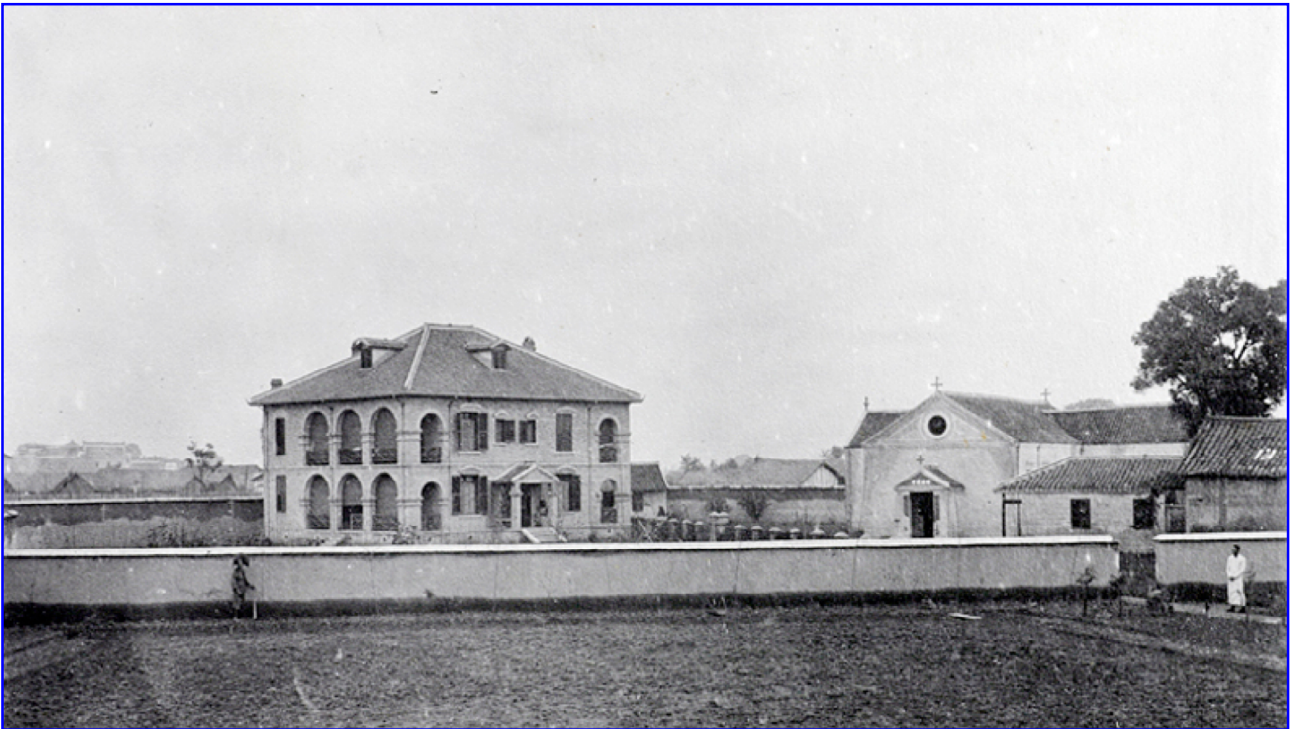


The following map show the walls of the old city and the location of Protestant missions.

Foreign and Chinese Locations in the Old Chinese City of Shanghai.

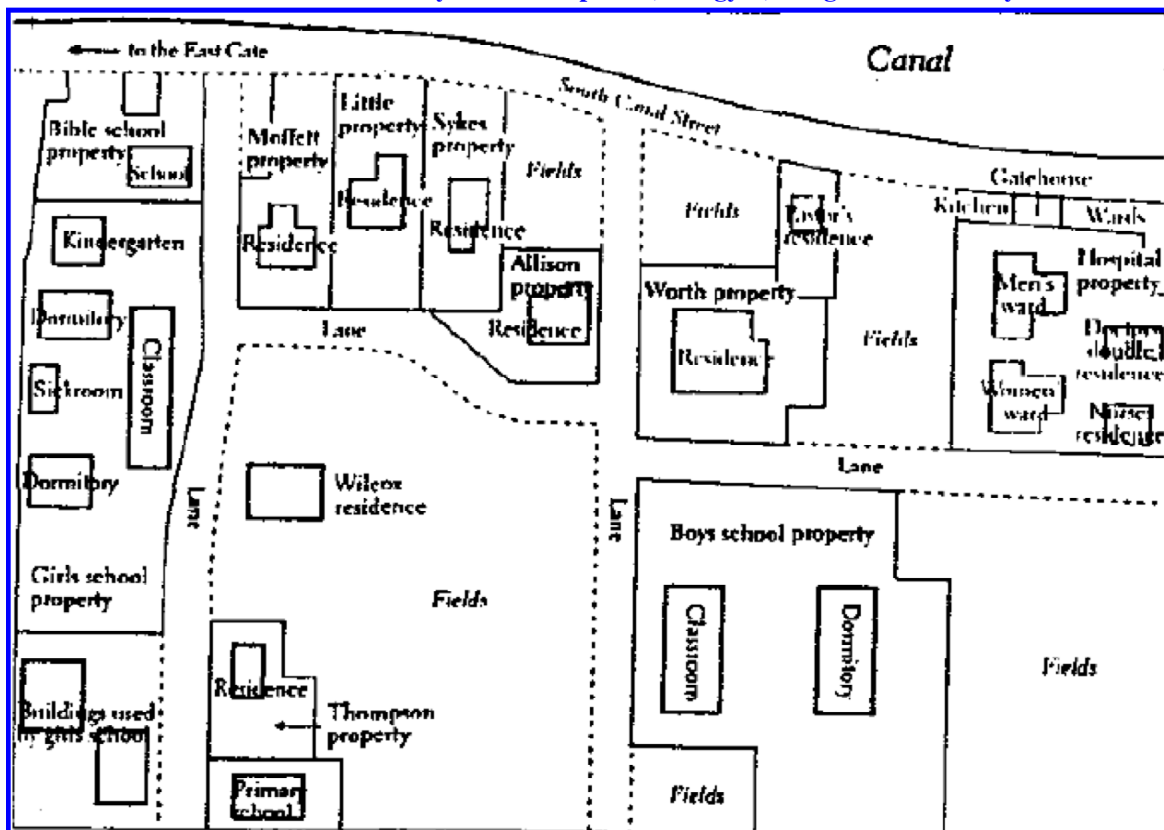


Anglican Diocesan Compound, Siangnang, Honan Province



The following diagram shows an American Southern Presbyterian mission in the Yangtse Valley.

American Southern Presbyterian Compound, Jiangyin, Yangtse River Valley.<sup>70</sup>



70 This compound covered approx 15 hectares (c28 acres). Brothie drew on Kessler, Lawrence D., *The Jiangyin Mission Station*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p.8.

The majority of Protestant male missionaries were married and Euro-American convention favoured separate housing for each family. It was common for married men to outlive more than one wife. Single men went home on their first leave (usually after five years) and married while others married a single women missionary already in China.

A survey reported in 1878 that there were national differences:

The numbers of unmarried missionaries in English and American societies is seen to be about equal. But in English societies the majority of these are men, in American societies the majority are women. The reason is to be found partly in the character of the work undertaken by the China Inland and other English missions, where perhaps itinerancy receives more attention; and partly in the comparatively greater effort put forth by American missions in the important matter of female education.<sup>71</sup>

Missionary families normally produced children who added to the need for housing comparable to that of compatriots at home. There was a pattern of Protestant mission families locating near a mission with a resident foreign physician who provided services for foreign residents as well as the Chinese.

**An Anglican (CMS) Missionary Family in Honan Province, c1890.**



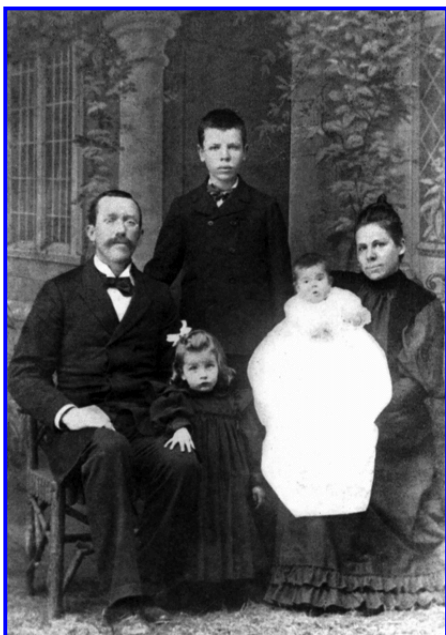
Banister Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia.  
University of Lyons, France.

The next two images show the Sydenstricker family, American Presbyterians and the Anglican Bishop of Honan and his family. The Sydenstricker baby is the famous writer, Pearl Buck. She was the fifth child of the family. Two of her siblings died while still infants in a pattern discussed in the collection.

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71 Lees, Rev. Jonathan, "The Present Strength of Protestant Missions in China," p. 7 in *The Chinese Recorder*, Vol 9, January-February 1878.

**Sydenstricker Family,  
American Presbyterian Mission.**



[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Absalom\\_Sydenstricker](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Absalom_Sydenstricker)  
University of Lyons, France.

**Rev. Wiliam & Mrs Banister and son, Tom.  
Church Missionary Society.**



Banister Collection,  
Visual Cultures of East Asia.

**A foreign style American Seventh Day Baptist house near Shanghai, c1846.**



Bridgman, Eliza, *Daughters of China, or Sketches of Domestic Life in the Celestial Empire*,  
(New York, Carter Bros, 1853), p. 75

Residence of the Rev. N. Wardner.  
The man at extreme left has a child impaled on a pike (infanticide).  
The Chinese at centre are showing curiosity about the foreign house.

In the following illustration seven sedan chairs carrying foreign members of the Kucheng Commission of Enquiry approach the extensive Methodist Episcopal mission at Kucheng that provided accommodation for the British and American members of the Commission.

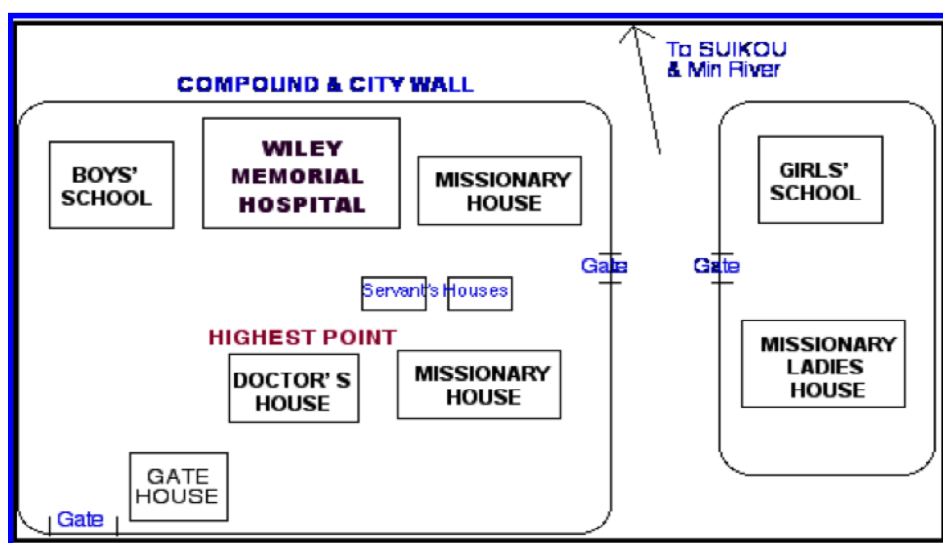
**American Methodist Episcopal Mission Compound, Kucheng, Fukien (Fujian) Province, c1895.**



Ohlinger Collection, Yale University Divinity Library.

The ground plan of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission compound at Kucheng— a moderate sized station with a hospital and resident foreign doctor.<sup>72</sup> The top of the diagram is the position from which the preceding photograph was taken.

**Layout of the American Methodist Episcopal Compound at Kucheng.**



72 Dr James Gregory was the resident doctor of the Methodist Episcopal Mission at Kucheng at the time of the murders of eleven British missionaries. Welch, Ian, *Letters from China Dr. James J. Gregory*, online 1 July 2013 a — [http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/welch\\_gregory.pdf](http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/welch_gregory.pdf) See also Welch, Ian, *The Flower Mountain Murders: A Missionary Case data-base*, online 1 July 2013, at — <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/7273>



## 2.6 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY PROTESTANT WORLDVIEW.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries a series of religious movements known collectively as the First and Second Evangelical Awakenings began in British North America, spread to Great Britain and back again to North America. These revivals reshaped Protestant Christianity around the world including the British colonies of settlement.<sup>73</sup> The central figure in this collection, the Rt. Rev. William Jones Boone, the first American Missionary Bishop to China, and coincidentally the first bishop of the Anglican tradition in China, experienced “conversion” in a revival meeting associated with the Second Great Awakening in the United States that is discussed in Part 3. Boone’s religious awakening centred on Christ’s atonement and belief in the Holy Spirit’s immanence in everyday life rather than the symbolic Episcopal religion of his earlier life. 19C evangelicals assumed that the conversion of individuals would bring about the reconstruction of society that in turn could bring about the millennium, the rule of Christ on earth, bringing an end to all suffering and injustice. It is based on passages in the Bible—keeping in mind the general consensus of 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestants that the Bible was the supreme and infallible standard of faith and Christian behaviour. Moreover, they believed that biblical prophecies were demonstrations of the absolute truth of the Bible. In this mindset, a prophecy such as the following was a statement of a literal event.<sup>74</sup>

For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.<sup>75</sup>

There has always been great interest among Christians in biblical references to the “last days” when it was believed that Christ would return to rule the earth for a thousand years, i.e., millennialism.<sup>76</sup> It was agreed that before the “Second Coming” the Christian church would be subject to a “Great Tribulation” in which many believers would die.<sup>77</sup> The millennium refers to a period of one thousand years.

And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a **thousand years**, And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the **thousand years** should be fulfilled: and after that he must be

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73 Kidd, Thomas S., *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in North America*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007). Noll, Mark A., *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, (Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 1994). Noll, Mark A., *The Old Religion in a New World: The History of North American Christianity*, (Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2007). Ward, W R, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992). Bebbington, D W, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989).

74 Links between the return of Christ and the Protestant missionary movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are discussed in Orchard, Stephen, Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening,” *Journal of Religious History*, Vol 22 No 2, June 1998, pp 132-151.

75 New Testament. The First Letter to the Thessalonians, Ch 4, vv 16-17 (I Thess. 4:16-17).

76 A very influential work, in four volumes, was Elliott, E, B., *Horæ Apocalypticæ: or, A commentary on the Apocalypse, critical and historical...* London, Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1862).

77 New Testament. The Revelation of St. John, Ch 20 vv 9-10. (Rev. 20:9-10).

loosed a little season. And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a **thousand years**. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the **thousand years** were finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years. And when the **thousand years** are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.<sup>78</sup>

A leading American evangelist, Charles Finney, declared in 1835 the possibility of the millennium within three years.<sup>79</sup> Dana Robert describes the view adopted by Alan T. Pierson in 1879 that the condition of humanity would get worse and worse until the Second Coming of Christ. Pierson was one of many who believed Christ would return before the thousand years, i.e., premillennialism.

“By “premillennialism” is meant the teaching that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ will come again to this earth personally and visibly, and that this coming will take place prior to that period of a thousand years of which the Scriptures speak, when peace and righteousness shall prevail upon the earth. In other words, it is the coming of our Lord that shall introduce this period and make it a possibility.”<sup>80</sup>

A minority thought the second coming would be after the thousand year period, i.e., postmillennialism—following the evangelisation of the world.<sup>81</sup>

Throughout Euro-America evangelical Protestant belief in a coming millennium implied social reform to fit people for the coming rule of Christ. This generated an era of change in Euro-America as increasing wealth stimulated social improvements with reform and evangelicalism interacting indistinguishably.

The Episcopal mission journal, *Spirit of Missions*, ventured into the arena of presumed biblical prophesy when it declared that:

He must be indeed a careless observer of the remarkable state of things now existing in the world, who does not mark the wonderfully accelerated velocity with which the world seems to be hastening to some wonderful consummation.<sup>82</sup>

The premillennialist view was widespread among foreign evangelical missionaries in China and elsewhere, was expressed in a circular letter issued by the English Church Missionary Society cited in the Episcopal journal, *Spirit of Missions*.

How wonderful and how glorious is the work of God! We have never seen each other face to face. Some of us are living in the farther North and some in the farthest South, some in the East and some in the West... Our countries, languages, climate, complexion, habits,—all different; yet members of one body—quickened by one spirit; called in one hope of our calling... And now, brethren, let us remember that " the

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78 New Testament. The Revelation of St. John, Ch 20 vv 2-7. (Rev. 20:2-7).

79 Finney, Charles, “Hindrances to Revivals,” Lecture XV in McLoughlin, W. G., ed., *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 306.

80 A Stenographic Report of the Prophetic Bible Conference held at the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, February 24-27, 1914. *Some Exponents of Premillennialism*.” Online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/37260088/SOME-EXPONENTS-OF-PREMILLENNIALISM-1914>

81 A helpful introduction to the rise of “Millennialism” in 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain is Bebbington, David, “Introduction,” in Gribben, Crawford and Timothy C. F. Stunt, *Prisoners of Hope? Aspects of Evangelical Millennialism in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1880*, (Eugene OR, Wipf & Stock, Publishers, 2006).

82 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 no 2, February 1854, p. 49.

time is short;" that "the Lord is at hand;" and that the sure word of promise is, that "them which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with Him;" and that "they which are alive and remain (unto His coming) -shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." Let us therefore keep our loins girded and our lamps burning, and ourselves as men who are waiting for their Lord, that when he cometh and knocketh, we may open to him immediately. O, blessed hour, when Jesus shall come again! when, if we continue in the faith grounded and settled, He will present us holy and unblameable and unreprouable in his sight, and you and all your missionaries, "whose joy and crown of rejoicing ye are;" and we and all the redeemed of the Lord shall "meet around the Throne of the Lamb, and be for ever with the Lord!"<sup>83</sup>

Millennialism in all its aspects is too vast a subject to be explored in this collection of documents but by creating something of a biblically-based sense of urgency it underpinned the immense expansion of Protestant evangelistic missions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>84</sup> The best known slogan of the late 19C was John Mott's slogan, the: "Evangelisation of the World in this Generation," Millennialism helped to shape the socially reforming and reconstructive patterns demonstrated in the educational focus of the Foreign Missions Committee and ultimately in the "Social Gospel" movement that became a major theme in modern Christianity.<sup>85</sup>

Belief in the imminent return of Christ can be illustrated from the views of two martyred Australian women, **Nellie and Topsy Saunders**<sup>86</sup> and their English friend, Elsie Marshall. The Saunders sisters were the first Australian missionaries of the newly formed Church Missionary Association of Victoria (1892). Nellie was just 21 years of age and Topsy in her late teens when the CMAV employed them. Their "training" was sparse. They received some theological education from the Rev. H. B. Macartney and the Rev. Digby Berry.

Berry's specialty was eschatology<sup>87</sup> and he took the sisters through the Book of Revelation with its visions of things that were to come, not least the Second Coming of Jesus Christ to establish the millennium, the thousand years of divine rule on earth. Berry later wrote that the Saunders Sisters had 'learnt to believe fervently in the near Second Coming of Christ, and that they must — to use their own phrase — 'hurry up' in order to witness for Him to the world before His coming'.<sup>88</sup>

In a comment in a letter to her father in England Elsie Marshall mentions the return of the Jews

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83 Domestic and Foreign Missions Board of the Protestant Episcopal Church, *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 14 No 3, March 1849, pp 90-91. (Hereafter cited as *Spirit of Missions*).

84 Robert, Dana L, " 'The Crisis of Missions': Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions," in Carpenter, Joel and Wilbert Shenk, eds., (1990), *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1990).

85 Mott's slogan may have seemed appropriate in the world scene at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but is irrelevant in the 21<sup>st</sup> century where the Christian population of the world is declining, notably in the old Euro-American Protestant heartlands. See discussion by Yamamori, Testunao, God's New Envoys in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Mandate for the Global Mission, *Global Missiology English*, Vol 2 no 4, January 2007. Online 1 January 2012 at— <http://ojs.globalmissiology.org/index.php/english/article/viewFile/293/821>

86 Welch, Ian, 'Nellie, Topsy and Annie: Australian Anglican Martyrs, Fujian Province, China, 1 August 1895,' p. 10. Paper presented to the First TransTasman Conference on Australian and New Zealand Missionaries, At Home and Abroad, Australian National University, Canberra, 8-10 October 2004. online at — <http://anglicansonline.org/resources/history.html#asia> and at <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/index.html>  
Photograph of Nellie and Topsy taken shortly after their arrival in China. *The Weekly Times*, Melbourne, 15 August 1896.

87 Berry, D.M., *European History Foretold; or, St John's Foreview of Christendom*, (London: Thynne, 1915). A summary of Berry's articles published in the *Victorian Churchman*.

88 Berry, D M, *The Sister Martyrs of Ku-Cheng, Memoirs and Letters of Eleanor and Elizabeth Saunders*, (London, James Nisbet, 1901), p. 5.

to Palestine as one of the signs of Christ's imminent return,

Many things lately have come together to make us believe HOME is not very far distant for all of us. Many things seem to point that Christ is very soon coming.<sup>89</sup>

The term "cousins" is used occasionally to describe a "special relationship" between the United States and other Anglophone countries. It was shown by the ease with which the Anglicans interacted with the Episcopalians in Shanghai. The clergy in Shanghai shared each other's work and regularly attended as well as participating in missionary churches and schools.

The general theological outlook of Episcopalians in the early 19C is summed up in the prospectus for a short-lived journal issued in Washington.<sup>90</sup> The editors determined their guiding principles to be:

Those of the Bible, as illustrated in the Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies of the Protestant Episcopal Church. As members of this Church, the Editors will feel bound to support the Apostolical character of her institutions, the pious tendency of her rites and ceremonies, and the evangelical nature of her doctrines.<sup>91</sup>

Rubenstein suggested four strands or themes within the 19C evangelical worldview—the **Millennium**; **Disinterested Benevolence** or the social effects of evangelical beliefs; Christ's Last Command (or **the Great Commission**); and the **Perishing Heathen**, a concept linked to benevolence— and these strands can be seen throughout this data-base.<sup>92</sup> He places these four themes within the wider historical impact of the Second Great Awakening, the values of this following those of the First Great Awakening. Central to these formative revivals in Anglo-American Protestantism, there was a desire to move beyond formalism into a religious experience which while not rejecting intellectual knowledge and understanding emphasised the outworking of faith in practical daily living with an underlying emotional depth which is best traced in the hymnody of Anglo-American Protestantism. Maintaining the balance between intellectual knowledge and practical experience has proved an enduring strain among evangelicals and led more conservative Protestants to view revivalism through the prism of excessive enthusiasm.

As the story of the Shanghai Mission is revealed through the writings of Episcopal evangelicals it shares with other 19C evangelicals a reliance on personal piety and behavioural conventions that resist over-easy modern assessments of Episcopal missionary activities in China.<sup>93</sup> It is difficult, nearly two centuries later, to fully comprehend the 19C framework of evangelical pietism or to fully appreciate motivations, the overcoming of cultural obstacles, or the personal self-sacrifice on behalf

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89 Marshall, Elsie, (c c1896), *'For His Sake', A Record of a Life consecrated to God and devoted to China*, (London, The Religious Tract Society, c1896), p 130. See also pp 165: 196-198.

90 *Washington Theological Repertory*, Vol 1 (1819-1820, Hathi Trust Digital Library, University of Michigan.

91 *Ibid*, p. 1.

92 Rubenstein, Murray A. , "Go Ye Unto the World" The Defining of the Missionary's Task in America and China, 1830-1850." Online 1 July 2013 at—  
[http://www.mh.sinica.edu.tw/MHDdocument/PublicationDetail/PublicationDetail\\_1077.pdf](http://www.mh.sinica.edu.tw/MHDdocument/PublicationDetail/PublicationDetail_1077.pdf)

93 Noll, op cit, p. 23 and following.

of others that is a fundamental trait in all Christian missions and not limited to evangelicals. At the heart of the challenge for missionaries, wherever located around the 19C world, was how to convey the “Word of God” in terms that fully comprehended the everyday realities of lives and cultures grounded outside the Euro-American experience.

The word ‘evangelical’ is widely used in two senses. One refers to a belief system within mainstream Christianity (Evangelical is often capitalized in this context) taking its key themes from the Protestant Reformation. Another use defines institutional Protestant in distinction to Roman Catholicism. In Germany, for example, the Lutheran Church is known as the Evangelical Church.

The traditional first use rested on two themes. First, how can sinners (i.e., all humanity) be saved and reconciled to God? The evangelical answer in Reformation terms was *solus Christus; sola gratia, solafide*—Christ alone, God’s grace alone, faith alone. The defining authority for the Reformers was *sola scriptura*—the Bible alone. The latter is far more complex, of course, than a simple statement can convey. Questions such as how, when and by whom the Bible was written; the authenticity of the texts as expressing, without error, the divine will and purpose; the decision on what writings (or books) should be included in the Bible; how accurate the surviving texts are; and how accurate are the many translations. Perhaps most important of all issues for evangelicals is how the Bible is to be interpreted against contemporary culture or context. These were questions that did not directly impact on the Episcopal evangelicals who founded the American Church Mission in China.

Among the best known modern summaries of **evangelical beliefs** is that of David Bebbington who defines four key characteristics of evangelicalism—**biblicism**, a particular regard for the Bible “as the supreme standard of faith and conduct” often linked to a view that the Bible is infallible and without error; **crucicentrism**, a stress on the person of Christ as God Incarnate and his sacrifice [atonement] on the cross for the sins of the whole world; **conversionism**, the belief that lives need to be changed and personal conversion provides the foundation of changed beliefs and behaviours; **activism**, the expression of the gospel in effort both spiritual and temporal affairs, expressing Christ’s summary of the Ten Commandments as ‘Love of God’ and ‘Love of one’s neighbour.’<sup>94</sup>

To these core elements can be added “**communalism**”—association and cooperation with other believers holding similar beliefs as those above, irrespective of denominationalism.<sup>95</sup> In the light of the modern charismatic movement, there is also a dimension of an **evolving Trinitarianism**—i.e.,

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94 See Peterkin, Rt. Rev. George W., “Theological Seminary of Virginia,” pp 99-100 in *Addresses and Historical Papers Before the Centennial Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia*, May 20-24, 1885. (New York, Thomas Whittaker, 1885).

95 Bebbington, D W, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 3. See also McGrath, Alister, *Evangelicalism and the Future of Christianity*, (Downers Grove ILL, InterVarsity Press, 1995 pp 55-56.

the believer's relationship with the Holy Spirit.<sup>96</sup>

These points are sub-statements of conventional or historic Christianity but have become defensive structures in a conflicted Christian world.

For evangelicals, it seems of first importance that the differences between themselves and non-evangelicals be clearly drawn in order to resolve this ever-increasing confusion over the boundaries of evangelicalism and the organization problem that attend such confusion.<sup>97</sup>

Walls suggests about the latter point that there has been an increasingly negative and exclusivist preoccupation among evangelicals with:

Statements of belief...catalogs of unconditioned facts, and a progressive definition of the Christian faith", that act to create closed and trustworthy fellowships of like-minded people.<sup>98</sup>

The use of defining statements affirms universal Christian beliefs such as those summarized by Bebbington and McGrath but also encourages the exclusivist tendencies of evangelicalism mentioned by Walls leading to a form of social negativism that who are not, "absolutely clearly" with "us" are definitively against us.

There were many voluntary Christian movements to confront injustice.<sup>99</sup> The real impact of evangelical revivals in the early 19C can perhaps best be summarized as a:

Mass infusion of evangelical Christians into the public arena, where they organized scores of voluntary associations to preach the gospel, diminish poverty, curb practices such as duelling, and reduce alcoholism.<sup>100</sup>

There were thousands of domestic and foreign missionary groupings across Great Britain and its Empire as well as North America.<sup>101</sup> All elements within the Christian Church in the 19C were actively engaged in social reforms as they have been, historically, since the initiation of a financial relief program for impoverished Christians in Jerusalem, AD46.<sup>102</sup>

The idea of forming voluntary associations had its roots, not in religion, but in the rise of capitalism and the creation of voluntary business associations by people who put their money into buying shares or stock in profit-making ventures (joint stock companies). The voluntary association is an excellent example of the way in which the secular and the spiritual worlds cross-fertilised each other in the 19C world.

The evangelicals of the American Church Mission in Shanghai were not "card-carrying"

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96 Yong, Amos, "The Word and the Spirit or the Spirit and the Word: Exploring the Boundaries of Evangelicalism in Relationship to Modern Pentecostalism," pp 235-252 in *Trinity Journal*, Vo. 23 no 2, 2002.

97 Stone, Jon R. *On the Boundaries of American Evangelization: the Postwar Evangelical Coalition*, (New York, St. Martin's, 1990, p. 25, cited in Wong op cit, p. 232.

98 Walls, op cit, p. 17.

99 Butler 1994, op cit.

100 West, John G., "Evangelical Reform in Early Nineteenth Century America," pp 181-199 in Eberley Don, ed., *Building a Healthy Culture: Strategies for an American Renaissance*, (Grand Rapids MI, W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2001.

101 Tiedemann, Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China, (Armonk NY, M. E. Sharpe, 2009).

102 Hilton, Boyd, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988). On Paul's efforts for the Christians in Jerusalem see discussion and references online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://www.anglicancommunion.org/ministry/continuingindaba/resources/pdf/h1p8.pdf>

members of a narrowly defined or exclusive sub-group within the Episcopal Church. They were part of a “low church” tradition within the Protestant Episcopal Church that identified with a broader American religious mosaic emphasising Reformation and “revivalist” values. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Episcopalians adhered to the Reformation doctrines and liturgy of the Anglican tradition and even when “catholic” and “ritualist” values became important Episcopalians remained universally hostile to Roman Catholicism and contemptuous of non-episcopal Protestantism. They universally accepted the authority of the Bible and upheld the Book of Common Prayer, the Ordinal and the Catechism.

The story of the American Church Mission in mid 19<sup>th</sup> century China is a complex mixture of success as well as obvious failures. It is a part of a missionary worldview grounded in an attitude, proved by military conquest, that “Christian countries,” especially Protestant states such as the United States or Great Britain, were more advanced than “heathen countries” such as China, or Africa. The Chinese, at home and abroad, were aware of the fact that Christianity and guns went closely together as far as China was concerned.<sup>103</sup>

The Methodist teacher Leong A Toe, a former student of the Anglo-Chinese College in Hong Kong, reported meeting a man on the Forest Creek goldfield in Victoria, Australia who stated that A Toe’s teachings were:

The doctrine of foreigners, they are not worth the talking about...You talk about Europeans practising virtue, how is it that we so often hear of their invading and attacking our country and slaughtering our people.<sup>104</sup>

On another occasion, a man told him that foreigners wished the Chinese to accept Christianity as part of their wider objective to control China and the Chinese.

Some of my countrymen receive the Gospel with gladness; others reject it, calling it the doctrine of other nations— rejecting it because it is opposed to the worship of idols and ancestors; others again refuse the Gospel on such grounds as these: they say that Jesus Christ is the sage of other lands, not of ours—That Englishmen want us to have their religion that they may get our hearts and then take our country.<sup>105</sup>

The missionary mixture of Protestant Christianity with everyday political, economic and socio-cultural life is difficult to untangle, not least because many of the Chinese converts came to accept the superiority of Western institutions, confusing “Christianity” with “Westernisation” and both with “Modernization.”<sup>106</sup> The confusion resulted in “blurred vision” for Chinese and foreigners.<sup>107</sup>

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103 Welch, Ian, (2006), *Missionaries, Murder and Diplomacy in late 19<sup>th</sup> Century China: A Case Study*, A paper presented to the 2nd ANU Missionary History Conference: Asia-Pacific Missionaries: At Home and Abroad, Australian National University, 27–29 August 2006. Online at <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/>

104 Journal of Leong A Toe, 11 June 1857, in Young, William, *Third Report of the Chinese Mission at Castlemaine*, October 1857, *Mt Alexander Mail*, 16 October 1857.

105 Leong A Toe, “Address to the District Meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Castlemaine,” *Australian Wesleyan Missionary Society Notices*, January 1860, p 176.

106 For original statements by Chinese in response to Christian evangelists see Appendix 1o “Selected Testimonies of Chinese Christian Converts, Victoria,” and Appendix 11, “Reports and Journals of Missionaries and Catechists,” in Welch, Ian (2003), *Alien Son: The Life and Times of Cheok Hong CHEONG, 1851-1928*, PhD, Australian National University. Online 1 July 2013 at—

When Christianity did not provide all the answers to “modernization” Chinese intellectuals turned to Marxism-Leninism, then to Maoism and at the present time, a state capitalism model labelled “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.”<sup>108</sup> This raises two questions. The impact of Chinese culture upon individual missionaries and, collectively, the reaction of China and the Chinese to the values and attitudes introduced by foreigners generally, not just missionaries.

The missionary is portrayed and rightly so, as an agent of Western civilization who undermines the values and mores of the Confucian order. He is seen as the harbinger of modernizations, social change, and frequently as an arm of Western imperialism. Most studies have assumed that, in terms of cultural exchange, the missionary was active and the traditional culture passive. Missionaries were the active agents of culture change; China, for better or worse, was changed. But was the equation always so neat? Did not traffic flow both ways on the cultural bridge?<sup>109</sup>

Although “Westernisation” remains a significant issue in modern China continuing differences about modernisation and its socio-political and economic abound. One important example is in concerns about the “rule of law” in contemporary China, i.e., that business and other legally relevant decisions are made by applying legal principles accepted by government and business alike.<sup>110</sup>

Foreigners are often troubled by official Chinese insistence that legal matters must always be subject to the Communist Party. A lawyer’s oath of loyalty in China states:

I volunteer to become a practicing lawyer ... and promise to faithfully perform the sacred duties of a socialist-with-Chinese-characteristics legal worker (中国特色社会主义法律工作者); to be faithful to the motherland and the people; to uphold the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system; to safeguard the dignity of the constitution and the law; to practice on behalf of the people; to be diligent, professional honest, and corruption-free; to protect the legitimate rights and interests of clients, the correct implementation of the law, and social fairness and justice; and diligently strive for the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics.<sup>111</sup>

Relationships include concerns over the treatment of foreigners arrested over business matters and Chinese arrested on human rights issues. In short, social, cultural, legal and other differences recorded by foreign missionaries in 19th century China remain today.

Because most missionary records have been written within a narrowly conceived sense of divine purpose few discuss the wider background of foreign imperialism in China. For most religious people, it was sufficient to condemn issues such as the opium trade without questioning the fact mentioned earlier that the “opening of China” to foreigners was an outcome of British military aggression intended to secure free access to China for the British Indian trade in opium. The first

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<http://thesis.anu.edu.au/public/adt-ANU20051108.111252/index.html>

107 Leung, Beatrice and William T. Liu, *The Chinese Catholic Church in Conflict, 1949-2001*, (Boca Raton, Universal Publications, 2004), p. 28.

108 *The Economist*, 21 January 2012.

109 Lazo, Dimitri D., “The Making of a Multicultural Man: The Missionary Experiences of E.T. Williams,” pp 357-383 In *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol 51 No 4, November 1982, p 357. This is a case study of a missionary who became a full-time American diplomat and public servant.

110 Kelly, David, “Approaching Chinese Freedom: A Study in Absolute and Relative Values”, pp 141-165 in *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol 42 No 2, 2013.

111 “Lawyers to Pledge Loyalty to CCP,” *China Digital Times*, 20 April 2012.



two Episcopal missionaries, the Rev. Henry Lockwood and the Rev. Francis Hanson, wrote to the Foreign Committee of the Episcopal Church that:

There is also a power without which has long been advancing towards China with a steady step which soon reach it; we allude to the growing power of the British nation in the East.<sup>112</sup>

When the Episcopal mission began in China, no one had the slightest inkling of the kind of theory advanced more than fifty years later (1904-1905), with the German sociologist, Max Weber although it is possible to see faint glimmers of his ideas in references to the different economic circumstances of missionaries and businessmen.<sup>113</sup> Given the history of China since the Rev. William Boone first arrived in Macao in 1842 to the present day, when a Chinese form of state capitalism is replacing previous economic models it is questionable to apply any kind of Weberian theory to missions in China that, at their peak, attracted mostly poor Chinese just scraping by.

Many Chinese, especially in the Treaty Ports where missionary schools proliferated, thought that that Christianity offered opportunities unavailable in the contemporary Chinese world. In her study of the motivations of Chinese to become evangelists, Lutz mentions the frequency with which Chinese converts identified Christianity as a source of personal advantage and this assessment is confirmed in this collection. As an example, the Rev. Edward Syle reported this conversation.

Another man, of quite respectable appearance, was quite resolute as to the necessity for my giving him money for his traveling expenses; he had a large family, and he must go home. Our books he had read, he said; and he understood all about the miracles that Jesus did. Could He—and the man seemed to be in earnest)—could Jesus enable his followers to live without eating? It taxes all one's ingenuity to deal with such cases so as to leave some useful impression on the mind.<sup>114</sup>

Active Protestant Christians comprised less than one percent of the total Chinese population and were drawn, overwhelmingly, from the poorest classes. The first Chinese to be ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church, Huang Guangci [Wong Kong Chai] received all his education, and his subsequent status as a literati, through the Boone family and the American Church Mission. He purchased a “good” traditional Chinese “degree” after his ordination to secure Chinese recognition of his new status.<sup>115</sup> Missionary education, including education abroad funded by religious interests, played a part in changing Chinese educational principles and methods and in turn to changing elite values in China.

The relationship between the English and American episcopates in China reflected the complexities of relationships between the state-established Church of England and the essentially

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112 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol II, No 6, June 1837, pp 180-181.

113 Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1930), online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://ia700306.us.archive.org/5/items/protestantethics00webe/protestantethics00webe.pdf>

114 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 18 No 3, March 1853, pp 81-83.

115 It was common practice for people, usually wealthy merchants, to purchase status within the traditional administrative system by buying “a degree” and then wearing costume appropriate to their new rank. By securing status and the appropriate costume, Chai was ensuring a measure of respect for his new clerical status and learning in accordance with Chinese custom. See introductory discussion online 1 July 2013 at—  
[http://www.pacificasiamuseum.org/rankandstyle/html/pdf/RankandStyle\\_Section\\_2.pdf](http://www.pacificasiamuseum.org/rankandstyle/html/pdf/RankandStyle_Section_2.pdf)

republican Episcopal polity in the United States. The problems of establishing common forms of Anglican worship in China contributed to discussions between the American and Anglican Churches and evolution of the Anglican Communion.<sup>116</sup>

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116 Poon, Michael Nai-Chiu, *CSCA: Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui Source Documents*, online 1 January 2012 at — <http://www.ttc.edu.sg/csca/skh/index.html> See also Part 16—Episcopal Jurisdiction.

## 2.7 EXCEPTIONALISM & MILLENNARIANISM.

Protestant missionary interest was accompanied in aspirational terms, as the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions put it in 1827, by a dream of “the moral rejuvenation of the world.”<sup>117</sup> This was an element in a distinctive worldview known, academically, as “American Exceptionalism,” i.e., a long-standing and enduring belief that America, having established itself upon the noble values expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, is an example to the world of the best kind of society and government.<sup>118</sup> From its outset, the United States of America cherished a millennialist view of the role of the new republic in world history.<sup>119</sup>

An American student summed up:

[America] had a special message for mankind. They felt they were a new breed of people... They believed in egalitarian democracy and small government. They believed they possessed a superior way of life both materially and spiritually... As a result Americans were very expansive and self-righteous.<sup>120</sup>

Education is a principal means of achieving the American ideal of world moral and social rejuvenation. American society continues to treasure innovation through higher education guided by a confidence that the world is in constant forward movement, hopefully, as in *Pilgrim's Progress*, towards “the city on a hill.”<sup>121</sup> Although the idea of “God” has always had varied levels of understanding, the Christian concept of duty to “neighbors” continues to thrive as a secular concept within democratic societies and can be clearly seen in international social justice policies and world cooperation in the amelioration of suffering. The United States is a major contributor.

The U.S. has been the largest financial supporter of the U.N. since the organization's founding in 1945. The U.S. is currently assessed 22 percent of the U.N. regular budget and more than 27 percent of the U.N. peacekeeping budget. In dollar terms, the Administration's budget for FY 2011 requested \$516.3 million for the U.N. regular budget and more than \$2.182 billion for the peacekeeping budget...the U.S. also provides assessed financial contributions to other U.N. organizations and voluntary contributions to many more U.N. organizations. According to OMB, total U.S. contributions to the U.N. system were more than \$6.347 billion in FY 2009.<sup>122</sup>

An estimate of U. S. private overseas aid for 2004 suggested a total of c\$70 billion of which c\$5 billion was directly linked to religious organisations.<sup>123</sup>

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117 Phillips, Clifton, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 172,

118 See introduction to American Exceptionalism online at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American\\_exceptionalism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_exceptionalism) See also Wall, Stephen M., “The Myth of American Exceptionalism,” *Foreign Policy*, 13 June 2013. Madsden, Deborah, *American Exceptionalism*, (Jadkson, University Press of Mississippi, 1998).

119 Ross, Dorothy, “Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America.,” pp 909-928 in the *American Historical Review*, Vol 89 No 4 (October 1984, p. 912.

120 Woerner, Karen D., Merchants, Missionaries and American Policy Toward China: The Formation of the Open Door Policy. History Honors thesis, Ball State University, IN, April 1993, p. 3.

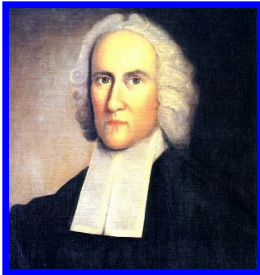
121 Rader, Benjamin G., “Richard T. Ely: Lay Spokesman for the Social Gospel,” pp 61-74 in *The Journal of American History*, Vol 53 No 1, June 1966, p 11.

122 Schaefer, Brett D, “U.S. Funding of he United Nations Reaches All-Time High,” Web Memo of Foreign Aid and Development, The Heritage Foundation, 13 August 2010.

123 See “United States Foreign Aid” in Wikipedia, 6 June 2013. Online at —

The American ideal of world moral rejuvenation reflects the influence of 19<sup>th</sup> century millennialism.

By “premillennialism” is meant the teaching that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ will come again to this earth personally and visibly, and that this coming will take place prior to that period of a thousand years of which the Scriptures speak, when peace and righteousness shall prevail upon the earth. In other words, it is the coming of our Lord that shall introduce this period and make it a possibility.<sup>124</sup>



Millennialism in all its expressions has very deep roots in American Protestantism. One of the greatest American Protestant thinkers, still influential today, was the **Rev. Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758)** of New England, a premillennialist who taught that the United States was God’s chosen instrument to redeem a corrupt world. There are strong residuals of this way of thought in the beliefs and social values of contemporary American fundamentalists.<sup>125</sup> A belief in the reformation of individuals and society at large is a continuing strand in evangelical thought and is a core value in many of the documents in this collection.

There was great interest among 19<sup>th</sup> century Christians in biblical references to the “last days” when it was believed that Christ would return to rule the earth for a thousand years, i.e., millennialism.<sup>126</sup> A leading American evangelist, Charles Finney, declared in 1835 the possibility of the millennium within three years.<sup>127</sup> Dana Robert describes the view adopted by Alan T. Pierson in 1879 that the condition of humanity would get worse and worse until the Second Coming of Christ. Pierson was one of many evangelical Christians who came to believe that Christ would return before the thousand years, i.e., premillennialism, although a minority thought Christ’s second coming would be after the thousand year period, i.e., postmillennialism—following the evangelisation of the world.<sup>128</sup>

The Episcopal mission journal, *Spirit of Missions*, ventured into the arena of presumed biblical prophesy when it declared that:

He must be indeed a careless observer of the remarkable state of things now existing in the world, who

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_foreign\\_aid](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_foreign_aid)

124 A Stenographic Report of the Prophetic Bible Conference held at the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, February 24-27, 1914. *Some Exponents of Premillennialism.*” Online 1 January 2013 at—  
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/37260088/SOME-EXONENTS-OF-PREMILLENNIALISM-1914>

125 A useful introductory summary of American millennialism is Balmer, R. “Apocalypticism in American Culture,” online 1 July 2012 at — <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/twenty/tkeyinfo/apocal.htm>  
See also Boyer, Paul, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture.* (Cambridge, Mass. Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1992). Frykholm, Amy J., *Rapture Culture: Left Behind in Evangelical America.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). Weber, Timothy P., *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875–1982.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

126 A very influential work, in four volumes, was Elliott, E. B., *Horæ Apocalypticæ: or, A commentary on the Apocalypse, critical and historical...* London, Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1862).

127 Finney, Charles, “Hindrances to Revivals,” Lecture XV in McLoughlin, W. G., ed., *Lectures on Revivals of Religion.* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 306.

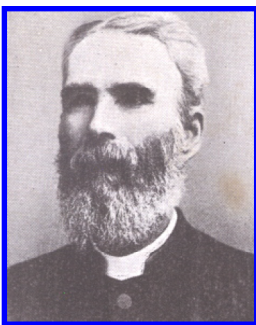
128 A helpful introduction to the rise of “Millennialism” in 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain is Bebbington, David, “Introduction,” in Gribben, Crawford and Timothy C. F. Stunt, *Prisoners of Hope? Aspects of Evangelical Millennialism in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1880.* (Eugene OR, Wipf & Stock, Publishers, 2006).

does not mark the wonderfully accelerated velocity with which the world seems to be hastening to some wonderful consummation.<sup>129</sup>

The premillennialist view was widespread among foreign evangelical missionaries in China and elsewhere, was expressed in a circular letter from the English Church Missionary Society cited in the Episcopal journal, *Spirit of Missions*.

How wonderful and how glorious is the work of God! We have never seen each other face to face. Some of us are living in the farther North and some in the farthest South, some in the East and some in the West... Our countries, languages, climate, complexion, habits,—all different; yet members of one body—quickened by one spirit; called in one hope of our calling... And now, brethren, let us remember that "the time is short;" that "the Lord is at hand;" and that the sure word of promise is, that "them which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with Him;" and that "they which are alive and remain (unto His coming) -shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." Let us therefore keep our loins girded and our lamps burning, and ourselves as men who are waiting for their Lord, that when he cometh and knocketh, we may open to him immediately. O, blessed hour, when Jesus shall come again! when, if we continue in the faith grounded and settled, He will present us holy and unblameable and unreprouable in his sight, and you and all your missionaries, "whose joy and crown of rejoicing ye are;" and we and all the redeemed of the Lord shall "meet around the Throne of the Lamb, and be for ever with the Lord!"<sup>130</sup>

Millennialism in all its aspects is too vast a subject to be explored in this collection of documents. By creating a biblically-based sense of urgency it underpinned the immense expansion of Protestant evangelistic missions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and with it, a sense of the need to reconstruct society to prepare the way for Christ's return.<sup>131</sup> The best known slogan of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was John Mott's slogan, the: "Evangelisation of the World in this Generation," Millennialism helped to shape the socially reforming and reconstructive patterns demonstrated in the educational focus of the Foreign Missions Committee and ultimately in the "Social Gospel" movement that became a major theme in modern Christianity.<sup>132</sup>



Belief in the imminent return of Christ can be illustrated from the views of two martyred Australian women, Nellie and Topsy Saunders and their English friend, Elsie Marshall. The editor of the leading Australian missionary magazine of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, was the **Rev. H. B. Macartney Jr, of Melbourne**, a passionate premillennialist.

Macartney, originally from the Church of Ireland, was a major player in the establishment of the Australian auxiliary of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society and the later formation of the Church Missionary Association of Victoria (1892), the forerunner of the

129 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 no 2, February 1854, p. 49.

130 Domestic and Foreign Missions Board of the Protestant Episcopal Church, *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 14 No 3, March 1849, pp 90-91. (Hereafter cited as *Spirit of Missions*).

131 Robert, Dana L, "The Crisis of Missions': Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions," in Carpenter, Joel and Wilbert Shenk, eds., (1990), *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1990).

132 Mott's slogan may have seemed appropriate in the world scene at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but is irrelevant in the 21<sup>st</sup> century where the Christian population of the world is declining, notably in the old Euro-American Protestant heartlands. See discussion by Yamamori, Testunao, God's New Envoys in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Mandate for the Global Mission, *Global Missiology English*, Vol 2 no 4, January 2007. Online 1 January 2012 at— <http://ojs.globalmissiology.org/index.php/english/article/viewFile/293/821>

Australian Church Missionary Society. Nellie Saunders was just 21 years of age and her sister Topsy still in her late teens when the CMAV decided to send them to China where they were murdered just two years after their arrival. Their “training” was sparse, to put it politely.<sup>133</sup>

Macartney was an enthusiastic supporter of many Protestant organisations, including the Bible Union of Victoria.<sup>134</sup> One of his imaginative ideas was that repetitive readings of the whole Bible in Melbourne would facilitate the return of Christ. Having completed six full cycles, he embarked on a seventh. He wrote that:

It is however most probable that ere another 39 months have passed, the Lord will have fulfilled his promise to return in power and great glory, and to translate His waiting people.<sup>135</sup>

The Saunders sisters were instructed by the Rev. Digby Berry, an enthusiastic premillennialist.

Berry’s specialty was eschatology<sup>136</sup> and he took the sisters through the Book of Revelation with its visions of things that were to come, not least the Second Coming of Jesus Christ to establish the millennium, the thousand years of divine rule on earth. Berry later wrote that the Saunders Sisters had ‘learnt to believe fervently in the near Second Coming of Christ, and that they must — to use their own phrase — ‘hurry up’ in order to witness for Him to the world before His coming’.<sup>137</sup>

Elsie Marshall, reflecting what was a common view, wrote to her father, an English clergyman.

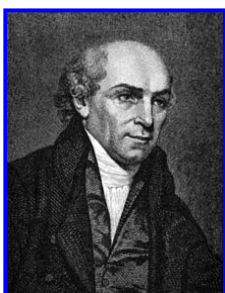
Many things lately have come together to make us believe HOME is not very far distant for all of us. Many things seem to point that Christ is very soon coming.<sup>138</sup>

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- 133 Welch, Ian, ‘Nellie, Topsy and Annie: Australian Anglican Martyrs, Fujian Province, China, 1 August 1895,’ p. 10. Paper presented to the First TransTasman Conference on Australian and New Zealand Missionaries, At Home and Abroad, Australian National University, Canberra, 8-10 October 2004. online at — <http://anglicansonline.org/resources/history.html#asia> and at <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/index.html>  
Welch, Ian, *The Flower Mountain Murders: A Missionary Case data-base*, online 1 July 2013, at — <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/7273>
- 134 Paproth, Darrell, *Hussey Burgh Macartney Jr., Mission Enthusiast*. Paper presented to the First TransTasman Conference on Australian and New Zealand Missionaries, At Home and Abroad, Australian National University, Canberra, 8-10 October 2004. Copy available from Ian Welch a186081 (at) bigpond.net.au.
- 135 *The Missionary: At Home and Abroad*, August 1895, p. 330.
- 136 Berry, D.M., *European History Foretold; or, St John’s Foreview of Christendom*, (London: Thynne, 1915). A summary of Berry’s articles published in the *Victorian Churchman*.
- 137 Berry, D M, *The Sister Martyrs of Ku-Cheng, Memoirs and Letters of Eleanor and Elizabeth Saunders*, (London, James Nisbet, 1901), p. 5.
- 138 Marshall, Elsie, (c c1896), ‘*For His Sake*’, *A Record of a Life consecrated to God and devoted to China*, (London, The Religious Tract Society, c1896), p 130. See also pp 165: 196-198.

## 2.8 THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH & MISSIONS.

The PECUSA, or the Episcopal Church as it is generally known today, was incorporated under State law in New York in 1821 as “**The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.**” The membership of the corporation “shall be considered as comprehending all persons who are members of the Church.” Despite this distinctively Protestant statement reflecting the participatory model of American society and government, Episcopal missionary work, domestic and foreign, struggled even after the Board of Missions was created in 1835 to formally oversee the missions of the church.<sup>139</sup> The expansion of foreign missionary work in the 19<sup>th</sup> century paralleled the domestic missions generated by Christian churches to incorporate the millions of immigrants who chose to forget or ignore whatever religious commitments they brought from Europe.

For most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was a broad commitment to a residual European Reformed (i.e. Calvinist) theology in most Protestant denominations in British America.<sup>140</sup> It was not until the last years of the 18th century following a series of religious revivals in America and the United Kingdom that Protestants began to seriously consider foreign missions. Credit for the expansion of



interest in overseas missions in English-speaking Protestantism is usually given to **William Carey**, an English Baptist cobbler turned missionary.<sup>141</sup>

By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Episcopalians and other Christians were caught up in the growth of wealth generated by expanding world trade stimulated by the industrialization of production, the expansion of communications by telegraph, the explosion of print media and by the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century the replacement of sail by steam meant that the Christian message was spreading faster than anyone could have conceived at the time of the American Revolution:

Distance has been well nigh annihilated, lands severed by oceans have been brought into one...the rapidity with which intelligence is now communicated between remotest points by the electric telegraph...[A] little over half a century ago, scarcely a heart in Protestant Christendom thought of effort to diffuse the religion of Jesus...The Christian who considers the present religious aspect of the world, the increase of resources at home for carrying on the Missionary work, the facilities and advantages afford us abroad for disseminating Christianity...can hardly fail to see that the providence of God is pointing us

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139 Missionary Record of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Vol III, No 12, December 1835, pp 197-211. A short account of the domestic missionary efforts that followed the 1835 restructure is: Slocum, Robert B., “The Spirit of Missions: In the 1830s, an Era of Change and Flux, the Episcopal Church was Revived through Missionary Efforts,” pp 9-10 in *The Living Church*, Vol 223, No 4, 22 July 2001.

140 Noll, Mark A., David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk, *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and beyond 1700-1900*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994.

141 See online 1 January 2013 at— [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William\\_Carey\\_\(missionary\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Carey_(missionary)) See Carey, William, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen*, (Leicester, Ann Ireland, 1792). An earlier version is online at Internet Archive and at Project Gutenberg.

to the duty of making known the revealed will of God.<sup>142</sup>

Despite such triumphalism foreign and domestic missions rarely attracted the interest or financial support of the majority of church members. 19th century Protestant missions, other than the Episcopal Church, borrowed from capitalism the concept of voluntary associations funded and managed by private individuals. In a forlorn effort to widen missionary interest the Protestant Episcopal Church determined that **all** its members were participants in a Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society that comprised the church itself.<sup>143</sup> This achieved no more, financially or otherwise, than voluntarism.<sup>144</sup> The Episcopal Church struggled to retain existing church members attract 38 millions of new immigrants.<sup>145</sup> American churches were confronted with millions of unchurched Americans, native American populations, and “heathen” in foreign parts, including the population of Africa with whom the repatriation of black Americans formed a direct church link.<sup>146</sup>

At the time of the American Revolution the colonial Church of England in the British colonies had long, and dependent, contacts with the original British missionary society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) but apart from some minor work among native Americans, had little interest in ministry other than to British colonists.<sup>147</sup> Fifty years were to pass before Bishop William Jones Boone established the permanent headquarters of the Episcopal Mission in Shanghai and even then it was on the coat-tails of British imperialism. Because of their historical mercantile isolation few if any Americans had much sense of the history of the Chinese in international trade.

Any discussion of the foreign incursions into 19th century China needs to be balanced against the much longer history of China, particularly Southern China, with the surrounding peoples of Asia. Chinese merchants preceded the arrival of Europeans in Southeast Asia and ocean-going Chinese vessels, or “junks” were regular visitors for many centuries in every maritime trading centre in Asia. The most famous of all Chinese maritime explorers was Admiral Cheng Ho, (pinyin Zheng He) whose achievements more than match those of Christopher Columbus in the same era.<sup>148</sup>

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142 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 No 2, February 1854, pp 49-52. The importance of steamship connection between the United States and China is discussed in New York Chamber of Commerce, *Steam Communication between San Francisco and China*, (New York, J.W. Amerman, Printer, 1860).

143 The legal name of the Episcopal Church, as incorporated in New York State, is the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

144 Butler, Diana H., “The Church and American Destiny: Evangelical Episcopalians and Voluntary Societies in Antebellum America,” pp. 193-219 in *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol 4 No 2, Summer 1994.

145 The immense struggle of the Episcopal Church to evangelise the exploding population of the 19<sup>th</sup> century United States is the substance of the letters and reports published by the Domestic Missions Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the journal *Spirit of Missions*.

146 Some information on US Immigration in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century will be found online, 1 January 2012, at — <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/immigration-statistics.htm>

147 “The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States... was planted principally by... the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Previously to the separation of the American Colonies from the mother country, in 1783, the Clergy were almost entirely supported by the Society.” *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 16 No 2, February 1851, p, 64. The SPG sent its first two missionaries to Boston, arriving 11 June 1702.

148 See overview of his journeys, online 1 July 2013 at — [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zheng\\_He](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zheng_He)  
For another account see —



## 2.9 PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN BEGINNINGS IN CHINA.



The first Protestant missionary in China was the **Rev. Robert Morrison**, an English Presbyterian, appointed by the *London Missionary Society*<sup>149</sup>, who travelled via America as British vessels refused him passage.<sup>150</sup> Missionaries were prohibited so Morrison worked as a translator for the East India Company in Canton (Guangzhou). Greater Protestant efforts had to await the “opening” of China after the First Opium War.<sup>151</sup>



**American Protestant** missionary work in China began with the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (ABCFM), founded in 1810 along similar lines to the LMS. In **1830** ABCFM sent the **Rev. Elijah Bridgman** to China—the first of a long stream of American Protestant missionaries.<sup>152</sup>



*The Protestant Episcopal Church Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions*, the focal group of this collection, sent its first missionaries for Chinese work in **1835** and the **Rev. later Bishop William Jones Boone, Sr.** arrived in Java in 1837 and entered mainland China in **1842**.<sup>153</sup>

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<http://www.archive.org/details/Boraq-learning-4>

149 Ellis, William, *the History of the London Missionary Society*, (London, John Snow, 1844). Lovett, Richard, *the History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1899).

150 See online 1 January 2013 at— <http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/m/morrison-robert.php>

151 McNeur, Rev. Geo H., *The Missionary in Changing China*, (Dunedin, ForeignMissions Committee of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1935), p 101.

152 Elijah Coleman Bridgman, see online 1 July 2013 at — [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elijah\\_Coleman\\_Bridgman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elijah_Coleman_Bridgman) Tracy, Joseph, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, (New York, M. W. Dodd, 1842). See also Maxfield, Charles A., *The Reflex Influence of Missions: the Domestic Operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, Chapter 3 of PhD thesis. Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, 2001. Putney, Clifford and Paul T. Burlin, *The Role of the American Board in the World*, (Eugene, OR, Wipf & Stock, 2012).

153 Protestant Episcopal Church, *An Historical Sketch of the China Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.*, (New York, The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1888).



The *American Baptist Missionary Society* (BMS) was established in 1810 and sent the **Rev. Jehu Lewis Shuck**<sup>154</sup> in the mid **1830s**. **Mrs. Henrietta Hall Shuck** deserves mention as the first American missionary woman in China.<sup>155</sup>



The *Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions* was formed in 1837 and sent its first missionaries during the **1840s**. **Dr. Peter Parker, a Presbyterian**, set up the first missionary hospital in China in 1834. He served as a missionary and a prominent diplomat for the United States.



The *American Methodist Episcopal Church Missions* (*North—Fuzhou, 1847 and South—Shanghai, 1848*) were established in the 1830s but did not send missionaries until the mid **1840s**. The **Rev. Judson Dwight Collins** was the first appointment of the MEP North.

Many of these early missionaries are mentioned in this collection and career details are included in the footnotes. The dozens of Protestant denominational and interdenominational groups that established missions in China reflected the enduring impact of religious revivalism in the United States, Great Britain and the British Empire in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There is a pattern of evangelical Protestants taking the leading role in foreign missions while seeking the transformation of “heathen” cultures into an idealized Christian society.

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154 Shuck, Jehu Lewis, see online 1 July 2013 at — <http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/shuck.jehu.l.china.miss.html>

155 Merriam, Edmund T., *A History of American Baptist Missions*, (Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, 1900).

## 2.10 PROTESTANT MISSIONARY IMPACT ON CHINA.

The impact of American Protestant missions on America’s long-term relationships with China is greater than the sum of missionary efforts might suggest, with one academic referring to the important effect of the “Missionary Mind” defined as a:

Collective mentality, consisting of a generalized sense of moral obligation toward Asia and toward China in particular... Long after the missionary movement itself was on the wane, the Missionary Mind continued to exercise a profound effect on policy.<sup>156</sup>

**Table 2. Missionary Impact on China, 1807-1951.**

Protestant Missionaries	Population of China	Baptized Protestants	Protestants per Chinese
1807: 1	1812: 362 million	1800: 0	1850: 1 in 1 million
1840: 20	1851: 380 million	1834: 10	1900: 1 in 2,000
1858: 81	1949: 450 million	1853: 350	1926: 1 in 1,000
1865: 189	1980: 900 million	1869: 5,753	1952: 1 in 1,000
1874: 436	1990: 1.1 billion	1876: 13,035	1996: 1 in 36 ??
1893: 1,324	1996: 1.2 billion	1898: 80,000	
1906: 3,833		1911: 207,747	
1918: 6,395		1934: 500,000	
1926: 8,325		1980: 2 million	
1928: 4,375		1996: 33 million (??)	
1930: 6,346		(government estimate: 19 million)	
1951: 0			
Roman Catholics			
1800: -250,000 (compared to 0 Protestants)			
1900: (about) 1 million			
1950: -3 million-or five times the number of Protestants			
1996: -18 million-or about half the number of Protestants (government estimate: 6 million)			
Total Christians (Protestants & Catholics) in China's population today			
4.3 percent or 1 in 23.			
From Editorial, <i>Christian History</i> , Fall 1996, Issue 52, Vol. XV, No. 4, Page 41			

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestant missionaries were the major cultural and educational bridge between Euro-America and China.<sup>157</sup> The Rev. Edward Syle, an Episcopal missionary in Shanghai, advised his friend, Captain Samuel Francis (Frank) Dupont, USN, that there were three competing foreign voices in 19<sup>th</sup> century China—missionaries, consular officials and merchants—all in conflict yet in a symbiotic relationship—the much cited “gospel, gold, glory.”<sup>158</sup>

156 Grabill, Joseph L, “The ‘Invisible’ Missionary: A Study in American Foreign Relations,”pp in *Journal of Church and State*, Vol 93, 1972. Reed, James, *The Missionary Mind and American East Asian Policy, 1911-1915*, (Cambridge, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1983), p.2.

157 Ibid, p. 104.

158 Syle, Shanghai to Capt. S. F. Dupont, 23 November 1857. Syle Papers, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington DE. Woerner op cit.

Fairbank adopted a similar structural analysis of the expatriate community in China.

Western historians have been distracted also by the fact that Western dynamism was expressed in the spirit and exploits of those hardy individuals who became merchants, missionaries, or government officials. Among these professions there was an appearance of widely different values and different aims. The early explorers, who often acted like pirates, gave way to sea-captains, who became businessmen. Missionary pioneer evangelists were followed by missionary educators, doctors and administrators. Conquering naval officers and proconsuls were followed in time by governors of civil services. In the eyes of those in within the Western advance, a great diversity was evident. ...

The American self-image in the nineteenth century heightened this myopia, for the Americans set themselves apart from all the Old World, claiming and proclaiming a new vision of man and society, and inveighing against all empires, at the very same time that they found it necessary and desirable to accept the treaty system with all its imperial privileges, so similar to the privileges enjoyed by imperialists in their own colonies.<sup>12</sup> This was an accident of history: that we Americans could enjoy the East Asian treaty privileges, the fruits of European aggression, without the moral burden of ourselves committing aggression. It gave us a holier-than-thou attitude, a righteous self-esteem, an undeserved moral grandeur in our own eyes that was built on self-deception.<sup>159</sup>

The close connections included the interpreting services provided to American diplomats and consuls in China by American missionaries and the English-speaking Chinese from American missionary schools employed by foreign merchants and consuls. Two examples among others of foreign national and religious symbiosis were the Rev. W. A. P. Martin and the Rev. Samuel Wells Williams, assistants to US Commissioner William B. Reed in 1857 in the Five Power negotiations that resulted in the Treaty of Tientsin at the close of the Second Opium War. The Treaty included a “toleration” clause, i.e., formal recognition of the Christian religion—Protestant and Catholic. Reed gave credit for the clause to his missionary interpreter-assistants, Martin and Williams and also told Secretary of State Lewis Cass of the assistance of the long-term American missionary Elijah Bridgman in Shanghai.<sup>160</sup> Other American missionaries associated with diplomatic and consular functions include the Rev. Dr Peter Parker, Rev. Daniel. Vrooman (short-lived Consul in Canton), and many others in a pattern that continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century and reached a peak during the Japanese War in China that ended in 1945.



Other Protestant missionaries played a significant part in assisting foreign governments in dealing with the Chinese. Among the most prominent was **Rev. Karl [Charles] Gutzlaff**, (Guo Shilie 郭實獵, 1803-1851).<sup>161</sup> an influential pioneer German Protestant missionary, was the British interpreter at the signing of the earlier Treaty of Nanking at the close of the First Opium War. Gutzlaff later became a full-time official with

159 Fairbank, John K, “American China Policy,” *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol 39 No 4, November 1970, pp. 414-415.

160 Paulsen, George E., Missionary Criticism of the Toleration Clause in Reed’s Treaty of 1858,” pp 65-76 in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol 34, 1979-1980, pp 65-66.

161 Rev. Karl [Charles] Gutzlaff. See online 1 July 2013 at—  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl\\_Gutzlaff](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Gutzlaff)  
See also — <http://ricci.rt.usfca.edu/biography/view.aspx?biographyID=86>

the British authorities in Hong Kong, as did a later German Protestant missionary, Ernst Eitel who later retired and settled in Adelaide, South Australia.

While working as an interpreter for the British authorities in Hong Kong, Gutzlaff founded the Chinese Christian Union<sup>162</sup> [CCU] in 1844 at his own expense with, at first glance, the sensible intention that Chinese evangelists were likely to have more success than foreigners in converting Chinese.<sup>163</sup> The CCU was the forerunner of the Chinese Evangelisation Society in England which in turn was the origin of the China Inland Mission (CIM). James Hudson Taylor, founder of the CIM, initially went to China as a missionary with the Chinese Evangelisation Society (CES). A missionary of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, gave this account of Gutzlaff.

I have recently made the acquaintance of Mr. Gutzlaff. He first called on me, and I spent a pleasant evening with afterward at his house. He is a very agreeable man—and takes pleasure in showing what are his plans and operations for the propagation of Scriptural knowledge and Christianity in China. On the evening alluded to, after tea, he invited me down into his basement story, where he had a class of 40 Chinese men, speaking the Mandarin dialect. After a short prayer from Mr. G. in the Mandarin, he called upon several of the class to either to read or recite portions of Scripture, when they did with fluency, Mr. G. calling on them for explanations, and furnishing instructions for the space of an hour, when he called upon one of the Chinese to close with prayer. Similar meetings are held every day with two other classes in other dialects,—as Mr. G. speaks four dialects of Chinese—in addition to Cochin Chinese [Vietnamese], Japanese, Turkish, French, English, and his vernacular, the German. The Chinese under his instruction come from all parts of the empire, and go out *authorized* to teach the Gospel to their countrymen. Of course most of them are *sustained* by Mr. G., either from his own funds, or those which he collects: (and men can be had to any extent in China at \$120 a year to receive instruction.) If Mr. G.'s army be anything like John Wesley's, the nation will soon be conquered. Mr. Gutzlaff's business as interpreter to the British Government occupied him from 10 to 3 every day; and in addition to his three classes, he goes into the shops and market-places to talk to the people about the Christian religion,—generally taking some of his pupils with him—who also say something,—but the disciples were not listened to with any considerable attention so far as I perceived.<sup>164</sup>

One of Gutzlaff's ideas adopted by the China Inland Mission but not by the American Church Mission (Episcopalian) was for missionaries to adopt Chinese costume.

I have seen four German Lutheran missionaries here, who have been about four months in China; they have adopted the Mandarin dress and go about among the Chinese in the villages, and thus far have been kindly received, and have found no obstacle in the way of their preaching, (of course by interpreters) ... I mistook them, the first time I saw them, to be Chinese. I met them at Mr. Gutzlaff's last evening, and they seem to be very intelligent men. The matter of their assuming the Chinese costume, is a favorable idea of Mr. Gutzlaff's. They are under his direction, if I mistake not.<sup>165</sup>

The CES lent its name to an Australian domestic mission to the Chinese on the Victorian goldfields—the Geelong and Western District Chinese Evangelisation Society—that established an interdenominational mission to the Chinese on the goldfields of Ballarat, Victoria.<sup>166</sup>

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162 *The Christian Guardian (and Church of England Magazine)*, pp 83-90 provides the text of “A Short Account of the Chinese Christian Union,” and other related reports. See also Chin Ke Yaou, *Progress of the Chinese Christian Union*, (London, Guy Bros, 1849).

163 Lutz, Jessie G. and Roland Ray Lutz, 1985, op cit, pp 269-291.

164 *Vermont Chronicle*, 10 January 1849.

165 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 13 NO 2, February 1848, p. 52.

166 Welch, Ian (1980), *Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia*, MA, Monash University. (Available on microfilm).



Although Gutzlaff's Chinese Christian Union was assessed as a failure by 1850, it had some interesting effects. Some of the leaders of the neo-Christian Taiping Rebellion, the largest anti-dynastic event in 19th century China, have been linked to the Union.<sup>167</sup> A more positive outcome was one of Gutzlaff's personal converts, **Lo Sam-yuen (Luo Shenyuan 羅深遠)**, who was baptised by Gutzlaff c1849 and worked briefly as a member of the Chinese Christian Union before enrolling at St. Paul's College, Hong Kong. Lo worked as an Anglican missionary to the Chinese on the Victorian (Australia) goldfields from 1856-1860 when he returned to China and worked as a clergyman (Deacon) with the Anglican Diocese of Victoria (Hong Kong) until his retirement in 1883.<sup>168</sup>

Gutzlaff was an influential pioneer of Bible translation and also undertook the translation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer into Mandarin Chinese at the request of the Colonial Chaplain in Hong Kong, the Rev. Vincent Stanton, whose name recurs in this database. His translations were used by Medhurst and other mission translators and as the notes will indicate, were valued by the Bishop Boone.

Dr. Gutzlaff's [sic] version of the Holy Scriptures, from the Hebrew and Greek originals, has, in the opinion of all impartial persons who are competent to judge, made a great step in advance towards perfection. Gutzlaff, moreover, has endeavoured, as much as possible, considering the very great diversity in the views of the Chinese, to avoid all words and expressions conveying ideas not altogether consistent with the originals.<sup>169</sup>

In 1850, an investigation of the CCU by Theodore Hamburg<sup>170</sup>, a German missionary colleague of Gutzlaff, reported that of the Union's two hundred Chinese employees, fifty were opium smokers and nearly a hundred others were unreliable and most were dismissed.<sup>171</sup> Serious doubts about Gutzlaff were shared by many foreigners in China, especially in Shanghai and the Hamberg report created deep reservations about the sincerity and trustworthiness of Chinese converts. The Editor of the influential *North China Mail* invariably referred to Gutzlaff in disparaging terms. A letter to the

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167 Smith, 1985, op cit, p. 76.

168 A detailed account of Lo's life in Chinese is: Poon, Michael Chai-nai, *The Story of Luo Shenyuan, First Chinese Deacon in South China*. Online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://www.ttc.edu.sg/csca/poon/lisy.pdf>.

For other materials on Lo Sam-yuen in English contact Ian Welch, a186081@bigpond.net.au

169 Neumann quoted in *The Fourth Annual Report of the Chinese Evangelization Society, 1854* (London, 1854), pg 11-12, cited in Marr, op cit, p. 34.

170 "Theodore Hamburg, 1819-1854," Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity, online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://www.bdconline.net/en/stories/h/hamburg-theodore.php>

171 Lutz, Jessie G. and Rolland Ray Lutz, "Karl Gutzlaff's Approach to Indigenization: The Chinese Union," in Bays, Daniel H., ed, *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1985), pp 269-291. Smith, Carl T., *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong*, (Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 78. A detailed discussion of the investigation and the work of CCU evangelists is Lutz, Jessie G. "A Profile of Chinese Protestant Evangelists in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," pp 67-86 in Ku Wei-Ying and Koen De Ridder, *Authentic Chinese Christianity: Preludes to its development; (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)*, (Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2001). See also Lutz, Jessie G. and Rolland Ray Lutz, "The Invisible China Missionaries: The Basel Mission's Chinese Evangelists, 1847-1866," pp 204-227 in *Mission Studies*, Vol 12 Issue 1, 1995.

editor remarked;

Do not, Mr. Editor, keep up a constant running fire upon poor Dr. Gutzlaff. It is doubtless your duty to expose the gross exaggerations and wild delusions of Dr. Gutzlaff, as well as those of any other man. In some cases you have substantiated charges of this kind against him, and in other cases you have failed as some of your correspondents have pointed out. What I complain of is that every number of your paper contains some Anti-Gutzlaffian article or allusion, so that your readers begin to suspect you have some pique against the man, and not against his faults.<sup>172</sup>



There were several Gutzlaff personas, depending on circumstances. One was the evangelist-pioneer of missionary methods, including adopting local dress that encouraged a romantic belief among some foreigners that he was of Chinese extraction, apparently resulting from the widely circulated **image at left**.<sup>173</sup>

Associated with that was the persona of a very well-meaning man who under-estimated the venality of other people.

Another identity, the one criticised by the *North China Herald*, was a view of Gutzlaff as a show-off and deceiver or perhaps more gently, a pseudo-intellectual who seized popular theories of the day to

emphasise the importance of his own projects. It was common in 19th century folklore to place the origins of the Magyar [Hungarian] people somewhere in East Asia, often to the east of the Ural mountains. The *North China Herald* reported

They write from Berlin, under date of the 23rd of November last:—  
The celebrated Missionary, M. Gutzlaff, in the course of his sermons, which he has delivered in Germany, has frequently spoken of a Magyar population, that he has discovered in the district of Khan-okon, in China, whose language is identical with that of the Magyars of Europe, but amongst whom Christianity is wholly unknown. This revelation has determined two young Hungarian protestant clergymen, M. M Antoine and Charles Hradý, two brothers, to follow M. Gutzlaff, upon his return to China, in order to go and visit their fellow countrymen in the Celestial Empire. M.M. Hradý have arrived in Berlin to join Mr. Gutzlaff, who is preparing to go to London, where he will immediately embark for Hongkong. M. Gutzlaff also takes with him M. Newmayer, a Lutheran clergyman of Breslau (Silesia) as, likewise, a young and rich lady of Dresden, whose intentions are to assist him in his apostolical labours.<sup>174</sup>

A summary of his life stated:

Although a civil servant, Gützlaff did not neglect his missionary work. During the Opium War he had come to realize that "China can be evangelized only by the Chinese". To this end, in 1844, he formed the controversial "Chinese Union" of indigenous colporteurs and evangelists to carry the gospel to all parts of the Chinese Empire. Foreign missionaries, living in Chinese style, were to provide only initial training and guidance. In September 1849 Gützlaff left for Europe to attract material and spiritual support for his Chinese Union. He inspired the formation of several associations in 1850 in support of his work in China, including the: (1) Chinese Evangelization Society in Great Britain; (2) Berlin Missionary Association for China; (3) Berlin Ladies Association for China; (4) Pomeranian Mission Association for China; (5) Netherlands Chinese Evangelization Society, as well as a host of local auxiliary organizations. Yet while

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172 *North China Herald*, Vol 1, No 10, 5 October 1850, p. 38.

173 Artist: George Chinnery, Peabody Essex Museum, M976541

174 *North China Herald*, 1 March 1851, p. 123. Also noted in the *Vermont Chronicle*, 18 February 1851, p. 26.

he was enthusiastically welcomed in several European countries, the fraudulent activities of his unscrupulous Chinese associates were exposed by less credulous missionaries in Hongkong.<sup>175</sup>

The third identity, and perhaps the most important, was that mentioned above of a British employed civil-servant interpreter. Gutzlaff is immortalized in an image of his key role as interpreter in the negotiations that ended the First Opium War and produced the Treaty of Nanking 1842.

**Anglo-Chinese Conference, Chusan, 4 July 1840.  
Karl Gutzlaff at centre.**



Purdue, Peter C., *Rise and Fall of the Canton Trade System*,  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Visualising Cultures.

A South Australian colonial newspaper republished an account of his life published in Hong Kong after his death in 1852.

Among the events of the month deserving especial notice, is the death of Dr. Gutzlaff, which occurred here on the 9th instant, when he had just completed his 48th year. He was by birth a Pomeranian, and was sent to the East by the Netherlands Missionary Society in 1827; and after spending four years in Batavia, Singapore, and Siam, he came to China in 1831. Being of an erratic disposition, within the next two years he made three voyages along the coast of China, then comparatively unknown, and the romance of which lost nothing by his descriptions; but neither then, nor at any other time, did he visit Peking, or penetrate into the interior of the country, as has been stated. On the death of the elder Morrison, in 1834, Mr. Gutzlaff was employed by the British superintendency as an interpreter, and was employed in that capacity during the war. He afterwards received the appointment of Chinese secretary to the British Plenipotentiary and Superintendent of Trade, in which office he died. The Salary was a considerable one,

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175 Tiedemann R.G., "Gutzlaff, Karl Friedrich August", in *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*. Online 1 January 2012 at — <http://ricci.rt.usfca.edu/biography/view.aspx?biographyID=86>



especially for one of economical habits, and enabled him by frugality and profitable management, to leave a fortune, as little in accordance with his original expectations, as with the professions of poverty in which he was at all times wont to indulge. He was a man of most laborious habits, with a sanguine temperament and enthusiastic spirit: but his attainments were more various than exact, and secured for him a higher reputation at home than in China where, with the facts before them, people were not so apt to be carried away by the lively imagination which sometimes overmastered its owner himself.

For some years past Gutzlaff has ceased to call himself a Missionary: but he still continued to teach and exhort the Chinese around him and in the neighbouring hamlets. The Chinese Christian Union owes its origin to him, and is likely to expire with him. Its purpose was to convert China to Christianity through its own sons. But converts are not to be made in geometrical progression, and the idea, which could only have taken possession of an enthusiast, was crudely conceived, and put in practice without due consideration; its agents being themselves indifferent Christians, and paid for work which could not be supervised, and may never have been performed. There are few foreigners in China, having any acquaintance with the subject, even those who have belonged to the Union, who do not regard the scheme as a distinguished failure; and the more charitable amongst them believe that Mr. Gutzlaff may have been carried away by his own enthusiasm and confidence in the sincerity of his converts, rather than by any wish to deceive. He was naturally jealous of interference, and the conduct of the Christian Union piqued him, not without reason, and made him cling, with greater pertinacity, to the scheme thus assailed.<sup>176</sup>

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176 *The South Australian Register*, 17 February 1872, p. 3. Gutzlaff's papers are in the Special Collections of the University of Birmingham Library.

## 2.11 EXPATRIATE WORLD IN CHINA.



Foreign trade with 19<sup>th</sup> century China was conducted by private businesses—commission houses, of which **Russell and Co.**<sup>177</sup> (the origins of the family wealth of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt) was long an American front-runner—played a key role in linking American expatriatea.<sup>178</sup> The letters of the Episcopal Missions in Shanghai show that Russell and Co. were the principal managers of missionary mail between Shanghai and the United States. In the early

years of “foreign” Shanghai American firms provided extensive support for the consular functions of the United States. Shanghai was always predominantly a British settlement and Americans played a secondary role in commerce and in the self-government of the foreign settlement.

Pre-Revolutionary American efforts to enter the China trade, before the War of Independence, were confronted by the Crown monopoly granted to the British East India Company. Colonial Americans were required to buy tea through British importers as the famous “Boston Tea Party” symbolised rather than direct trade.<sup>179</sup> In 1849 Britain placed American shipping on the same international basis as British vessels with, it was argued, considerable advantage to Americans.<sup>180</sup>

Among the first successful American venture ships to China was the *Empress of China* in 1784, a small sailing vessel carrying around 100 tons of cargo that generated a profit on its cargo of around thirty per cent.<sup>181</sup> A letter dated 19 May 1785 from Samuel Shaw to John Jay, United States Secretary of Foreign Affairs<sup>182</sup> recorded the experience of the *Empress of China*. Shaw’s long letter to Jay gives an account of Americans distinguishing themselves from their post-revolutionary status as British subjects—and has relevance to the efforts being made by American Anglicans to preserve

177 Offices of Russell & Co on the Bund, Shanghai, c1886, (Chinese-Australian Museum, Melbourne).

178 On American trading firms in Shanghai see: He Sibing, “Russell and Company in Shanghai, 1843-1891: U.S. Trade and Diplomacy in Treaty Port China,; Paper presented to “A Tale of Ten Cities: Sino-American Exchange in the Treaty Port Era, 1840-1930—An Interdisciplinary Colloquium,” Hong University, 23-24 May 2011. Lockwood, Stephen, Augustine Heard and Company: American Merchants in China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971);

179 Stewart, Doug, “Salem Sets Sail,” pp 96-99 in *Smithsonian*, Vol 35 No 3, June 2004. McCusker, John J., and Menard, Russell R. *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

180 *North China Herald*, 13 November 1852, p. 59.

181 Smith, Philip C. F., *The Empress of China*, (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1984). See also Hawes, Dorothy S., *To the Farthest Gulf: the Story of the American China Trade*, (Ipswich, MA, Ipswich Press, 1990).

182 See summary of Jay’s extraordinary life, online 1 July 2013 at— [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Jay](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Jay)  
Jay’s Correspondence and Public Papers —  
[http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com\\_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Fperson=3797&Itemid=28](http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Fperson=3797&Itemid=28)

their ecclesiology and beliefs while distinguishing themselves from their former Church of England identity.

Sir, The first vessel that has been fitted out by the inhabitants of the United States of America, for essaying a commerce with those of the empire of China, being, by the favor of heaven, safe returned to this port, it becomes my duty to communicate to you, for the information of the fathers of the country, an account of the reception their subjects have been met with, and the respect, with which their flag has been treated, in that distant region; especially as some circumstances have occurred, which had a tendency to attract the attention of the Chinese towards a people, of whom they have hitherto had very confused ideas; and which served, in a peculiar manner, to place the Americans in a more conspicuous point of view, than has hitherto attended the introduction of other nations, into that great and extensive empire.

The ship employed on this occasion is about three hundred and sixty tons burthen, built in America, and equipped with forty-three persons, under the command of John Green, Esq. The subscriber had the honor of being appointed agent for their commerce, by the gentlemen, at whose risk this first experiment has been undertaken. On the 22d of February 1784, the ship sailed from New York, and arrived on the 21st of March at St. Jago, the principal of the Cape de Verd Islands. Having paid our respects to the Portuguese Vice Roy, and with his permission taken such refreshments as were necessary, we left those islands on the 27th, and pursued our voyage. After a pleasant passage, in which nothing extraordinary occurred, we came to anchor in the straits of Sunda, on the 18th July.

#### **A Contemporary Image of the “Empress of China”.**



Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Visualising Cultures.

It was no small addition to our happiness, on this occasion, to meet there two ships, belonging to our good allies, the French. The commodore, Monsieur Dordelin, and his officers welcomed us in the most affectionate manner; and as his own ship was immediately bound to Canton, gave us an invitation to go in company with him. This friendly offer we most cheerfully accepted; and the commodore furnished us his signals by day and night, and added such instructions for our passage through the China seas, as would have been exceedingly beneficial, had any unfortunate accident occasioned our separation. Happily we pursued our route together. On our arrival at the island of Macao, the French consul for China, Monsieur Vieillard, with some other gentlemen of his nation, came on board to congratulate and welcome us to that part of the world, and kindly undertook the introduction of the Americans to the Portuguese Governor. The little time we were there was entirely taken up by the good offices of the consul, the gentlemen of his nation, and those of the Swedes and Imperialists, who still remained at Macao. The other Europeans had repaired to Canton, three days afterwards we finished our outward bound voyage. Previous to coming to anchor, we saluted the shipping on the river with thirteen guns, which were answered by the several commodores of the European nations, each of whom sent an officer to compliment us on our arrival. These visits were returned by the captain and supercargoes in the afternoon, who were again saluted by the respective ships, as they finished their visit. When the French sent their officers to congratulate us, they added to the obligations we were already under to them, by furnishing men, boats, and anchors, to assist us in coming to safe and convenient moorings. Nor did their good offices stop here. They furnished us with part of their own banks all, and insisted further, that until we were settled, we should take up our quarters with them at Canton.

The day of our arrival at Canton, and the two following days, we were visited by the Chinese merchants, and the chiefs and gentlemen of the several European establishments, and treated by them in all respects as a free and independent nation. As such, during our stay, we were universally considered. The Chinese themselves were very indulgent toward us, though ours being the first American ship that had ever visited China, it was some time before they could fully comprehend the distinction between Englishmen and us. They styled us *the new people*; and when by the map we conveyed to them an idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were highly pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of theirs.

The situation of the Europeans at Canton is so well known, as to render a detail unnecessary. The good understanding commonly subsisting between them and the Chinese was, in some degree, interrupted by two occurrences, of which, as they were extraordinary in themselves, and led to a more full investigation of the American character by both parties, than might otherwise have taken place, I will, with your permission, give a particular account.

The police at Canton is, at all times, extremely strict, and the Europeans there are circumscribed within very narrow limits. The latter had observed, with concern, some circumstances which they deemed an encroachment on their rights. On this consideration, they determined to apply for redress to the Hoppo, who is the head officer of the customs, the next time he should visit the shipping. Deputies accordingly attended from every nation and I was desired to represent ours. We met the Hoppo on board an English ship, and the causes of complaint were soon after removed.

The other occurrence, of which I beg leave to take notice, gave rise to what was commonly called the *Canton war*, which threatened to be productive of very serious consequences. On the 25th of November, an English ship, in saluting some company who had dined on board, killed a Chinese, and wounded two others, in the Mandarin's boat along side. It is a maxim of the Chinese law, that blood must answer for blood; in pursuance of which they demanded the unfortunate gunner. To give up this poor man was to consign him to certain death. Humanity pleaded powerfully against the measure. After repeated conferences between the English and the Chinese, the latter declared themselves satisfied, and the affair was supposed to be entirely settled. Notwithstanding this, on the morning after the last conference, (the 27th,) the supercargo of the ship was seized while attending his business, thrown into a sedan chair, hurried into the city, and committed to prison. Such an outrage on personal liberty spread a general alarm; and the Europeans unanimously agreed to send for their boats, with armed men, from the shipping, for security of themselves and their property, until the matter should be brought to a conclusion. The boats accordingly came, and ours among the number; one of which was fired on and a man wounded. All trade was stopped, and the Chinese men-of-war drawn up opposite the factories. The Europeans demanded the restoration of Mr. Smith, which the Chinese refused, until the gunner should be given up. In the mean while, the troops of the province were collecting in the neighborhood of Canton; the Chinese servants

were ordered by the magistrates to leave the factories; the gates of the suburbs were shut; all intercourse was at an end; the naval force was increased; many troops were embarked in boats ready for landing; and every thing wore the appearance of war. To what extremities matters might have been carried, had not a negotiation taken place, no one can say. The Chinese asked a conference with all the nations, except the English. A deputation, in which I was included for America, met the Fuen (Fo-yuen) who is the head magistrate at Canton, with the principal officers of the province. After setting forth, by an interpreter, the power of the Emperor, and his own determination to support the laws, he demanded that the gunner should be given up, within three days; declaring that he should have an impartial examination before their tribunal, and if it appeared that the affair was accidental, he should be released unhurt. In the meantime he gave permission for the trade; excepting that of the English, to go on as usual; and dismissed us with a present of two pieces of silk to each, as a mark of his friendly disposition. The other nations, one after another, sent away their boats, under protection of a Chinese flag, and pursued their business as before. The English were obliged to submit; the gunner was given up; Mr. Smith was released; and the English, after being forced to ask pardon of the magistracy of Canton, in the presence of the other nations, had their commerce restored. On this occasion, I am happy that we were the last who sent off our boat, which was not disgraced by a Chinese flag; nor did she go, until the English themselves thanked us for our concurrence with them, and advised to the sending her away. After peace was restored, the Chief and four English gentlemen visited the several nations, among whom we were included, and thanked them for their assistance, during the troubles. The gunner remained with the Chinese, his fate undetermined. Notwithstanding the treatment we received from all parties was perfectly civil and respectful, yet, it was with peculiar satisfaction that we experienced, on every occasion, from our good allies the French, the most flattering and substantial proofs of their friendship. If, said they, we have in any instance been serviceable to you, we are happy; and we desire nothing more ardently, than further opportunities to convince you of our affection. The harmony maintained between them and us was particularly noticed by the English, who more than once observed, that it was matter of astonishment to them, that the descendants of Britons should so soon divest themselves of prejudices, which they had thought to be not only hereditary, but inherent in our nature. We left Canton the 27th December, and on our return refreshed at the Cape of Good Hope, where we found a most friendly reception. After remaining there five days, we sailed for America, and arrived in this port on the 11th instant. To every lover of his country, as well as those more immediately concerned in commerce, it must be a pleasing reflection, that a communication is thus happily opened between us and the extremity of the globe; and it adds very sensibly to the pleasure of this reflection, that the voyage has been performed in so short a space of time, and attended with the loss of only one man. To Captain Green and his officers every commendation is due, for their unwearied and successful endeavors in bringing it to this most fortunate issue, which fully justifies the confidence reposed in them, by the gentlemen concerned in the enterprise. Permit me, Sir, to accompany this letter with the two pieces of silk, presented to me by the Fuen of Canton, as a mark of his good disposition towards the American nation. In that view, I consider myself as peculiarly honored, in being charged with this testimony of the friendship of the Chinese for a people, who may, in a few years, prosecute a commerce with the subjects of that empire, under advantages equal, if not superior, to those enjoyed by any other nation whatever. I have the honor to be, & c. SAMUEL SHAW. We take this opportunity, in passing, to notice an assertion of the British Quarterly Review, which we believe to be incorrect, relative to an unfortunate occurrence, on board an American ship at Canton. The following is the remark to which we allude: From the moment that our violation of the Chinese law is of such a nature, as to drive the Chinese government to the extreme measure of seizing the persons of the offending parties, the die is cast, and we fear that hostilities will become inevitable. The last instance of the kind, that occurred, was in 1784, when one of the supercargoes of a private ship was seized to answer for homicide, and subsequently, after a good deal of blustering and preparations for commencing hostilities, was redeemed, by the surrender of another individual, equally innocent, though of an humbler station.<sup>183</sup>

The letter indicates that the primary China interest of the United States was a commercial relationship to by-pass the British monopoly awarded to the East India Company when the North American colonies were subject to the business interests of Great Britain.<sup>184</sup>

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183 *North American Review*, Vol 39 Issue 85, October 1834, pp 323-327.

184 Discussion of American trade with China appears in Jay's correspondence. *The Papers of John Jay*, Columbia University Libraries. Online 1 July 2013 at—

### The China Tea Trade c1800.



The Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

A painting by an unknown Chinese artist incorporated the tea gardens (top left), the processing of the harvest (centre), the packing of tea for export in large lead-lined boxes (bottom left), the transfer of the boxes to local junks (bottom centre) for transfer to the foreign “tea-clippers” waiting offshore (extreme right centre).

### Foreigners Control the Export Tea Trade.

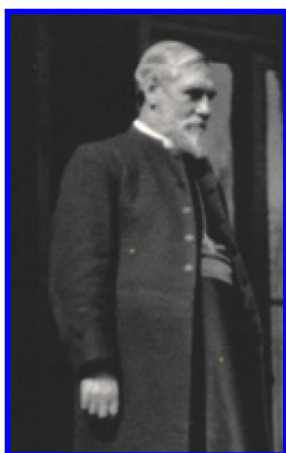


## 2.12 MISSIONARIES & GOVERNMENTS

British missionaries, overall, preferred to remain at a distance from their business diplomatic and consular compatriots. The CMS missionary, Rev. John Mahood dismissed the foreign merchant community in China as “a sink of iniquity.”<sup>185</sup> He had a deep distrust of British officials.

I believe it is much better from missionaries to have as little to do with the Consuls as possible (but) there are times when our lives may be placed in such danger that we are compelled to ask for that protection which the Government at home professes to give us.<sup>186</sup>

While holding diverse views on the extent to which they should relate to their consuls and diplomats few missionaries hesitated to demand consular and diplomatic action when it was thought necessary to preserve life.<sup>187</sup>



The **Rev. (later Bishop) William Banister** of the CMS shared Mahood’s reservations about British officials in China. He remarked to the Secretary of the CMS in London, following the Huashan Massacre<sup>188</sup> in 1895, that:

Pressure direct on the Foreign Office at home by means of public opinion in England is the only way by which the consuls out here...can be made to act effectively.”<sup>189</sup>

The very active American missionary involvement in secular affairs contrasts with the view of the English Church Missionary Society in 1895 that the involvement of CMS missionaries in official roles risked confusing indigenous people about the principal work of missionaries as evangelists. When the Rev. (later Bishop) William Banister assisted the British Consul at the trial of the Chinese accused of murdering eleven British missionaries<sup>190</sup>, he was advised by the China Secretary of the CMS that he should discontinue his association.

Mr dear Mr. Banister,

On the 22nd instant we sent a telegram to Archdeacon Wolfe<sup>191</sup> to the following effect “Brethren must not act as members of Commission.” The history of the telegram is as follows:-On the appointment of the

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185 Mahood, Rev. John, 15 June 1869. CMS Archives.

186 Mahood, Rev. John, 5 February 1871, CMS Archives.

187 Welch, Ian, (2006), *Missionaries, Murder and Diplomacy in late 19<sup>th</sup> Century China: A Case Study*, Online at <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/>

188 Welch, Ian, *The Flower Mountain Murders: A Missionary Case data-base*, online 1 July 2013, at — <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/7273>

189 Banister, Rev. W. to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Secretary for China, Church Missionary Society, 8 August 1895, CMS Archives.

190 Welch, Ian, *The Flower Mountain Murders: A Missionary Case data-base*, online 1 July 2013, at — <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/7273>

191 Archdeacon John Richard Wolfe was a CMS missionary. He was appointed Archdeacon of Foochow as the local representative of the Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong. Wolfe sought to use this appointment to assert his authority over all British Anglican missionaries in Fujian Province. He was often in conflict with his colleagues as a result.

Commission in the *Times* your name with that of Mr. Star<sup>192</sup> appeared as members of the Commission. On receiving a telegram from you informing us of the proceedings of the Commission being delayed, we went to the Foreign Office and informed the authorities of the terms of your telegram, and remarked that there was special weight to be attached to your telegram in-as-much as you were a member of the Commission. The Under-secretary at once demurred to my statement, and from that day to less than week ago some of us have been cherishing the idea that neither you nor Mr. Star were members of the Commission. Subsequently your diary, and especially one letter from Mr. Star, again threw doubt upon your position in connexion with the Commission, and at the same time we sent you the telegram above quoted. Most fully do we sympathise with you both in the difficult position in which you found yourselves placed. On the one hand it was evident that if the Consul claimed your assistance on account of your personal knowledge of the dialect and your intimacy with the people and country around Kucheng, in the interests of justice it was exceedingly difficult for you to decline to serve; on the other hand for you Missionaries to be directly connected with the transactions of the Commission would obviously prove very detrimental to any subsequent missionary work being undertaken by you in that neighbourhood. Today we learn from the Foreign Office that our Government do not understand that you were asked to act as members of the Commission of Enquiry.<sup>193</sup>

Two months later, London again wrote to Banister, clarifying their concern that his involvement in official matters was, on balance, undesirable.

My dear Mr. Banister,

Many thanks for your letter of November 5th. I was able to bring it before our correspondence Committee yesterday. The situation was very carefully and fully discussed. The Committee I need scarcely say, still continues to take the same view regarding their Missionaries acting as assessors on such a Commission, as was indicated by their telegram on October 22nd, "Brethren must not act as members of Commission", but the letter of the Consul they regard as putting the Commission altogether in a new light. We now understand that in the full sense no commission has been appointed at all, but that it has been a Chinese court of Justice, and that Mr. Mansfield has simply been fulfilling his ordinary duties, though with special instructions from H. M. Minister befitting the gravity of the case, and that at his request you and Mr. Star have assisted him in the clerical and linguistic work with which he could not have performed singlehanded. Our error as to the position which you and Mr. Star have occupied in this investigation has partly arisen from the word "Commission" having been loosely used in the newspapers. With the fuller light now bestowed, the Committee feel that they would not be justified in declining to approve your acting in accordance with the distinct request of the Consul, especially as he indicates that in the event of your standing aloof innocent persons might in consequence suffer. It is under these circumstances that in accordance with the request in your letter of November 5th, the Committee telegraphed to Foochow the word, "Act." Of course I need hardly tell you that we all deeply sympathise with you both in the difficult position in which you found yourselves placed. On the one hand the demands of justice seemed to call for you to take the responsible position assigned you by the Consul, and on the other there was the grave risk of injuring your ministerial influence in the future as missionaries.<sup>194</sup>

Upon learning of the CMS advice, the British Consul, Mr. Richard W. Mansfield, wrote to Mr. Banister and his note explains the special levels of assistance to officials missionaries could offer.

Sir,—It is with great regret I learn from your note today and its enclosure, that your Society has telegraphed requesting that their missionaries do not act on the Commission (so called) to enquire into the circumstances of the Huashan Massacre. It appears to me that the Society have been somewhat misled by the word "Commission" which has been loosely used in the newspapers. As far as the British side of the case is concerned no one of us could rightly termed to a commissioner. I as Consul at this port, was simply fulfilling my ordinary duties, though with special instructions from my Minister befitting the gravity of the case. Vice-Consul Allen and you were with me at my own request made without reference

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192 Rev. L. H. F. Star, a Church of Ireland member of the Church Missionary Society in Fujian Province.

193 Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Rev. William Banister, Foochow. 25 October 1895. CMS East Asia Archives.

15 Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Rev. William Banister, Foochow. 18 December 1895. CMS East Asia Archives.



to Peking, to assist me in the clerical and linguistic work I could not perform single-handed. These are the simple facts of the matter.

I cannot too highly speak of the invaluable assistance of both of you, and it is not too much to say that without your intimate knowledge of the country and your thorough acquaintance with the local dialect, a satisfactory result of my task would have been very difficult to arrive at, and innocent persons might have suffered in consequence.

I perfectly understand that in all societies, where there is a governing body, the members of the Society are bound to respect the wishes and instructions of that body; but it would be most unfortunate at this juncture, with a new Consul very shortly taking up my work, that he should be deprived of the assistance your thorough knowledge of the case, and experience would be to him. Perhaps my explanation given above with regard to the composition of the so-called commission would alter the ideas of your Society on this question, but in any case I trust that you will not refuse any private assistance you may be able to give the Consulate in bringing the remainder of the Huashan case to a satisfactory conclusion.

I should like to add that I was much struck at Ku t'ien by the friendly attitude towards you of the population generally, as giving proof of the good work you have done there during your long residence. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
R. W. Mansfield, Consul.<sup>195</sup>



The ties of English Anglicans to the Established State Church of England identified them, although the missionary societies sought to minimize the links, with the “official” British presence in China. **Archdeacon John Richard Wolfe** was both a missionary and an official of the Diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong, where the Bishop was a Crown appointment and Wolfe’s status as an Archdeacon reporting to the Bishop was therefore a

British official appointment. Wolfe was not adverse to using official channels to try and force his views and values on his Anglican colleagues when their views and his collided.<sup>196</sup> When some Anglican missionaries in Fujian Province stated their intention to return to their stations without his approval, he wrote, unsuccessfully, to the British Minister in Peking (Beijing) demanding that instructions be given to the British Consul to refuse to issue passports essential for travel within China.

Banister was one of several CMS and CEZMS missionaries in Fujian Province who clashed with Wolfe, with one of the most furious exchanges centering on the wearing of Chinese costume. Wolfe was implacably opposed, Banister was tolerant and followed the CMS official line that dress was a matter that missionaries should choose for themselves. Archdeacon Wolfe expressed his views very forcefully in a letter to the CMS London

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

Referring to your private note of May 10th and the Enquiry made therein with reference to the Chinese dress in connexion with CMS ladies: I very much fear that there is no place where the dress would be welcomed as all the brethren who are in charge of districts open to CMS ladies are strongly opposed to ladies wearing it. The native agents also in these districts and indeed in all the districts, are much opposed to ladies wearing it. Just recently the natives at Ning Taik and Lo Nguong have asked Mr. McClelland not to bring any ladies wearing the Chinese Costume to work in their districts. I certainly

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195 Mansfield, Richard W., British Consul to Rev. William Banister, 3 November 1895. CMS Archives.

196 Ibid.

am very strongly opposed to the practice, especially in case of ladies wearing the Chinese dress but if I thought or could be convinced that by wearing of it I could win soul to Christ more than in my own English costume, I would adopt it tomorrow, tail and all.

I have once worn the dress years ago hoping thereby to conciliate the Chinese more easily. This was before I had very much experience. I found however that it hindered me in the very object which I wanted to effect, and I threw it off for ever! I am therefore opposed to it as a dress, although it makes a man look like a woman; and hinders one's activity. I am opposed to it simply and solely because if am convinced by good reasons that it is doing much harm, especially in the cause of ladies wearing it, and I deplore night and day the fatal fascination of these dear and earnest ladies who adopt it which closes their eyes and ears to every objection against it, and not only this but if you attempt to say a word against the practice, you are looked upon as a personal enemy to be avoided at all risks.

Here the Chinese dress is being made almost an article of faith, and rather than give it up they (some) are prepared rather to abandon the Master's work and return home. This spirit to my mind is sad beyond measure, and unworthy, I cannot help thinking, of a true missionary. I confess I cannot appreciate the feelings of people at home who can know nothing whatever of the circumstances of the case out here and make up their minds and decide before they leave England that they will wear the Chinese costume at all risks and make it a matter of conscience... Miss Hankin ... came out determined that the Chinese dress was the one to wear but she soon found out that she was mistaken. The native Christians at Hing Hwa asked her, and Miss Lloyd, not to appear in Native Costume. These two ladies and their colleagues find that they have the freest intercourse among all classes of women in the English dress, and now say openly they would not think of wearing the Chinese. I am sure we have no lady in Fukien who has had more success amongst Chinese women and men too than Miss Hankin.

The one great objection which those ladies who wear the Chinese dress have against their English costume is that in it they are taken for men, but is true only in a very limited degree and only where European ladies are not well known. After a very short acquaintance the mistake is never made. But the objection tells tenfold against the Chinese costume when worn by English ladies with their big natural feet and big shoes and bare above the ankles, they are naturally taken for men, and what is worse, they are openly said as men to adopt this dress to facilitate their entrance into women's houses for bad purposes.

But if I were to enter into all arguments and objections I would weary you too much. When I began I never intended to say half so much. I am aware our dear friends, the Misses Saunders, seem determined to wear the Chinese dress at all risks.<sup>197</sup> Now suppose they are appointed to a district where their colleagues have been wearing the English dress, the missionary in charge is opposed to the Chinese dress and the native helpers and Christians too are opposed to it. Will it be a true Christian spirit for them or anybody else to say, "I don't care what you all think or what you all in the district say, I will wear the Chinese dress at all risks." Though I am opposed to the dress, I should condemn at once any one who would think so going to a district where the custom has been to wear Chinese dress and where all in the district were in favour of it. I say I would at once condemn any one who would determine in the face of all this to go on wearing the English dress. We must in a case like this for the sake of peace and the good of our work, make compromises and sacrifice our feelings for the sake of peace and good will. I feel I have taken too much of your precious time on this matter, but I hope you will excuse and forgive me. I only wish we had never been troubled with the matter. No other mission in Fukien has been so troubled and it has been very hard upon us, but there is a reason no doubt if only we could see it. Perhaps we shall one day and perhaps too we shall be grateful for it, but certainly at present we can't see the good of it.

Believe me, dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

Yours very truly and faithfully,

John R Wolfe.<sup>198</sup>

As the longest-serving CMS missionary in Fujian Wolfe had considerable influence. He was not in any sense the chief authority although he acted as the contact point in Fuzhou for other CMS

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197 The adoption by Australian Protestant missionaries of Chinese dress was universal, perhaps influenced by the widespread influence among evangelical Australians of the Australian auxiliary of the China Inland Mission.

198 Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Secretary, Church Missionary Society, London, 1 July 1895. CMS Archives.

missionaries in Fujian Province. All CMS missionaries were nominally equal in status and decisions were made collectively by a local Fujian sub-committee of the Hong Kong CMS Committee. As far as the CEZMS (Church of England Zenana Missionary Society) was concerned, Wolfe had no authority at all. CEZMS was a women's mission that worked closely with the CMS but was otherwise independent and Wolfe had no authority over CEZMS missionaries.<sup>199</sup> Wolfe was selective about which decisions of the CMS Fujian sub-committee he would support and which he would ignore or undermine. Mention was made earlier about a tendency in missionary histories to gloss over or ignore entirely disagreements and anger among missionary colleagues.

Although Protestant missionaries embodied their home culture and were propagators of an essentially Euro-Christian worldview they did not have as much coercive power over their clients as is implied by the term "cultural imperialism." What authority individual missionaries had was grounded in respect that had to be earned from the Chinese.<sup>200</sup> Archdeacon Wolfe used his wide acceptance among Fuzhou Anglican Christians in an unsuccessful attempt to secure nomination as the Bishop of Fujian through letters of support from his Chinese clergy to the CMS.<sup>201</sup>

Chinese responses to missionaries ranged from a general acceptance of people at local levels to the extreme negativity of the foreign (i.e. Manchu) ruling elite and most of the Manchu-appointed Chinese senior provincial officials and their conservative colleagues (*literati* or scholar-gentry), who opposed all perceived threats to their privileged existence. It was the *literati*, taken by and large, who fomented local riots as an anti-foreign tool to retain their local status, authority and affluence. The American Consul in Fuzhou (Foochow) remarked of the local Chinese officials that:

They find the ground slipping from under them by the impact of Western civilization...Forcing upon them...Great changes in their cherished beliefs, customs, learnings and methods, and they cannot see whereunto all this is leading them.<sup>202</sup>

There is little evidence that the Chinese, when not stirred up by officials and scholar-gentry, were hostile towards missionaries. Reports of the many itinerant visits to districts around Shanghai demonstrates that the missionaries were a source of curiosity and entertainment rather than

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199 See later discussion of missionaries and Chinese dress.

200 Uhalley, Stephen and Xioaxin Wu, *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, (Armonk NY, M. E. Sharpe, 2001). Dunch, Ryan, (2002), 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions and Global Modernity,' pp 301-325 in *History and Theory*, No 41, October 2003. Because foreign missionaries were required to approach local officials through their consul Chinese argued that the missionaries and foreign governments were in concert. Denby to Secretary of State, 29 October 1895. US State Department, Despatches from United States Ministers to China, 1843-1906. For a personal account of missionary political involvement see Reed, James Eldin, (1972), 'American Foreign Policy, The Politics of Missions and Josiah Strong, 1890-1900, pp 230-245 in *Church History*, Vol 41 No 2. A recent account of American missionaries and political issues is Christensen, Erleen J, *In War and Famine: Missionaries in China's Honan Province in the 1940's*, (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

201 On 1 December 1895 a petition "signed by 306 Foochow native clergymen, preachers, etc.," seeking the appointment of Archdeacon Wolfe as the new Bishop. A reply from CMS London, 19 February 1896, indicated that the Society "did not see their way to make any special effort in this direction." When the diocese was created in 1905, Archdeacon H. M. E. Price of Osaka, Japan, was appointed.

202 Samuel F Gracey, U S Consul, Fuzhou, 6 December 1906 in Varg, Paul A, (1968), 'The Myth of the China Market', pp 742-758 in the *American Historical Review*, Vol 73 No 3, February 1968.

resentment. Very few missionaries were killed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century prior to the Boxer massacres at the turn of the century (See table on following page). The case of the two Swedish missionaries, Wickholm and Johanssen, is the only clear instance of missionaries being killed by the direction of Chinese officials. In almost every other case, other than Huashan, the missionaries were killed by bandits. The exact motivation of the Huashan killings is unclear. It is certain that the local gentry and officials were not involved although it seems likely that anti-Manchu elements in Fuzhou, tolerated by the Governor-General and senior provincial officials, had some role in the episode.

Well before the Treaty of Tientsin allowed freedom of travel for foreigners inside China missionaries had itinerated freely for at least 100 kilometres outside Shanghai throughout the 1850s. Letters and reports of Anglican and Episcopal missionaries state, unequivocally, that they rarely met with opposition and were able to preach publicly and distribute tens of thousands of religious books.

Among the misunderstandings of missionary activity in 19<sup>th</sup> century China was the freedom of movement of foreigners encapsulated in the 1859-1860 Treaty of Tientsin, and summarised in the following comment that, in the Yangtse Valley region, allowed what was already customary practice.

The full-scale Protestant missionary assault made possible by the provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin (1859-1860) created new problems and intensified old ones existing as a result of the officially unwelcome foreign presence. The difficulties plagued foreign consuls few of whom had much experience in the specific context of China.<sup>203</sup>

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203 Kirby, James E. Jr., "The Foochow Anti-Missionary Riot—August 30, 1878, pp 665-679 in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol 25 No 4, August 1966, p. 665.

**Table 3.**  
**China: Missionary Murders Prior to 1899**

Maggillivray, Donald, (1907), <i>A Century of Protestant Missions in China, (1807-1907)</i> , (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1847).			
Edwards. E H, (1903), <i>fire and Sword in Shansi: the Story of the Martyrdom of Foreigners and Chinese Christians</i> : (Edinburgh and London, Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, Reprinted 1970, Arno Press and New York Times).			
Forsyth, Robert C, (1904), <i>The China Martyrs of 1900: A Complete Roll of the Christian Heroes Martyred in China with Narratives of the Survivors</i> . (London, Religious Tract Society, 1904).			
Grundy, R S, (1893), 'Missionaries in China. The maltreatment of missionaries and converts, both Protestant and Catholic, in various parts of the country. <i>Fortnightly Review</i> 1893.			
Broomhall, Marshall, <i>Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission</i> , (London, Morgan and Scott/China Inland Mission, 1902),			
The deaths of Wickholm and Johanssen were reported in the <i>Brisbane Courier</i> , Queensland, 31 August 1893), p. 7.			
1847	Rev. Walter M Lowrie,	USA	Presbyterian (killed by pirates).
1850	Rev. Karl Josef Fast	Sweden	Lutheran
1861	Rev. J L Holmes	USA	Southern Baptist Convention
	Rev. H M Parker <sup>204</sup>	USA	Protestant Episcopal (Anglican) Church (killed by Taiping rebels in Shandong Province).
1867	Samuel Johnson <sup>205</sup>	UK	British & Foreign Bible Society
1869 Aug 25	Rev. J Williamson <sup>206</sup>	UK	London Missionary Society (killed by bandits).
<b>1870</b>	<b>Tientsin Massacre of Catholics, including French Consul and 13 Sisters of Mercy.</b>		
1871	Rev. W Argent	UK	Wesleyan 'Joyful News Mission'
<b>1872</b>	<b>Catholic Sisters at Ichang</b>		
1893, July 1	Mr O. Wickholm <sup>207</sup>	Sweden	Swedish Mission. (anti-foreign riot at Sungpu).
	Mr A. D. Johanssen	Sweden	Swedish Mission. (anti-foreign riot at Sungpu).
1894 Aug	Rev. J Wylie	UK	United Free Church Mission. (killed by rebel soldiers).
1895 Aug 1	Kucheng (Gutian) <b>Massacre by "Vegetarian" rebels.</b> <sup>208</sup>		
	Rev. Robert W Stewart	Ireland	Church Missionary Society
	Mrs. Louisa K Stewart	Ireland	Church Missionary Society
	Herbert Stewart		(five years old)
	Hilda Sylvia Stewart		(baby)
	Miss Helena Yellop	Ireland	(children's nurse)
	Miss Nellie Saunders	Australia	Church Missionary Association of Victoria
	Miss Topsy Saunders	Australia	Church Missionary Association of Victoria
	Miss M Annie C Gordon	Australia	Church of England Zenana Missionary Society,
	Miss Elsie Marshall	England	Church of England Zenana Missionary Society
	Miss Hessie Newcombe	Ireland	Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, Supported by Irish YWCA
	Miss F Lucy Stewart	England	Church of England Zenana Missionary Society
1898 Nov 4	Mr W S Fleming	Australia	China Inland Mission, Australia. (killed by bandits).
<b>1898</b>	<b>Shantung, 2 German Catholic missionaries</b>		
1899 Dec	Rev S M Brooks	England	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. (Killed by Boxer rebels).
There were approximately 30 foreign Roman Catholic martyrs in 18 <sup>th</sup> and 19 <sup>th</sup> century China. By national origin Italy, 14; France 11; Spain 8; Belgium 1; Netherlands 1.			

204 See Part 17—1862, February 12-14, Charleston, SC. Death of Rev. Henry M. Parker. (also Rev. J. L. Holmes.

205 Foster, Arnold, *Christian Progress in China: Gleanings from the Writings and Speeches of Many Workers*, (Lond, The Religious Tract Society, 1889), p. 127.

206 Ibid, pp 128-129.

207 The deaths of Wickholm and Johanssen reported in the *Brisbane Courier*, Queensland, 31 August 1893), p. 7.

208 Welch, Ian (2011), *The Flower Mountain Murders*: online at —  
<https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/7273>

The American Episcopal missionary, Rev. Channing Williams, made these journal entries of a tour in October 1857 that illustrate the freedom of action he and the Rev. John Liggins enjoyed.

1857. Oct. 2d.—In company with Mr. Liggins (Rev. John Liggins), left home on a missionary tour to the region of country around Soo-Chow.

Oct. 7th.—After preaching at Kwong-fok, we started for Hine-z-kwan...

Oct. 9th.—Travelling all the morning, we reached Voo-Sih in the afternoon ...

Sunday, Oct. 11th.—At the village Nga-ko-Dong. Met in a temple an old Buddhist [sic] priest... He would finish nearly every sentence with, Au-me-doo-veh, the name of Buddha].

Nov. 6th.—reached Nen-Ziang.

Nov. 7th —arrived at Ka-Ding. Reached Ta-Tsong in the evening.

Nov. 10th.—Reached Lok-Dzuk, a town of thirty-five thousand inhabitants.

Nov. 11th.—Streets of Doong-le, a town of about thirty thousand people.

Nov. 12th.— Ng-Kong, and Pah-Tsak, a town of twenty-five thousand people.

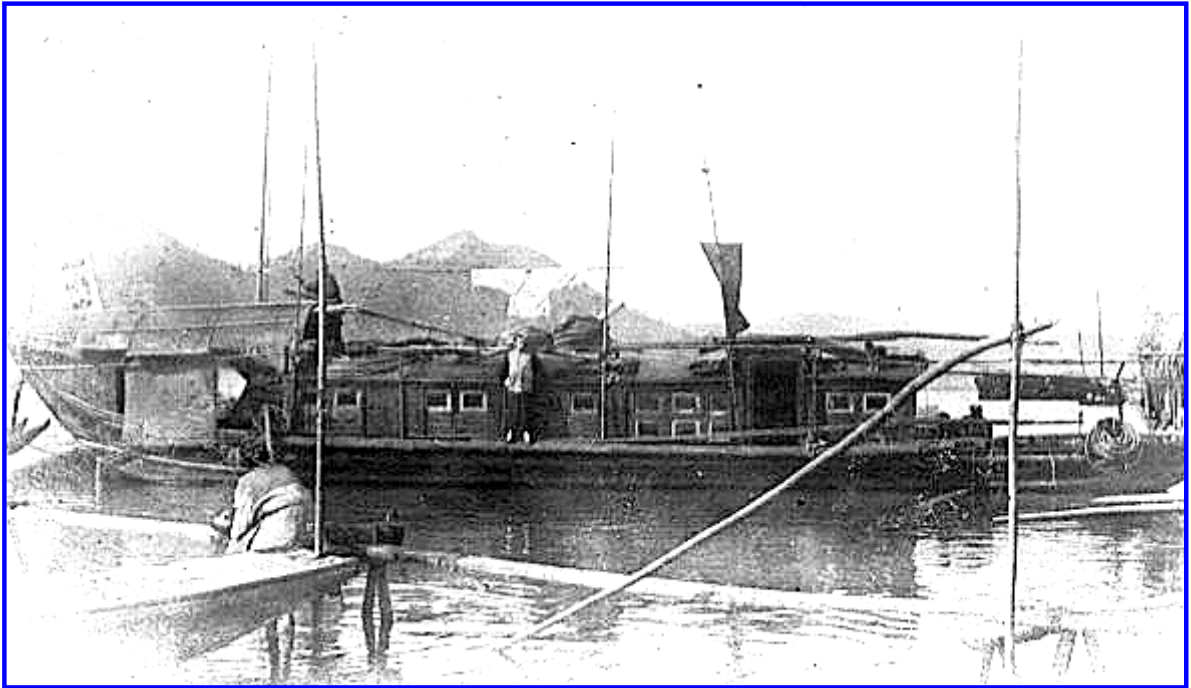
Nov. 12th.—At Bing-Mong. Population, sixty thousand.

Tiung-dzuk-a-yuen of one hundred thousand inhabitants. At Non-Dzing, a town of one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants.

Intervention by local officials rarely involved anything more serious than refusal to rent property, a common problem for foreigners across China and was one of the few central government regulations against foreigners that was consistently applied for much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. That is not to say that officials did not foment trouble for missionaries. The Rev. John Mahood of the CMS in Fujian Province was badly beaten in a rental and residence dispute.

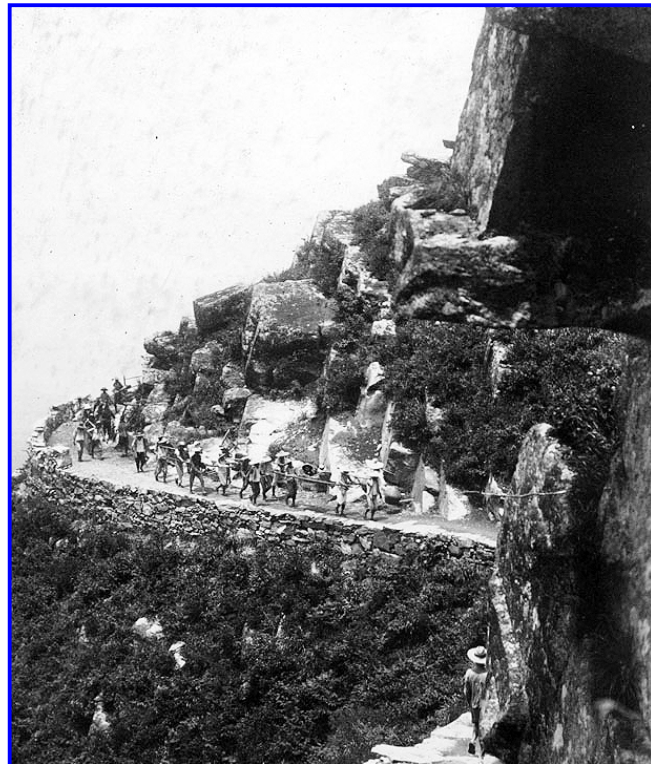
The dense population mentioned should be related to the short distances travelled by riverboats along the many waterways of the intensely settled Shanghai plain. On Nov 12, 1857 Williams notes: "Doong-le to Ng-Kong is four miles, and from Ng-Kong to Pah-Tsak is ten." Inland travel in China was necessarily by water along the many rivers and canals. Missionaries in Shanghai had, as the reports of the missionaries in this collection demonstrate, easy access to towns and villages close to water-courses. It was a very different matter when missionaries moved inland. Walking, or sedan chairs, along arrow footpaths were the only way of moving about in 19<sup>th</sup> century China. The images on the following page show a typical Yangtse River passenger boat and the incredibly difficult means of movement by land.

**A Yangtse River Passenger Boat c 1895.**



Frank Burden Collection (Ian Welch).  
Used by permission of Frank Burden, grandson.

**A Mountain Pathway near Kuling.**



Elsie Marshall, an English woman missionary, wrote of the Anglican mission at Kucheng, in Fujian Province highlighting the challenges to the few foreign missionaries:

Mr. Stewart was reckoning the other day that Gutian and Ping Nang districts — only just one district of Fujian — is nine miles from east to west, and twenty-three miles from north to south. That is as big as half Wales! . . . My little district is about 300 miles square.<sup>209</sup>

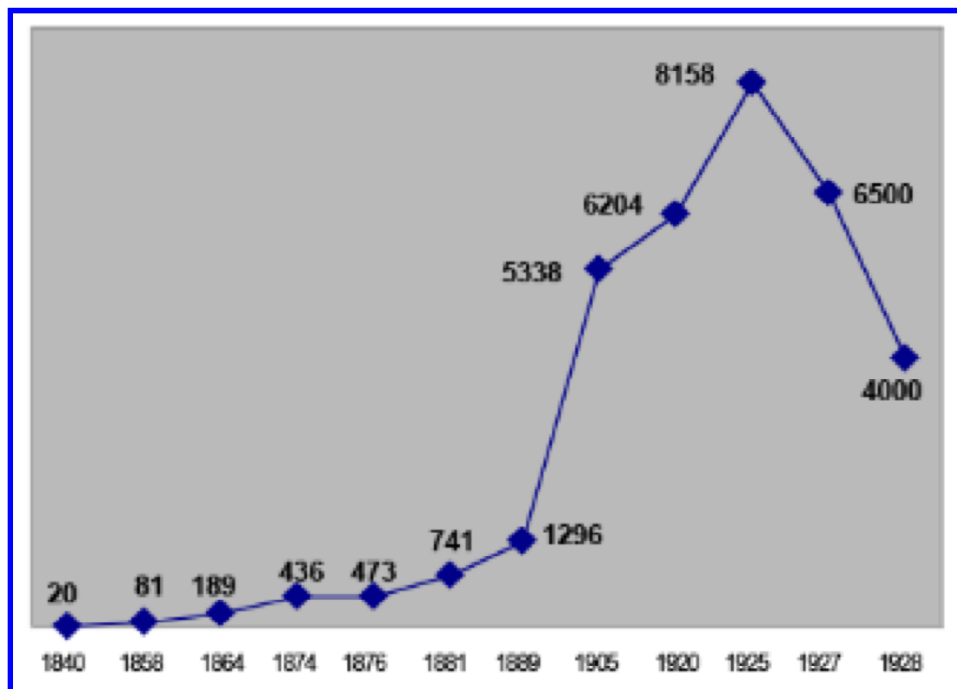
In that region, there were literally thousands of villages and millions of people. Most of the Chinese in Gutian and Ping Nang districts would never actually meet a foreigners although their presence would have been known.

Protestant missionaries, mostly in family groups, tended to concentrate in major centres, frequently connected with the availability of Western medical practitioners and hospitals. The limited penetration of foreign Protestant missionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is shown in Table 4. Archives show that many towns had multiple Protestant missions. What is missing is the actual number of people in each of the missions and locations indicated below but it is apparent that most of China was untouched by Protestant missionaries.

**Table 4. China—Protestant Missionary Locations, 1846-1890.**

1860:	35 mission stations,	14 cities;
1880:	132 mission stations,	65 cities;
1890:	498 mission stations,	345 cities;
<b>80%</b>	<b>Protestant missionaries in Coastal Ports or Yangtse Valley</b>	

**Table 5. China—Protestant Missionary Numbers, 1840-1928.**



209 Marshall, Elsie, (c 1903), *For His Sake*, A Record of a Life consecrated to God and devoted to China, London, The Religious Tract Society, p 162.



The tables above show the steady expansion of Protestant missions between 1860 and 1880 (Table 4) and the dramatic expansion that occurred from the 1880s to 1925.<sup>210</sup> The table below shows Protestant missions c1870, and highlights the predominance of men that was to change dramatically within a decade.

**Table 5. Protestant Missions and Missionaries, 1870.**

List of Protestant Missions in China, and the number of Missionaries connected with them.	
<b>ENGLISH.</b>	
London Mission	19
Church	14
Wesleyan	12
English Presbyterian	10
New Connexion	4
Baptist	1
United Methodist	2
United Presbyterian	1
Irish Presbyterian	2
China Inland	21
Union Chapel	2
Independent Baptist	1
British and Foreign Bible Society	2
National Bible Society of Scotland	2
	93
<b>AMERICAN.</b>	
American Board	18
Presbyterian	25
Protestant Episcopal	4
Southern Baptist	4
American Baptist	6
Methodist Episcopal	8
Southern Methodist Episcopal	2
United Presbyterian	2
Southern Presbyterian	4
Independent	1
Independent Baptist	1
Woman's Mission	3
	78
<b>GERMAN AND SWISS.</b>	
Basel Mission	6
Berlin	4
Berlin Ladies	4
Rhenish	4
	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>189</b>
Ordnained Missionaries	143
Lay	23
<b>Female</b>	23
	<b>189</b>

210 Muirhead, William, *China and the Gospel*, (London, James Nisbet, 1870), p. 305.

## 2.13 PROTESTANTS & CATHOLICS.

Itinerating Episcopal missionaries often reported the wide reach of Catholic missionaries across 19<sup>th</sup> century China. It did not matter how remote the location, Protestant missionaries regularly reported meeting or hearing of foreign Catholic missionaries. The life-long commitment of these isolated (and obviously lonely) foreign Catholic clergy was respectfully mentioned by Protestant missionaries.

Respect for the person did not extend to respect to the Christianity taught by the Catholics who were, as references in the collection show, equally dismissive of the teachings of the Protestants. Some foreign observers, such as Captain Thomas Blakiston of the Royal Engineers, compared the lifestyles of Catholic and Protestant missionaries.

There is little doubt that the Roman Catholics have done much more in China than the world gives them credit for...To such men as these, who leave their country and friends with the sole object of carrying salvation to a heathen people, whose dress and habits they adopt, and among whom they live, often in a manner which would not be coveted by the very lowest among an European population...cut off from all intercourse with the outside world, with none of the luxuries and few even of the necessaries of European civilization—is due a meed of praise which I am unworthy to proclaim, and will therefore only refer to the contrast between them and the Protestant missionaries. Located among the European and American communities at the open ports on the coast, the latter live in all the ease and comfort of civilized society, surrounded by their wives and families, with dwellings equal, and often much superior, to what they have been accustomed to in their own country; they are in constant communication with all civilized parts of the world, by a regular mail.<sup>211</sup>

The Rev. Samuel Schereschewsky, who wore conventional clerical dress, was identified by the Chinese along the Yangtse River as a Christian priest and Chinese Catholics, of whom there were stated to be over 100,000 in the regions above Chungking (Chongqing), greeted him warmly.

Mr. Schereschewsky tried to explain to them the difference between Roman Catholics and Protestants, but they could not understand it, saying that we all worshipped the same Jesus Christ and his Mother. On returning to our boats they loaded us with presents of sweet cakes and other Chinese dainties, and begged us to report to the Bishop of Chung-king the shameful treatment they had received from the mandarins. ...we witnesses the good the Catholic priests have done in China, while throughout our journey we did not meet with a single Protestant.<sup>212</sup>

European Catholic religious orders predominated in China from very early times. America remained a missionary province of the Catholic Church until 1908. American and British (Irish) Catholics did not enter China until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first American Catholic women's order (Maryknoll Sisters) did not enter foreign missionary work until 1920.<sup>213</sup>

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211 Blakiston, Thomas H., *Five months on the Yang-Tsze: with a narrative of the exploration of its upper waters and notices of the present rebellions in China.* (London, J. Murray, 1862), p 179.

212 *Ibid*, pp 183-184. Mrs. Jane Edkins reported Schereschewsky's participation. She had never seen his name in print so she recorded his name as "Sheriffshaky." Edkins, Jane, 153, *op cit*, p. 213.

213 Shemo, Connie, "Directions on Scholarship on American Women and Protestant Foreign Mission: Debates over 'Cultural Imperialism,'" pp 270-283 in *History Compass*, Vol 10 No 3, 2012, p 272.

## 2.14 CULTURE SHOCK IN MISSIONARY HISTORY.

Church leaders around the world were sensitive to the motives and means by which the “opening” of China to Protestant missions was achieved. Australia was far from Britain and the US but Australians were well aware, especially after telegraphic links were established with Britain, of events in China.<sup>214</sup> The Anglican Bishop James Moorhouse of Melbourne in the British Colony of Victoria, Australia, said that missionary work in China occurred “at the butt-end of a musket.”<sup>215</sup> Archdeacon Robert L. King of Sydney, New South Wales, said that British policy in China as driven by “ ‘mercenary purposes’ at ‘the cannon’s mouth.’ ”<sup>216</sup>

An address presented to Lord Elgin by British missionaries in Shanghai make it clear that they were well aware of the contradictions implicit in their presence in China.

Coming here to teach Christianity to a heathen population, we are not uninterested observers of passing events. They may very seriously affect our future position. The warlike attitude that our nation has by political necessity been led to assume, may produce prejudice against us in the minds of the people, and lead them to misunderstand the objects of our mission.<sup>217</sup>

Reference was made earlier to 19<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-American self-confidence, or perhaps cultural arrogance, that their civilisation was the supreme achievement of humanity.<sup>218</sup> It is undeniable that, despite a popular religiosity, Christian values and voices were muted when compared to commercial and imperialist interest groups, a statement best illustrated by the refusal of the British Government to end the trade in Indian-grown opium, a principal source of revenue for the British administration of India.<sup>219</sup> British businesses played a leading role in the evil opium trade but Chinese also profited from opium growing and distribution.<sup>220</sup> It took nearly a century before Christian protests over the opium trade were successful in pushing the British Parliament to make the trade illegal as far as

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214 See online 1 July 2012 at — <http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/overland-telegraph> and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_telegraphy\\_in\\_Australia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_telegraphy_in_Australia)

215 Rt. Rev. James Moorhouse, Second Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, *The Church of England Messenger*, 2 December 1979, p 5.

216 King, Archdeacon Robert L, (1888), ‘Our Chinese Brethren,’ pp 7-9 in *Australasian Missionary News*, Sydney, Vol. 1 No 6, 1 June 1888.

217 “A Copy of the Address Presented to Lord Elgin by Protestant Missionaries of Shanghai and Ningpo,” *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 23 No 9, September 1858, p. 436.

218 Twells, Alison, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1793-1850*, (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

219 The number of British colonial wars in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is noteworthy. See Herson, Ian, *Britain’s Forgotten Wars: Colonial Campaigns of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, (Sutton Publishing, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2003).

220 The Viceroy of Chihli (today Zhili) Province, Li Hung-chang was the Chinese equivalent of a Prime Minister. He was reputed to be a major producer of opium on his properties. Little, Alicia H. N, *Li Hung-Chang, His Life and Times*, London, Cassell, 1903, p. 127. See Morrison, G E., *An Australian in China : being the narrative of a quiet journey across China to Burma*, (London, Horace Cox, 1895), pp 45 ff. A well-written missionary account of the work of a Chinese pastor dealing with opium and the role of women is Cable, Mildred, *The Fulfilment of a Dream of Pastor Hsi’s: The Story of the work in Hwochow*, (London, Morgan and Scott, 1917). Pastor Hsi’s biographer is Taylor, Mrs. Howard, *Pastor His (of North China): One of China’s Christians*, (London, Morgan and Scott, 1904).

British subjects were concerned.<sup>221</sup>

It has always been a difficult matter to separate the religious and secular forces behind Britain's empire, especially in its infancy. Early dissenters and evangelicals 'sought not just to preserve the empire through toleration, but to change it fundamentally by transforming it into an instrument of God's purposes on earth'. For them, the Gospel's transformational power-and thus its reward-was to be seen in Britain's rise to global affluence and influence. Britain's duty and privilege, therefore, was to be the vehicle by which the Gospel was spread 'to the corners of the earth'. As we shall see, *Commerce, Civilization, and Christianity* was less a descending list of priorities than a sort of flowchart toward the accomplishment of eschatological expectations.<sup>222</sup>

The official American position reflected the self-righteousness mentioned earlier. The U.S. government declared, somewhat ingenuously given the dependence on British military force illustrated in Part 5, that it was not engaged in the kind of power politics that characterized other European powers in China.

We are not party to the existing hostilities and have no intention to interfere in their political concourse, or gain a foothold in their country. We go there to engage in trade, but under suitable guarantees for its protection. The extension of our commercial intercourse must be the work of individual enterprise, and to this element of our national character we may safely leave it.<sup>223</sup>

Culture shock is a recurrent theme in almost every letter from Episcopal missionaries following encounters with individual Chinese during walks in the old city of Shanghai. It was initially expressed in religious terms that all that was incomprehensible in the ethical and moral worldview of ordinary Chinese would be transformed by acceptance of Christianity. A few years experience led Protestant missionaries to conclude that their best course of action was to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity through education and social welfare programs. The assumptions underlying this judgement were two-fold. First, that existing Chinese measures were inadequate or non-existent and, second, that the social welfare and educational achievements Euro-American civilization was superior. As to the first, the missionaries learned that Chinese social welfare provisions were equivalent to Europe which is not to say that either was adequate. There is a strong case to be made, however, that Chinese education was unsuited to the needs of a nation confronting the challenges of the industrialized world.

Religious conversion, for many people, involves complex psychological, social, economic and cultural movements. It is obvious that the majority of Chinese contacted by Christian missionaries ignored the Christian message. This collection provides ample instances that the strongly evangelical beliefs of the Episcopal missionaries did not produce many conversions despite being at the centre of their ideology and methodology. Reinders observed.

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221 Brown, J. B., "Politics of the Poppy: The Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, 1874-1916," pp 97-111 in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 8 No 3, July 1973. See discussion of the Australian corresponding member of the Anti-Opium Society in Welch, Ian (2003), *Alien Son: The Life and Times of Cheok Hong CHEONG, 1851-1928*, PhD, Australian National University. Online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://thesis.anu.edu.au/public/adt-ANU20051108.111252/index.html>

222 Brooke, op cit, p.1.

223 Lockwood, op cit, p. 64.

The conversion process involved significant changes in the whole way of life and mode of interacting with others, a transition between distinct devotional practices, models of community, and discursive practices. Even if a conversion had been a flash of light, the church would not have accepted Chinese so quickly. Churches in the mission fields developed systems of education, examination, and probation, along with a series of specific measurements of commitment, which consisted of giving up all worship of the idols, and (where applicable) polygamy, foot-binding, temple employment, and vegetarian vows. Hence it was never a simple matter for a Chinese to become Christian; just saying so was not enough. Missionaries developed a series of instructional courses and examinations to measure the sincerity of converts. There was normally a probationary period before baptism. ... Missionaries extensively questioned converts on doctrinal issues and catechisms; they resisted the move to make conversion profitable, and special significance was given to acts of repudiation and destruction of ancestral tablets and images. Monogamy was also used as a measure of commitment to the Christian life.<sup>224</sup>

The statistics for an Anglican mission in Fujian Province show a wide gap between communicant members and total adherents.

**Table 6. CMS Mission Statistics for Fujian Province, 1871-1925.**

YEAR	ORDAINED PREACHERS	TOTAL CHINESE EMPLOYED	COMMUNICANT MEMBERS	TOTAL ADHERENTS	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL STUDENTS
1871				271	633	65
1875				400	1200	
1880		100	1251	3556		
1885		108	2011	5704	32	
1890	8	224	2267	8489	92	1271
1895		157	3062	13111	169	2399
1900		460	4327	21478	212	3354
1905		483	4806	12824	224	3356
1910		535	4841	11379	175	4038
1915	20	714	5167	12910	194	4896
1920	29	808	7054	20153	207	5799

Reeve noted:

I have now a little class of apparently earnest inquirers. While I give God thanks, yet I do it with trembling, well knowing that in too many cases these first awakenings of the heathen mind prove but as the 'early dew.'<sup>225</sup>

All Protestant missions and missionaries in China expressed similar views from time to time. The American Board of Missions (ABCFM) said of its mission at Canton that the missionaries worked without any "special encouragement," adding that "no strong impression has been made on the people."<sup>226</sup>

Missionary educators recognized that few of their students would become committed Christians and leaders of an indigenous church. Caroline Tenney wrote:

Some of our older boys left our school this past year, all of whom were professed Christians. As Christians, they are not all we could wish; but we have to remember how the apostle was obliged to bear even with his converts.<sup>227</sup>

224 Reinders, op cit, p. 525.

225 Reeve, Rev. Henry, c 5-14 August 1853, CMS *Missionary Register*, February 1855, p. 94. A reference to the Old Testament Book of Hosea Ch 13:v 3: "Therefore they shall be as the morning cloud, and as the early dew that passes away, as the chaff that is driven with the whirlwind out of the floor, and as the smoke out of the chimney."

226 CMS *Missionary Register*, March 1855, p. 117.

227 Caroline Tenney to Miss Goodridge, March 1852. Tenney 1864, op cit, p. 150.

One obvious reason for the limited number of conversions during the missionary era in China is that the number of missionaries in China at any one time was tiny compared to the overall population—See Tables 3 and 4 above. It was further limited by the fact that half of all Protestant missionaries remained in the Treaty Ports and other foreign settlements where Protestant societies competing with others for adherents. In 1878, for example, Amoy [Xiamen] had 3 societies; Canton [Guangzhou] had 6; Chefoo [Yantai] 5; Foochow [Fuzhou] 3; Hankow [Hankou], Hangchow [Hangzhou] 3; Hong Kong 5; Peking [Beijing] 7; Ningpo [Ningbo] 4; and most of all, Shanghai with 8 separate Protestant missions, some of which were service agencies serving all missions.<sup>228</sup>

The collection shows that enterprising Chinese were not slow to appreciate that one mission might be played off against another.

There are a number of letters by the Rev. Edward W. Syle and his colleague, the Rev. Phineas Spalding, describing enquiries by various people about Christianity. These Protestants, to judge from their reports of discussions with Chinese enquirers and the motivations behind the discussions, were cautious in accepting assertions of belief and slow to baptise Chinese.<sup>229</sup>

Lo Sam-yuen, a convert of Gutzlaff, and the first Chinese Anglican missionary sent to Australia, told a man who queried his purpose in working for the Ballarat Chinese Mission that he received pay as a catechist and was therefore obliged to talk about Christianity.

March 10th [1857]. Today I went to the shop of a person named Cheong. There were four persons there. When they saw me knowing that I was in the work of teaching the people the doctrines of Jesus, they enquired, are you come to talk about Jesus? I answered; **I eat his rice, and his work I ought to do.** I then asked them do you believe in Jesus! They answered the gods in this locality are truly possessed of divinity. There is nothing we enquire of them that does not tally with subsequent facts. Then, I said, you may regard me too as possessed with the same attribute, for I can tell you whether you will go a good or bad business. Do not say that your gods alone are infallible oracles. This is altogether a deception. The first worshippers of our gods appear to depend altogether on our wishes. They predict good and evil just as it suits the enquirer. The men were not at all pleased but did not say a word in reply. I again asked them, are the gods the gods of all men, or of worshippers alone. They replied, of all men. I said, then you must not be angry if your gods cannot be angry. I said before that your gods had no knowledge. I do not say that you have no knowledge. Do not be offended.<sup>230</sup>

Concerns over money and manpower were present in almost every letter from the Episcopal missionaries in China and there were two further and closely linked themes: learning the official and regional dialects of Chinese language and the parallel need to adjust to Chinese life and culture.

The former was simple common sense and is mentioned frequently. Its principal weakness was that few foreigners, including almost all businessmen and consular officials and a majority of

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228 Lees, Rev. Jonathan, “The Present Strength of Protestant Missions in China,” pp 7-8 in *The Chinese Recorder*, Vol 9, January-February 1878.

229 Lambuth, I. W., “Standard of Admission to Full Church Membership,” *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 10–24, 1877* (Shanghai, Presbyterian Mission Press, 1879), p. 241, Cited in Reinders, op cit, p 525.

230 Lo Sam-yuen, *Journal*, Ballarat, 1857. (Collection Ian Welch), See discussion of the conversion issue among modern Chinese in Yang Fenggang, “Chinese Conversion to Evangelical Christianity: The Importance of Social and Cultural Contexts,” pp 237-257 in *Sociology of Religion*, Vol 59 No 3, 1998.

missionaries, mastered the intricacies of written Chinese. All foreigners relied on Chinese interpreters and language teachers.

Most Protestant missionaries were restricted to the local dialect of the district in which they worked—explaining why so many of the long-term missionaries spent almost their entire time in a single dialect region. Even experienced missionaries remained dependent on their Chinese teachers, an issue that became a difficulty when some mission boards refused funding for the long-term employment of teachers.

The initial language studies of the first Episcopal missionaries in Java were of the Hokkien (Southern Min) dialect spread by the emigration of Amoy [Xiamen] Chinese to Java with a large community settled in Batavia (now Jakarta) where the Episcopal Mission was first established.

The decision to establish the permanent American Church Mission to Shanghai, endorsed by the Episcopal Foreign Missions Committee, required the American Episcopal missionaries to learn the local Shanghai dialect and strengthen their knowledge of the official written language, usually referred to as Mandarin, as a preliminary step in undertaking the translation of Christian publications into Chinese. The language situation in Shanghai was complicated by the large numbers of Chinese from other coastal districts of China, dominated by Fujianese and Cantonese but including men from almost every coastal region as far north as Shandong Province who were among the men working on the rice barges of the Grand Canal.

Language learning was a formidable task but Bishop Boone's commitment, guided by his experience in Java and briefly in Macao and Xiamen, allowed him to gain a high literary and verbal skills in Mandarin Chinese—the official language—in less than five years. **His intensity over language matters, as the highlights in red throughout the text will indicate, was at the expense of his health.** Apart from preaching to local audiences regularly, and teaching his colleagues as they arrived, Boone undertook major tasks in translation leading to deep disagreements that will be discussed in context [the Terms for God debate]. Boone believed that Anglican worship, with strong biblical foundations, provided the best environment in which to teach the Chinese and achieve conversions. In consequence, he devoted much of his time to translations of the American forms of the Book of Common Prayer and other Anglican forms, including the catechism.

What conversion to Christianity meant to individual Chinese involves deeper issues of meaning and understanding. All Christians believe that humans are separated from God by sin—a negative element inherent in every personality— and by their life choices.<sup>231</sup> Evangelicals emphasise a personal commitment to God [conversion] preceding Christian baptism with baptism needing to be

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231 A widely accepted analysis of evangelical belief is Bebbington, D. W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989).

reaffirmed [Confirmation] publicly prior to admission to full church membership<sup>232</sup> and access to the Eucharist. This process generally took years and is one reason why growth in church membership was so slow. Statistics show that less than half of all Chinese baptized in Protestant missions proceeded to full church membership.

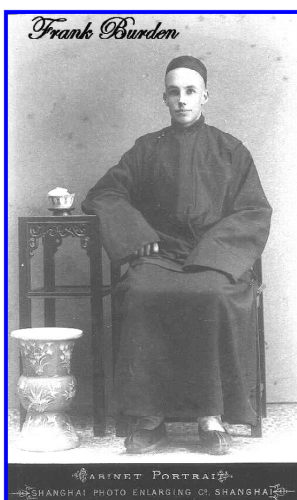
One of the controversial early issues underpinning conversions was the frequency with which baptism is recorded as being administered to the servants of the foreign missionaries, i.e., the accusation centres on a widely held belief among foreign residents that faith was a secondary consideration to job security.

Cultural adaptation is difficult to assess in terms of everyday practice. When the residential separation of missionary compounds is considered, it is apparent that the majority of Protestant missionaries were culturally remote from the Chinese population at large.

Dress was mentioned earlier as another area of missionary debate. The policy of the China Inland



Mission, following on the original scheme of Gutzlaff, was that all its missionaries should wear Chinese dress. Not all Protestant missions adopted this policy. The Church Missionary Association of Victoria, the Australian branch of the Church Missionary Society, formed in 1892, adopted the CIM policy for its first missionaries, **Nellie and Topsy Saunders of Melbourne**. Like all new arrivals in China, one of their first actions was to send their photograph, in Chinese costume, to friends in Australia.



The English-Australian missionary, **Frank Burden**, wrote just after his arrival in China in 1891 and immediate enrolment at the CIM language school at Anking. His photograph, in his Chinese costume was taken in Shanghai.

As I missed the mail at Shanghai I will continue here and post by next mail. On Christmas Eve I went through the entertaining performance of being transformed into a Chinaman, as my hair (which had grown rather long during the voyage) was being shaved off my head I must say I felt rather strange and did not altogether relish it, however it's all for Jesus. My queue (commonly called pigtail) will insist in being caught in the door of my bed room as I close it behind me, and when I sit down to meals generally manage to sit on it, so that when I go to lean forward I get pulled up short. My long loose sleeves too are somewhat

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232 This modeling is termed, “covenant theology.” After baptism as an infant the next step is “Confirmation” usually administered at around thirteen years of age when the individual affirms or confirms the promises made at baptism. See introductory notes, online 1 July 2013 at—  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Covenant\\_theology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Covenant_theology) and  
[http://www.theopedia.com/Covenant\\_theology](http://www.theopedia.com/Covenant_theology)  
A 19<sup>th</sup> century publication that illustrates this approach is Wolff, Philippe, *Baptism, the Covenant and the Family*, (Boston, Crosby and Nicholls, 1862).



awkward at meal times and I find it necessary to tuck them up and keep them well off the table.<sup>233</sup>

Conforming to Chinese ways, according to the CIM practice, rarely involved more than the obvious language learning, wearing everyday Chinese costume in public places and eating meals in Chinese eating-houses and homes while itinerating. One missionary wrote:



The Chinese ... forgot that the queue was a badge of subjection, and jeered the missionaries for their queueless heads. So strange did people look with their heads unshaved that all Roman Catholic priests and many Protestant missionaries adopted the queue in order to escape peculiarity and to win the people... Others wore the Chinese dress to avoid undue attention and not to distract the interest of those who listened to the Gospel. Until quite recently the China Inland Mission, whose splendid work commands our admiration, required all its men to don the Chinese costume, queue and all... Would it not

be better to dress in Chinese garb? But clothes without the queue would be contrary to rule and might be stranger than ever. So he resolved to go the whole length. He found in a Chinese barber shop a long switch of human hair, bought it, boiled it, twisted it. He purchased for a few dollars a complete Chinese costume, heelless cloth shoes and all. A watermelon cap for twenty-five cents completed the outfit. **The queue was tacked into the cap.** He shaved his own head as far as he could see. He put on the cap, and presto! A Chinese.<sup>234</sup>

The appropriateness of adopting Chinese costume was discussed at the Shanghai Missionary Conference of 1890. It was remarked that a quarter of those attending were wearing Chinese costume.

It is, in its essence, a question of expediency, not of duty, else, instead of one-fourth, the whole assembly would have appeared in the one costume. As a matter of expediency, it has its strong advocates and equally strong opponents... The practical motive—to become Chinese to the Chinese—which prompts it, is certainly to be commended, although many question the fact as to whether this (is) important and is any more effectually served in this as in the ordinary way. As a disguise, it certainly is a failure; hair, eyes, and complexion being insuperable difficulties in this line. The scarcity of dark hair and eyes was conspicuous, while all the lighter shades, with curling locks and wavy tresses, were rendered all the more noticeable, giving one a peculiar sense of the incongruous, not to say the bizarre... But Chinese dress too often means a Chinese house, pure and simple, and native furniture, native utensils, native food. These, when necessity requires, may be cheerfully endured for a time, but to be voluntarily chosen as a permanent order of things implies either a very imperative call of duty or a great lack of prudence... The statistics of the great Society<sup>235</sup>, whose name is synonymous with the highest consecration and self-abnegation, show a terrible sacrifice of precious material. It is said that one-half of those who enter China under its auspices, return within two years, either to their homeland on earth or to the home above, and that the average term of service for the whole body is only three and a half years.<sup>236</sup>

This broadly correlates with an assessment made a decade earlier.

**Table 7. China, Protestant Missionaries: Length of Service.**<sup>237</sup>

+ 14 years. 64/300 (21%)	-15 years. 230/300 (70%)	-5 years. 150/300 (50%)
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233 Burden, Ganking (Angking), 1 January 1891.

234 Woodbridge, op cit, pp 83; 87;113.

235 The China Inland Mission.

236 Henry, Rev. B.C. American Presbyterian Mission, "Chinese Dress in the Shanghai Conference," *Chinese Recorder*, Vol XXI, December 1890, pp 550-553

237 Derived from information provided by Lees, Rev. Jonathan, "The Present Strength of Protestant Missions in China," p. 10 in *The Chinese Recorder*, Vol 9, January-February 1878.

Chinese costume was debated within the London Missionary Society.

Whether Protestant missionaries should wear the Chinese costume for their conversion work had occasioned serious debate between the more established London Missionary Society, who members only rarely assumed Chinese dress.<sup>238</sup>

Mention was made earlier of the objections of Archdeacon John Wolfe of Fuzhou, the longest serving missionary of the Church Missionary Society. The decision of some Anglican missionaries to adopt Chinese costume infuriated Wolfe. When Australian recruits began to arrive in China after 1890 they had already decided, probably after contact with Australians working with the CIM, that they would adopt Chinese dress. Recognising potential difficulties with Wolfe, it was decided, on the advice of his fellow Irishman, the Rev. Robert Stewart, that the Australians [all women], although officially missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, would be seconded to the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society [CEZMS] and therefore would not be not under Wolfe's authority.<sup>239</sup> The Archdeacon challenged the local independence of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, a kindred body of the CMS with independent management and policies. The distinction was, to be fair, somewhat blurred by the administrative arrangements that ordained male missionaries of the CMS were the local representatives of the CEZMS London Committee in Fujian Province. Stewart and his wife, Louisa, were the proponents in bringing the CEZMS to China. The second, after Stewart's murder at Huashan in August 1895, was the Rev. William Banister mentioned earlier.

Wolfe never gave up trying to impose his personal views on all Anglican missionaries in Fujian Province. The Rev. (later Bishop) William Banister had an unexpected confrontation with Wolfe after a CMS Fujian Sub-Conference meeting.

The Archdeacon, however, said he wished to speak to me and I entered the house with him and sat down in his dining-room. He then said, "Look here, you do not intend to introduce the Native dress in the Lieng Kong district, do you?" I replied that I really had no 'intentions' at all on the subject and did not mean to say anything about it. I said I thought he knew exactly what I thought on the subject and that I could not speak for others. I said my view was that I would be no party to coercion either one way or the other, and that anyone who was, or who should be, associated with me, should have perfect liberty to use any kind of dress they liked. Miss Oxley [Australia] was then mentioned, and I again repeated in substance what I had already said—that if she, or anyone else, asked me about the dress I would tell them to decide the matter entirely for themselves. He then said he was not satisfied.<sup>240</sup>

Wolfe asked the British Consul not to grant an internal British passport to any CEZMS lady who did not observe his ideas on wearing native costume. Wolfe was also actively seeking the intervention of the British authority in mission affairs.

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238 Doyle, G. Wright, "Between Two Worlds: J. Hudson Taylor and the Clash between British and Chinese Customs, Cultures, and Laws," online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://www.globalchinacenter.org/analysis/christianity-in-china/between-two-worlds-j-hudson-taylor-and-the-clash-between-british-and-chinese-customs-cultures-and-laws.php>

239 Major-General C G Robinson, Hon. Secretary, CEZMS, to Rev. Frederick E Wigram, Secretary, Church Missionary Society. 1 January 1895. (Ian Welch from CMS Archives).

240 Rev. W. Banister to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London. 25 December 1895. (Ian Welch from CMS Archives).

A protest which has been sent home by last mail to the Committee of the CEZ from its missionaries here. It refers to certain action taken by Archdeacon Wolfe in conjunction with H.B.M. Consul, Mr. Clement F R Allen, who has succeeded Mr. Mansfield.

The facts are as follows. Miss Burroughs and Miss Newcombe called upon the Consul to explain some matters in reference to Ladies going into the country. In his conversation with them, the Consul made some very alarming statements, and said that he was making some definite proposals to the Peking authorities, i.e. British , which he had talked over with Archdeacon Wolfe.<sup>241</sup>

The two women mentioned above made a statement to Banister outlining their discussion with the Consul.

**COPY OF MEMORANDUM SENT TO REV. W. BANISTER  
BY MISS BURROUGHS AND MISS NEWCOMBE.**

Monday Eve, 18th January 1896

Miss Newcombe and I had an interview with the Consul this afternoon. The Consul said he would be glad to have our opinion on certain propositions concerning missionary work which he was going to lay before the authorities in Peking. He had spoken about these matters with the Archdeacon, and if we would write out our views he would send our papers to Peking.

The propositions were:

(i) That all ladies coming to the Fuh-Kien Province should reside in Foochow while learning the language and becoming acquainted with the customs of the people;

(ii) That all missionaries should wear the English dress. He considered that Chinese dress would tend to excite the suspicions of the people.

(iii) That all CEZ ladies should be entirely under the control of the Archdeacon as (the Consul said) CMS ladies and gentlemen were. The Consul said that the Archdeacon should be a complete Pope over the CEZ ladies.

Signed F M Burroughs, M Newcombe.<sup>242</sup>

The response from London was unequivocal and reminded Archdeacon Wolfe that:

With regard to the adoption of the Native Dress by European Missionaries ... the Resolution of the Parent Committee ... was adopted on January 23, 1894, to the following effect: 'That the Committee consider that Missionaries have absolute liberty in regard to the question of Chinese costume, and they are not prepared to issue any instructions in the matter.'<sup>243</sup>

It was clear that the new and inexperienced British Consul had over-reacted to his discussion with Archdeacon Wolfe and his actions, had they been pursued any further, would have embarrassed the British Government. The attitude of the Rev. William Banister and some Anglican women missionaries in Fujian Province can be gathered from the following photograph of Banister, his wife and colleagues.<sup>244</sup>

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241 Rev. W. Banister to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London. 23 January 1896. (Ian Welch from CMS Archives).

242 Ibid.

243 Rev. W. Banister to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London. 28 February 1896. (Ian Welch from CMS Archives).

244 Austin, Alvyn, "Fashion Statement: Missionaries who dressed like the Chinese suffered a few snags,": *Christian History and Biography*, Issue 52, 1996.

**Rev. William Banister and female Anglican missionaries, Fujian Province.  
Mrs. Banister and son, Tom, at far right.**



Visual Cultures of East Asia, University of Lyons, France.

With experience missionaries recognized the deep collective nature of Chinese culture and the need for converts to remain psychologically and economically grounded within their extended family group, often comprising an entire village. Missionaries were profoundly troubled by the poverty they encountered in China where their principal clients were the poor and underprivileged: an unavoidable circumstance as the elite faced possible loss of status and income if they identified with Christianity. This theme recurs many times in each part of this collection.

The letters of the American missionaries to friends and relatives at home showed a form of collective identity, perhaps strained in the 1860s by the North-South divide of the Civil War period, their identity in China were centred on the nuclear family, their missionary colleagues, their families at home and their expatriate associates, primarily English-speaking American and British business and government officials. The turnover of missionaries was high and the transient nature of their collective identities in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century China can be seen in the images of the Visual Cultures in East Asia collection.<sup>245</sup>

Whatever the good intentions of the missionaries in regard to cultural adaptation, few sought to

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245 *Visual Cultures in East Asia*, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of Lyons, France, online 1 July 2013 at — [http://www.vcea.net/index\\_en.php](http://www.vcea.net/index_en.php)

change their national identity. A controversial exception is the 1898 story of Anna Jakobson [Jakobsen], a Norwegian member of the China Inland Mission.

One of the CIM's Norwegian women members, Miss Anna Jacobson, announced her intention to marry Mr. Cheng Xiuqi [Cheng Hsiao-yu], a Chinese Christian evangelist. Inter-racial marriage was not then accepted within the Western community and certainly was not accepted by the conservative CIM leadership. Clearly aware of this, Miss Jacobson resigned and let it be known that she and her new husband planned to go south, to Hunan province, to work as independent missionaries on their own. Nonetheless, their marriage plans caused an uproar. When it was finally performed (by an American pastor [Rev. D. H. Clapp], not a member of the CIM), most of the foreign community refused to attend.<sup>246</sup>

The preference of some missionaries for native dress was the practice of "itineration," i.e., visits to the hundreds of towns and villages surrounding every mission centre, usually located in a district administrative centre, or "fu" where military, police, judicial, tax and other governmental functions were centred. Beyond a "fu" ordinary villages had no formal government administration. Authority was exercised in villages by local, usually wealthier, elders among whom were often members of the literati who, whether employed as officials or not, enjoyed considerable status and influence within local communities.

Official jobs were few compared to the number of qualified candidates and job tenure tended to be short. Many of the unemployed scholar-gentry became village teachers and as foreign missionary numbers grew, especially after 1880, a considerable number of the literati found work as language teachers and translators. Men who had a good village level education but failed to pass the lowest district level examinations were the backbone of the Chinese administrative system as clerks and minor officials. Some, (the number is unknown), of these men found employment with the Christian missions. Others became thorns in the flesh of officials as leaders of religious sects and myriad secret societies that often morphed into rebel and criminal gangs. The greatest 19<sup>th</sup> century example of this was the leader of the Taiping Rebellion, *Hong-siu-tsieun*, a man who attempted the Chinese examination system without success in the sense of achieving a position.

Every missionary engaged in visits to nearby villages to improve their language skills in a process that is best described as "immersion learning." The Treaty of Nanking [Nanjing] of 1840-1842 granted foreigners, including missionaries, the right to travel inland on the condition that they return to their homes in the Treaty Ports within 24 hours. There is ample evidence in the collection that missionaries regularly ignored the regulations and travelled inland, often without any objection from local Chinese officials and occasionally with full cooperation. This suggests that the further officials were from administrative capitals the more flexibility they displayed. Alexander Wylie and William Muirhead wrote in 1853:

Ever since our arrival in China, it has been customary for the different members of our mission [London Missionary Society] to undertake excursions of greater or lesser extent among the surrounding cities, of a

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246 Benson, Linda, "Muslims, Missionaries and Warlords in Northwestern China," p. 14 in *Oakland University Journal*, Fall 1901. See also Gittings, John, "Lost Souls..." in *the Guardian*, London, 5 August 2000, p. 24.

purely missionary character... At Chang-chow we had interviews with some of the authorities, stated the object of our visit, and got free permission to perambulate the city in pursuance of the same...<sup>247</sup>

In his study of Chinese international relations, Morse stated that:

The conditions of life at Shanghai were far more agreeable than at Canton. Ample space was provided for the amenities of life, with no restriction to factories, and with full freedom to go into the country round about. The stipulation of the treaties, that foreigners should not go into the country beyond short distances, to be settled by mutual agreement between the local authorities and the consuls, was interpreted at Shanghai in the most liberal sense; and, on the initiative of the British consul, the radius for excursions was fixed at the distance to which, in that level country intersected by canals, it was possible for the traveller to go and return within a day. In later years this was fixed at a conventional distance of thirty miles.<sup>248</sup>

The Nanking Treaty encouraged the Rev. William Jones Boone to move from Macao to Amoy [Xiamen] and then to Shanghai. The frequency of villages in the districts adjacent to the five open ports gave missionaries opportunity to take their message to Chinese in rural districts. "Itineration" was the usual technique used to reach ordinary Chinese especially from the 1890s onward when Protestant missions had the legal right and sufficient staff to enter every province of China.

Following the Second Opium War, the Treaty of Tientsin [Tianjin] of 1860 allowed foreigners, including missionaries, to travel widely in China but did not clarify their right to buy or rent property outside the Treaty Ports. Even in the Treaty Ports, missionaries did not always have security of tenure over land leased from Chinese. A striking case involved the Church Missionary Society lease over temple premises in Fuzhou that resulted in a major riot, the expulsion of the CMS missionaries and a long-term and unsuccessful effort by the senior missionary, Archdeacon Wolfe, to regain the property.<sup>249</sup>

Protestant missionaries established permanent establishments inland with the tacit cooperation of Chinese officials who seem, in general, to have shared the view that they would not have much success in their missionary efforts and it was easier to tolerate a foreign presence than negotiate endlessly with foreign officials.<sup>250</sup>

It is common in many 19th century histories of the foreign experience in China, to highlight attacks on missionaries and to dismiss missions as little more than agents of "Cultural Imperialism" a convenient means of refusing to recognize the contribution of foreigners, and missionary educators in particular, to the modernizing movements within of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century China.<sup>251</sup>

Harris summarised:

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247 *North China Herald*, 6 August 1853, p. 2.

248 Morse, H. B. *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Vol 1, 1910 -1918), (London, Longmans. Green and Co., 1918), p. 356.

249 See summary online at — [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shen-kuang-szu\\_Incident](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shen-kuang-szu_Incident)  
See also *The Wu Shih Shan Trial*, (Hong Kong, Daily Press Office, 1879). online at —  
<http://ia600402.us.archive.org/30/items/wushihshantrialr00fuchrich/wushihshantrialr00fuchrich.pdf>

250 United States of America, Diplomatic Correspondence, 1868, Part I, p. 521.

251 Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," pp 201-325 in *History and Theory*, Vol 41 Issue 3, October 2002.

One of the most common [criticism] has been the idea that missionaries served as a kind of “advance guard” of empire, paving the way for commerce and conquest.<sup>252</sup>

Missionaries, along with other foreigners in China, certainly expressed very negative assessments of China, its rulers, the predominant culture, and the lifestyle of many people they met on a daily basis. Harris is accurate in asserting that missionaries shared the beliefs, values and attitudes of their foreign contemporaries and their rejection of the lifestyle of the Chinese.<sup>253</sup>

The missionaries were in China as a direct consequence of the superior technology shown by British military conquests in the two major “Opium Wars”. They were able to enter China under the general treaty arrangements for foreigners. If the Chinese were so angry over foreign missionary activity it seems inexplicable that less than twenty foreign Protestant missionaries were killed prior to 1900 although by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they were present, without foreign military protection, in almost every province. The twenty included the eleven British, including three Australians, killed at Huashan, in Fujian Province, in August 1895.<sup>254</sup> It is clear that change within China was driven by Chinese, not foreigners, and was influenced far more by economic and political issues than by Christianity.

A Protestant missionary report towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century summarised, at some length, the various steps along the way to allowing Protestant missionaries the same rights of residence inland already secured for Catholics. It helps to explain the focus of the PECUSA mission on achieving a settled position in Shanghai during the episcopate of Bishop Boone. The extract indicates the very complex nature of negotiations between the Qing Government and foreign officials and the determination of the Chinese to seek to minimize foreign influences.

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252 Harris op cit, p 310.

253 Ibid, op cit, p 312.

254 Welch, Ian, (2004), ‘Nellie, Topsy and Annie: Australian Anglican Martyrs, Fujian Province, China, 1 August 1895,’ Paper presented to the First TransTasman Conference on Australian and New Zealand Missionaries, At Home and Abroad, Australian National University, Canberra, 8-10 October 2004. online at — <http://anglicansonline.org/resources/history.html#asia>

Welch, Ian, (2006), Dr. James J Gregory: Letters from China: (Dr Gregory of the American Methodist Episcopal Church Mission in Fujian Province, China, was medical doctor to Nellie, Topsy & Annie and provided the medical report on the condition of the British and American missionaries attacked at Huashan, Fujian Province, China on 1 August 1895. Online 1 July 2013 at— <http://anglicanhhistory.org/asia/china/>

Welch, Ian, (2006), Women’s Work for Women: (Experiences of single women missionaries in Fujian Province, China, 1890s). Online 1 July 2013 at— <http://anglicanhhistory.org/women/>

Welch, Ian, (2006), Missionaries, Murder and Diplomacy in late 19<sup>th</sup> Century China: A Case Study, A paper presented to the 2nd ANU Missionary History Conference: Asia-Pacific Missionaries: At Home and Abroad, Australian National University, 27 –29 August 2006. Online 1 July 2013 at— <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/pah/missionaryhistory/>

and at <http://anglicanhhistory.org/academic/> and <http://anglicanhhistory.org/asia/china/>

Welch, Ian, (2006), The Vegetarians (Ts’ai-hui), A ‘Secret Society’ in Fujian Sheng (Province), China, *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, Vol 39/40 (part 2), 2007-08, pp 488-526. An earlier draft as a conference paper is online 1 February 2010 at —

[rspas.anu.edu.au/pah/missionaryhistory/2006/papers/welch.pdf](http://rspas.anu.edu.au/pah/missionaryhistory/2006/papers/welch.pdf)

Welch, Ian, 2011, The Flower Mountain murders: a "Missionary Case" data-base. Online 1 July 2013 at—

<https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/7273>

And so we come to the memorable year 1868. Two occurrences of note are embraced within its limits. In the first part of the year were held the various meetings of the Commission on the Revision of the British Treaty [Treaty of Tientsin-Tianjin] of 1858—the ten years of trial stipulated for having now elapsed; in the latter part of the year there broke out a storm of Chinese hostility to missionaries residing inland away from treaty ports. The former was of course the leading event, for which provision had been made; the latter was an unexpected consequence growing out of the former.

When the revision question came up both sides were ready for the struggle. English policy was progressive. Chinese attitude was obstructive. Though not yet informed officially of the demands of the British Minister the Chinese knew perfectly well what these demands were to be. The petitions and memorials of the previous year had been published in the papers of Shanghai and Hongkong and the ministers of the Tsung-li Yamen [Zongli Yamen] had posted themselves on points being discussed in Chambers of Commerce. As Wen Ta-jin, at a later day, replying to a remark of Sir Rutherford Alcock that "both the merchants and his colleagues deemed further concession essential" observed dryly enough, "Yes, no doubt, I see what your newspapers say sometimes." As a result of this information the Chinese had marshalled, ready for presentation, every objection that had any ground to stand upon. If, at that time, the inland residence of missionaries had been deemed dangerous to the empire the Commission would certainly have heard of it.

The campaign opened on the 3rd of March, 1868, when the Commission first met to arrange the preliminaries. The meetings were continued at various times through five months, the thirteenth session being held on the 15th of July.

At the very outset the questions of INLAND RESIDENCE and INLAND NAVIGATION were put forward as of the first importance. The strength of the English onset was directed to the attainment of these two points, and the strength of Chinese resistance was exerted to prevent it. Throughout the entire contest we find these two questions continually coming up, sometimes in one aspect and sometimes in another, until every possible argument was exhausted.

The subject was introduced at the second meeting held April 20th. The British members of the Commission attempted shrewdly to turn the Chinese position. After some other discussion "a general permission to navigate inland waters was then proposed as essential to avoid dues in excess of treaty." Their opponents were on the alert and replied, "A general permission they could not bring before the Minister." (Blue Book No. 5, 1871, page 194). On the next day the third meeting was held. Fortified by a memorandum of instructions the British Commission entered boldly upon the discussion of inland navigation and its attendant privilege of inland residence. The Chinese raised all manner of objections; those against navigation being based upon "shallows," "rapids," "danger of steamers overrunning native craft, etc., etc." The determination to refuse these things was so apparent that in making his report Mr. Frazer said, "Inland residence was evidently the concession most difficult to entertain."

This obstructiveness called forth fresh instructions from Sir Rutherford to renew the attempt, under cover of the privilege hitherto accorded to missionaries. From that moment the missionaries were dragged into the struggle and were destined to soon find the Chinese batteries turned to dislodge them, and, like all unfortunates placed between two fires, fated to suffer, first from the one and then from the other. Here is the way Sir Rutherford's commission led off: "The right to reside in the interior conceded to missionaries, what is this more than the merchants require for the peaceable pursuits of their occupation? Of the two the merchant is probably the safer tenant of a fixed, location in the interior. He is bound by the interests of his trade to keep the peace, apart from all surveillance or exercise of authority over him, because only under such conditions can the commerce in which he is engaged prosper. The missionary has other objects above all restraint from his own personal interests, and the teaching of a creed and introduction of a new religion, have always been held to be more dangerous to the public peace and more likely to bring the teachers and their converts in conflict with the civil power than the occupation of the merchant. Having then accepted the greater would it be wise in the government to refuse the lesser and less hazardous venture in the interests of peace?" (B. B. No. 5, page 107, 1871).

What manner of reply the Chinese made at that time to this adroit assault upon the missionary position, Sir Rutherford does not inform us, but we do know what they said to him afterwards when he repeated the argument. On the 8th of September, after the various Ministers Resident had sent in their observations on the inadequacy of the concessions. Sir Rutherford proposed still another memorandum for transmission to Prince Kung, in which he enunciates substantially the same thing contained in his



instructions of April 26 just quoted, "As to any more general objections to the permanent residence of foreigners in the interior, this right has been so fully conceded to one class—the missionaries—with liberty to acquire both land and houses, that it seems inconsistent and invidious to deny a modified privilege of the same kind to merchant who, besides being under consular control, furnish, in the interests and property they would have at stake, security for good conduct. The French treaty stipulating, Art. VI., that it is permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces and erect buildings thereon at pleasure, what is permitted to French missionaries is permitted to all other missionaries; and why therefore should a similar right be denied to the merchants? Of the two classes it is impossible to doubt the latter are the least likely to give trouble to the authorities or create popular disturbance, as all past experience tends to prove." (B. B. No. 6, 1871, page 224).

To this repetition of the argument from the concession made to missionaries Prince Kung made an official reply. This reply, be it noted, was made about the 1st of December, long after the Yangchow affair. It will be seen that even so late as that, notwithstanding the Prince now desired the dislodgment of the missionaries in consequence of the embarrassment in discussion their privileges occasioned him, he was not yet educated up to the point of calling them "rogues or enthusiasts," as did a certain member of the House of Lords, nor of charging them, as did a certain diplomat, with being "in part responsible for all the trouble and bloodshed there had been in Tai-wan." (B. B. No. 9, 1870, page 21); nor yet of dwelling on the revolutionary tendencies of Christianity to such an extent as to say that, unless hostility could be surmounted it would be decidedly for the peace of China if CHRISTIANITY AND ITS EMISSARIES were, for the present at least, EXCLUDED ALTOGETHER, (B. B. No. 9, 1870, page 27). The inculcation of such sentiments was reserved for titled officials claiming to represent truly the government of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, by the grace of God Defender of the Faith.

To the above despatch Prince Kung replied as follows: "The conditions of the interior are not identical with those of the open ports, and it is certain, to say nothing of the difficulties connected with a continued residence in the interior, that even a temporary renting of houses and godowns would be attended with almost the same harmful consequences as such residence." After speaking of the necessity of such godowns being "under the jurisdiction of native officials," and the further necessity of investigating disputes that should arise "in accordance with Chinese modes of procedure," he continues: "In all these instances it would be necessary to enforce the same laws that are binding on the native people; and again, in case of local officials altering the ordinary mode of procedure according to circumstances," meaning (we suppose) to suit foreign usages, and thus showing from what source they dreaded the imperium in imperio, "they would have to be obeyed in every particular. The lead refusal to do so would impair the authority of the government and still more inflict injury upon the native trader, thus leading to difficulties in the transaction of public business and a refusal on the part of the Chinese merchant to bear his losses in silence, in which refusal he would surely be justified by the principles of every nation under the sun. Smuggling and corruption may further be mentioned as still more unavoidable consequences. This is not a parallel case with that of the missionaries whose energies are directed to the propagation of their doctrines, and cannot affect the revenue of the country; moreover, one is a case of preaching the practice of virtue, the other of seeking after gain. Two cases of so different a character can never be regarded in the same light. In view of the present missionary troubles is it right to heap further difficulties upon those which already exist? The permission of foreign merchants to hire boats and lodge at inns for the purpose of the transport of goods would be attended with no inconvenience, but it is impossible to accede to the proposition of His Excellency to rent godowns, etc., etc." (B. B. No. 5, 1871, page 233).

We have introduced in advance of its proper place this last quotation, because it is the first official record we have of the Chinese mode of parrying the force of the argument from missionary residence inland. We now continue the thread of the narrative, showing how the struggle continued over these same issues of INLAND RESIDENCE and INLAND NAVIGATION.

On the 30th of April Mr. Frazer presented a summary of the various proposals made to the Yamen. Sec. III. referring to facilities for transport, includes demands for (1) the right to have unimpeded access to trading marts in the interior, (2) certain specific places to be named, (3) British merchants shall own warehouses in the interior, (4) foreign employees shall be permitted to reside therein (page 202).

On the 5th of June the Commission again met to hear the reply of the Yamen to the preceding summary, which on one point was rendered toothy enough. Concerning inland navigation they said, "The traffic on the ocean and great rivers being now in the hands of foreigners they ought to be satisfied and

leave the navigation of the inner waters to the native junk men." Further, "they replied the Chinese government had the strongest objections to inland navigation as a general proposition, but would consider specific demands on their individual merits. The proposal of residence or warehouses in the interior, it was said, would depend, upon the decision taken on the question of inland navigation." The Report concludes: "It is clear the Chinese government is indisposed to accede to any of these proposals." (B. B. No. 5, XII, page 204).

Various other meetings were held, but no new arguments were advanced and no new objections raised. No further progress was made save that the Chinese "volunteered a general permission to foreigners to navigate inland waters in their own ships, provided these were not steamers."

For the present, then, we may drop the history of the Commission and proceed to offer some comments upon its developments thus far. We have been specific in noting its proceedings, not only for what was said, but equally so for what was not said. Taking these proceedings in connection with Tseng Kwo-fan's memorial we find the Chinese making determined opposition to inland residence, and also disclosing their reasons for it. "They have established places of business throughout China and trafficked or become carriers of all kinds of produce, simply that they may carry out their unscrupulous schemes of injury which will end in depriving our merchants of their means of livelihood. Since the time when we raised troops against them our people have suffered every grievous calamity. If we now open three or five more ports to their trade, and the entire length of the Yang-tze river, it will daily add to the distress and indigence of our poor people who, Alas! are now quite driven to the wall. If we listen to the proposal of the foreigners to open the trade in salt, our own trade in our transportation of the article will presently be brought to nought. If we consent to their scheme of building warehouses (in the country) the occupation of those who keep the inns and depots will likewise suffer. Their demand to have their small steamers allowed access to our rivers will involve the ruin of our large and small boats and, the beggary of sailors and supercargoes. So also if we allow them to construct railroads and set up telegraph lines the livelihood of our cartmen, muleteers, innkeepers and porters will be taken from them." (Tseng Kwo-fan's Memorial, United States Dip. Cor., Part I., 18G8, page 519).

These words of the great viceroy are quoted, not because of a particle of sympathy with the fears they express. The views are narrow and mistaken. There were no political and economic Rontgen rays known to him to pierce the opaque sides of a purse and show him gold coin inside. Yet the coin is there. Bating the single article of opium, about which we must differ with our mercantile friends, we consider that such an enlargement of the sphere of trade as that Commission contemplated will be an inexpressible boon to the poor people" of China. The opening of China in that full and comprehensive sense must come some day, and China will not be lifted out of the bog where she now flounders until something of the kind does come, when her statesmen shall cast away their blind-bridles, smother their pride and be willing to learn of the West. Unless they do this, and do it soon, they will find themselves confronted with multitudes of men who will want to know the exact value of the right by which a small mandariate deprives some three hundred millions of men of all the advantages of some sort of association with the rest of mankind; but now we make the quotation here to show that it was not simply missionaries against whom objection lay. Tseng Kwo-fan leading off enlarged our commercial disadvantages. The Yamen followed it up and added to it their apprehension of political perils arising from a sovereignty impaired by having in the interior one set of laws and regulations for the foreigner and another for the native, which the latter would refuse to submit to in silence, and "in which refusal he would surely be justified by the principles of every nation under the sun."

Next observe what was NOT said among all these objections to inland residence. No mention is made of complications likely to arise from the presence of missionaries inland. If up to this time they had been found so perilous to international comity, such mischief makers and meddlers as Sir Rutherford at a later day represented them to be, why was not the fact put forward by the Chinese during these days of anxious discussion? There was not an available stone left unturned; there was not a shot in the locker that was not fired off. "Shoals and rapids," "difficulties in the transaction of public business" and all other objections were put forward unremittingly, but it was not said that missionaries would present a chief barrier to the granting of the minister's proposal. There is but one way of accounting for this omission, and that is by supposing that serious apprehension, arising from their presence inland, did not then exist. Whether this was because the missionaries were not numerous, or their converts few, or their doctrines untested does not matter. The point is that the missionaries inland had not then become a disturbing element to the Chinese officials.

But now mark what a discovery the Chinese had made while the discussion was going on. The concession that had been made in favor of missionaries, and which the latter had availed themselves of up to the present time without exciting complaint, was now being used by the British minister as the most formidable argument in support of that demand for inland residence and inland navigation they were themselves so stubbornly opposing. Precedent, that ultima ratio in Chinese controversy, had been found, and was now being pressed into their teeth. Their own guns were being turned against themselves. By some means or other they must retake them. What else could they think of? Ponder a moment their dilemma. If they continued to allow one class of foreigners to come in, it would seem "inconsistent and insidious" to deny a modified privilege of the same class to others. Plainly it had come to this—EITHER ALL FOREIGNERS MUST BE ADMITTED FREELY INTO THE INTERIOR, OR ALL MUST BE EQUALLY RESTRICTED TO THE OPEN PORTS. The former they had resolved should be "strenuously resisted;" the latter alone remained, and how to accomplish it "without hazarding the safety of the present situation," or "giving these parties reason to suspect (their) plans" became now the absorbing topic of their councils. And now commence these "disturbances," inaugurated for the purpose of making the residence of missionaries inland no longer safe, and thus of crowding him back to the open ports.<sup>255</sup>

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255 Ashmore, Rev. W., "The Origin of the 'Missionary Troubles, A Bit of Exhumed History,'" *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Record*, Vol XXVII, July 1896, pp 323-331.

## 2.15 A THORNY ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURAL & RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE.

The Anglo-American Relationship.



The relationship between Americans and the British in China was grounded in mutual distrust of the Chinese. Speaking of American policy in China, Commissioner William B. Reed remarked to an audience in Philadelphia.

The policy of the United States in China, by unfriendly people abroad, and some inconsiderate ones at home, has been much criticized. We have been censured because we chose, having no earthly ground of quarrel with China, to stand off, to look on the conflicts of others, and then to accept from the Chinese the ready offer of all the advantages, which, by means of war, other parties had extorted for themselves. Let us see, for a moment, how this matter really stands in point of common sense, to say nothing of common morality, and by way of one answer to such cavils, let me suggest the alternative of our having done just the reverse of what we did; of our having joined in a distant and expensive war, to the destruction of trade and sacrifice of all material interests, or being neutral, of having refused **the concessions which the Chinese of their own accord**, have made to us. Now that the excitement is all over, let me in all candor ask, what would have been thought of us had we done either of these very chivalric things—what would have been the judgment of the people—I do not speak of partisans who find fault with whatever is done—but of the sober, patriotic, business men of our country, sullenly refused to accept the privileges which a friendly and neutral position secured to us?<sup>256</sup>

A prime example in the complex relationship between the British and Americans in China was:

**“Blood is Thicker than water”  
Commodore Josiah Tattnall at the Peiho River.**



This episode occurred during a British attack on the Chinese forts [Taku Forts] at the mouth of the Peiho River aiming to force China to finalise the Treaty of Tientsin. **Captain Josiah Tattnall** [USN—later CSN]<sup>257</sup> rendered conspicuous assistance to English gunboats attacking the Chinese forts.<sup>258</sup>

While attempting to remove the obstructions in the river, June 25, 1859, eleven British gunboats were unexpectedly fired upon by the Chinese and a desperate battle followed, in which several hundred English sailors were killed. Tattnall, although the United States was neutral, witnessed the British disaster in the chartered steamer *Toey-Wan*, and exclaiming, “Blood is thicker than water,” called for his launch and visited the British flagship. For half an hour American sailors assisted the English in firing their guns. Tattnall’s action was all the more interesting because of his well-known dislike of the British. One account claims that Tattnall’s:

Dislike of the British was exceeded only by that of his men—who were fresh from a knock-down rumble in the streets of Hong Kong with a crew of British sailors, after which “it got to be the proper thing to thrash an English sailor on sight.”<sup>259</sup>

256 Reed, Hon. William B., “American Policy in China: Speech at the Board of Trade, in the City of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, May 31, 1859.: *New York Times*, 1 June 1860.

257 On the outbreak of the Civil War, Tattnall resigned from the United States Navy and became Commander of the Confederate State of Georgia Navy and later of the Confederate Navy.

258 See entry in Part 15, 1859, at July 4, 1859 containing Tattnall’s report on the events at Peiho.

259 Maclay, E. S., *Reminiscences of the Old Navy: From the Journals and Private Papers of Captain Edward Trenchard, and Rear-Admiral Stephen Decatur Trenchard*, (New York, G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1898), p. 91. (Stephen D. Trenchard was a lieutenant in USS Powhatan, flagship of the American squadron under Tattnall’s command.

Although this action was a violation of the neutrality of the United States, Tattnall declared:

He'd be damned if he'd stand by and see white men butchered before his eyes... Old Tattnall isn't that kind sir. This is the cause of humanity.<sup>260</sup>

The expression "Blood is thicker than water" was conspicuous at the dinner given to Rear-Admiral Erben and Captain Mahan<sup>261</sup> in London, June, 1894.<sup>262</sup> There was a pattern of association between England and America as the peak civilizations of the world with a duty, under God, to transfer "Western" civilization to the "heathen" world.

British military triumphs were regarded by many American evangelicals, including Boone, as divinely inspired. The Rev. Jehu. L. Shuck (American Baptist) described the British victories as:

Direct instruments of the Lord in clearing away the rubbish which impedes the advancement of Divine Truth.<sup>263</sup>

The *Missionary Advocate* indicated the general American feeling:

How important then that the English and American Protestant Churches march side by side with the commercial, military, naval and colonial enterprises of this wonderful Anglo-Saxon race?"<sup>264</sup>

The relationship between British and Americans was one element in a study of early American images of China between 1785 and 1840, i.e. before the arrival of Bishop Boone and his first missionary party in Shanghai in 1845. This study reports "warm, friendly, and intimate" links.<sup>265</sup> Despite a suggestion that relationships between the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal missionaries in Boone's time were unhappy, the collection makes it obvious that this was far from the case.<sup>266</sup> There was at all times a warm relationship, with Bishop Boone providing significant advice and guidance to the committee responsible for the building of the Anglican Holy Trinity Church. Boone rented a pew in Holy Trinity Church for the use of Episcopal missionaries and members of the Episcopal mission were regular worship leaders. The Rev. Thomas McClatchie, the Shanghai-based missionary of the Church Missionary Society, worked closely with the Episcopal missionaries to the point of the two churches effectively operating as one.

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260 Ibid p. 83.

261 Mahan had widespread influence on geo-political thinking. Mahan, A.T., *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812*, (Boston, Little Brown, 1892) and Mahan, A. T., *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*, (Boston, Little Brown, 1918)

262 Maclay, E.S., *A History of the United States Navy from 1775-1901*, Part II, (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1906), p. 155.

263 Liu Ta-jen, *A History of Sino-American Diplomatic Relations, 1840-1974*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 21.

264 Littell, John B., "Missionaries and Politics in China—The Taiping Rebellion," pp 566-599 in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol 13 No 1, December 1920, p. 570.

265 Miller, Stuart C., "The American Trader's Image of China, 1785-1840." pp 375-395 in *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol 36 No 4, November 1967, p. 380.

266 Lin Mei-mei, "The Episcopal Missions in China, 1835-1900," PhD (unpublished) University of Texas at Austin, May 1984.

## 2.16 ANGLICAN & EPISCOPAL ECCLESIOLOGY IN CHINA.

If generalizations can be made about something as complex as ecclesiology, the Episcopalian pattern inherited Anglican respect for traditional European Christian hierarchical authority symbolized by episcopacy and an episcopally ordained ministry; a partiality for religion distrustful of religious “enthusiasm” and a decided preference for structured worship patterns expressed through the traditional Anglican prayer-book liturgy.<sup>267</sup> References to the “ordered” forms of Episcopal worship abound in the reports of the Domestic Missions Committee published alongside the Foreign Mission Reports in *Spirit of Missions*. There are innumerable references to a domestic and foreign outreach centred around educational processes grounded in the use of the Book of Common Prayer, the Catechism, the Ordinal, as well as translating the Bible into local dialects. The Rev. Edward Syle, was English born, but educated in the United States and ordained in the Episcopal Church, described the close cooperation of the sister Churches in Shanghai.

At the English evening service in our Chapel, the Bishop of Victoria gave us one of his pleasing discourses. It is pleasant here, at the only place in the world where the English and American Churches meet on entirely common ground, to find ourselves able thus to interchange ministerial offices with satisfaction.<sup>268</sup>



This illustration shows a Holy Communion service in the CMS Mission at Z-ky'o, near Ningpo, c1874. The officiating foreign clergyman is wearing a surplice and black scarf following the usual practice of ‘low’ churchmen.<sup>269</sup> The original illustration shows a loaf bread on the altar rather than the thin wafer mostly used in Anglican Eucharists today. The service in Christ Church, the Episcopal mission church in Shanghai, would have looked the same.

267 A useful overview of the American Episcopal Church in the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is: Caswall, Rev. Henry, *America and the American Church*, (London, J.G. & F. Rivington, 1839).

268 Rev. Edward W. Syle, Shanghai, 11 April 1858. *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 23 No 10, October 1858, p. 484.

269 *A Quarterly Token for Juvenile Subscribers*, Church Missionary Society, No 77, April 1875, Frontispiece.



There had been discussion among CMS clergy at Ningpo about whether the minister should wear a surplice (the white over-garment shown in the preceding illustration from Ningpo) rather than the **black “Geneva” gown** in widespread use among Anglican clergy in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Rev. R. H. Cobbold of the Church Missionary Society wrote:

It was a matter of doubt to us for some time whether we should introduce the surplice, as some have thought that things like these should be left to the choice of the Chinese converts. As, however, this dress has ancient custom for its use, and there seemed nothing objectionable to the Chinese mind, we adopted it as soon as our church was opened for service; and we always wear it when our converts and inquirers are present in the regular church service, but not in those cases where only heathen come to hear us preach, as it would then only invite attention and provoke remarks, which would be a continual interruption to the delivery of our message.<sup>270</sup>



A black ‘cassock’ was the everyday garment of Anglican/Episcopal clergy although rarely worn outside church premises. A white surplice is worn over the cassock. Over the gown or surplice the minister wears a **“preaching scarf”** (sometimes called a tippet—) as a symbol of ordained status.

As the ritualist and Anglo-Catholic movements grew in the 19<sup>th</sup> century clergy dress came to be a defining style of a clergyman’s theological views. Evangelicals adhered to the dress shown above but in most Anglican/Episcopal churches, irrespective of theological views, an alb is now common. The black “preaching scarf” has been replaced by a coloured stole in Anglican seasonal colours.<sup>271</sup>



The issue of clergy dress became a controversial issue in Shanghai when the Rev. George Appleton, whose family had funded the construction of Christ Church, the Episcopal Chinese mission church in Shanghai, expressed his anger at “innovations” in clergy dress and behaviour.<sup>272</sup> The highly experienced and long-serving missionary in Shanghai, the Rev. Elliot Thompson, wrote in response to Appleton’s grievance.

**MR. THOMSON'S LETTER TO THE "SOUTHERN CHURCHMAN."  
ANOTHER LETTER ABOUT CHINA.**

ASHBOURNE, Penn., Sept. 1883.

MR. EDITOR,

In your issue of 13th September I note a letter from our friend and brother, the Rev. Geo. H. Appleton, on the conduct of the service at St. John's College, Shanghai, China. As an old member of the mission, all that concerns it is of deep interest to me. In my visits to the churches of Virginia in conversation with the bishop and clergy I have said that the services were conducted as they are here in the States in our non-Ritualistic churches. I think it due to myself and also for the interest of the mission, that I should send you

270 *Church Missionary Gleaner*, June 1856, pp 72-73.

271 This term is explained online, 1 July 2013, at — <http://fullhomelydivinity.org/articles/colors.htm>

272 *Correspondence in Connection with the Protest Against the Consecration of Rev. W. J. Boone as Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in China, also, Letters Referring to the Wretched Management of the Mission, Shanghai 1875*. Online, 1 July 2013 at — [http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/boone\\_correspondence1885.html](http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/boone_correspondence1885.html)



a few words on the subject. Our good brother, Mr. Appleton, states that the Rev. Mr. Sayres declares himself a Ritualist, as I understand the term, one who holds high sacramentarian views and thinks a, high or elaborate ritual conducive to spiritual worship. When I left China Mr. Sayres came down from Wuchang to help in the college and the general work at Shanghai. His tastes being of the Ritualistic order, he, it may be, introduced practices which were new to the worshippers there. To show this, I will state in as few words as possible the things mentioned by Mr. A. in his letter, which I never saw in our mission services. I do not remember ever having seen any but a black stole used. I knew that one of the brethren liked the use of colored stoles, and it was said did use them in a weekday school service. Nor have I ever seen any special changing of positions during the service, except that of turning to the communion table at the recital of the creed, and it maybe with more of the communion service being read with the back to the congregation than was formerly the use in our churches out there. I say table, but at St. John's there is no proper table, but an altar with a "retable," as he calls it. I have never seen, and, before I left, I do not think there ever were any special vestments at St. John's for the administration of the Holy Communion.-- [9/10] Again, as far as I ever saw or heard there never was such a thing as the mixing of the chalice.<sup>273</sup> Sometimes, when we had to buy the strong wine of the shops, we had to dilute it with water to make it palatable, to the Chinese who are not accustomed with strong wine, but in these cases it was done before the wine was taken into chancel. The ablution of the vessels is a new thing; in fact, I did not know it was ever practiced in the church until I saw it done at a cathedral in this country.

The "prostrations," "bowings," or "genuflections" to which he refers before the bread and wine; I never saw in our church in China, nor the sign of the cross, being made at the delivery of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. All these must be new things introduced since I left China last year; new there, and they are all of very recent introduction in our Protestant Episcopal Church. The cassock I have seen worn about the grounds by two of the brethren who fancy that sort of thing. The gilt cross on the communion table at St. John's is not unknown to many, and such crosses are so common here that many would not refer to it, but I do not like it so placed either here or there. I have objected against that at St. John's especially, or any such use of the cross in China. The Chinese worship the gilt tablets of Confucius, and of their dead ancestors, so they might only too soon learn to worship the cross.

Allow me to say that I believe Bishop Schereschewsky will not allow these extreme practices. I have a letter from him of very recent date, in which he says he had written out to China expressing his disapprobation of such practices, and directing a conformity to the rubrics and canons of our church by the members of the mission.

Our services at all the chapels and churches conducted by the Chinese only, when I left, were entirely free from such things as have been mentioned, and I trust they may always continue to be so.

Then of the seven congregations of native Christians at and in the plain around Shanghai, only one has any "Ritualism," in the sense of the word as describing a party in the church, in its service, and that only when it was not conducted by a native clergyman. Let us wait for further information and for the working of the mission when its Bishop is present in the field.

[11] I have met with some and heard of others who seem for take a strange position with regard to the foreign mission work, because they hear that some one or another, or may be two or three, of the workers hold views at variance with their own, or I will put it stronger, that some workers, not all, may do and teach things which they, the objectors, hold to be contrary to the rubrics and canons of the church, therefore, they say, we will not give to such a mission and we will have no sympathy with it. It is indeed sad that it should be so that there are so many errorists in our church, but are we to give up the work and leave it to those who teach what we believe to be error? If we do this with foreign missions, can we stop there? As an old missionary of the whole church, and as one who has no sympathy whatever with the Ritualistic movement in our church, or with the high sacramentarian views, I appeal to all who consider themselves as loyal to the church, as she has expressed herself to her article, rubrics and canons, not to forsake us in our work, but come up to our help, by taking a more active part in aiding and guiding her foreign work in all its departments.

Are the men in the field with whom you sympathize in heart to feel that you have forsaken them, and

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273 Some conservative evangelicals object to mixing wine with water in the Communion chalice, or cup. In the contemporary era, some evangelicals offer a choice of traditional communion wine or unfermented grape juice for those for whom alcohol may be a problem.

that hereafter no more men will be sent forth by you to help bear the burden, and that when they die their work will perish, or be left only to those whose views we hold to be unsafe? Will this not take all the heart: out of a worker, let him be never so strong? Brethren, you who are staunch, sound and loyal to the church in her purity, I ask for your expressed sympathy, for your prayers, for your men and for your, means, and that you forsake not the work of the Lord; the great work of his church, the bearing his message of salvation to those who still sit in heathen darkness. To turn now to another matter mentioned in Mr. Appleton's letter, viz., the teaching of the English language to the Chinese by the missionaries.

Bishop Boone and the earlier missionaries who were with him labored for many years in teaching English. Their united experience and the results of their work led to a rule being passed that no English should be taught in any of the mission schools. This rule was adhered to, or very nearly so, until the opening of St. John's College. At first English, [11/12] was not taught, or only a very little, but when it was found that a number of pay scholars could be obtained, and these were the sons of influential, or at least wealthy men, and that they could thus be brought under the influence of a Christian institution, it was determined to have an English class. A person was especially employed, one who was not a missionary, to take this work.--He taught the scholars all the rudimentary branches in English, and then one of the missionaries would take them up in the advanced classes, if they remained long enough to get on so far. Sometimes, when we were not able to get a suitable person to carry on this class, a member of the mission would help for the time, just to keep the dams together. I have done this in many of the classes, not solely in English, but in arithmetic and the like.

After Prof. Buttles came out, he said it was hopeless to try to teach the advanced sciences in the Chinese language, that it must be done in English. We all felt, the force of this. Dr. Boone had felt this in his medical class. A rule was passed by the mission that English should, be taught to all who were to pass through a full course in the college. Thus the question of English stands in the mission as a necessity for advance in the higher sciences. Personally, I had rather not teach English or have it taught by the missionaries, but I endeavour to help in any work under-taken by the whole mission be it to my taste or not.

I ought to say that English is taught in its rudiments by the missionaries of the Southern Methodist Mission in their two large establishments at Shanghai. In these they are said to have some four or five hundred scholars. These schools are free and are largely supported by contributions of the heathen Chinese. It is to one of these schools that the extract in Mr. A.'s letter probably alludes. [The Anglo-Chinese University managed by the Southern Methodist Mission was opened three years ago, the report sent home at the time states that some four hundred pupils were admitted, and that one thousand. were knocking at the door for admittance; the second year the attendance was about 200, and the third year 212. The present year it opened with about 50 pupils, and the daily attendance is now about 85. These figures speak louder than words as to the advisability of spending thousands of dollars of the hard-earned money of the church at home in teaching English to Chinese. The first Bishop Boone and his colleagues realized this years ago.]

[13] The next subject is that of the use or employment heathen teachers: When I went to China the number of Chinese professing Christianity was small, and so it often, happened in our day, schools and boarding schools, we were obliged to employ heathen teachers to help us in our work. Many of these teachers became our preachers and to-day many who are preachers of the gospel began as heathen teachers in some Christian school, But now we have, I believe, no heathen teachers in any of our day schools, because there are Christian men raised up from our schools, or brought into the church who are able to do the work'. So it will be in the college. At the first it is very difficult to get Christian men with the education needed for the work, therefore and only for this reason, are heathen teachers still employed. We have sometimes been able to get a Christian man from some other mission, but they want their able men for their own work. As soon as the heathen can be replaced by Christian students from the college it will be done. I am sure in saying these things my brother and fellow missionary will know that I am not-in-any way entering into controversy with him, but only seeking to explain some things which are not clear at first sight. Long may he labor and have much success in his-work.

In closing this let me add that Bishop Schereschewsky has over and again declared that he wants men who fairly represent the church; but none who go beyond permitted limits on either side. May many true men come up when the church calls. I am ready to answer any reasonable questions about the field and the work.--My address is at the head of this letter. ELLIOTT H. THOMSON, of the China Mission.

P.S.--It is proper that I should state that since writing the above, I have been credibly informed that the Rev. Mr. Sayres has, over his own signature, disclaimed any preference for an ornate Ritual. Let me also add that he is an earnest, loving Christian man and a good missionary.<sup>274</sup>

The unity of the Episcopalians and Anglicans in Shanghai during the period of Bishop Boone, Sr., (1845-1864) and his successors, Bishops Williams and Schereschewsky, was centred on a common language, shared theology and a deep commitment to the Anglican liturgy grounded in the 1662 English Book of Common Prayer, the Anglican Ordinal, and the Anglican Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion—after allowing for necessary and minor amendments reflecting the independence of the American Church and the Prayer Book revisions of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

English law prohibited changes to the Anglican liturgy and effectively prevented a common liturgy for the emerging Chinese Anglican Church that is discussed in Parts 8 and 9. Potential ecclesiastical conflict in Shanghai between the American Church Mission and the British Anglicans was by-passed by an informal arrangement:

The Board [Episcopal Board of Missions] will remember that in the relations of our Missions to China to the authorities and ministry of the Church of England, in that country, where there has been some reason to fear a possible interruption of harmony. Within the last year the spontaneous action of the Church of England has removed every possible cause and occasion of difficulty of this kind. It has been suggested to the Bishop of Victoria [Hong Kong] by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he should make any arrangement that would be agreeable to Bishop Boone and himself; and the Bishop of Victoria has proposed to leave Kiang-Su, the province in which our Missions are established, to the occupation of the American Episcopal Church, while the Missionaries of the English Church shall labor in the province of Cheh-Kiang; and if their Missionaries had any converts in Kiang-Su, he would delegate his authority to confirm to Bishop Boone, and *vice versa*.<sup>275</sup>

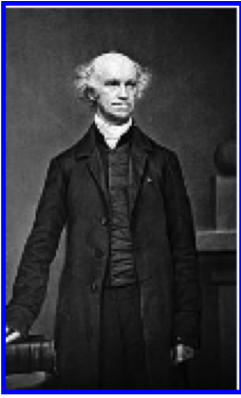
What could not be overcome in relationships between the Anglican and Episcopal churches in China, as the collection will indicate, were the parliamentary restrictions on the Church of England that contrasted with the ability of the Episcopal Church to make, and unmake, its own rules or canons. The Canons (or laws and regulations) of the American Church required, for example, two Episcopal priests to endorse a recommendation for the ordination of a Chinese clergyman, the first being Wong Kong-chai. With only himself and one American presbyter Boone could not proceed with Wong's ordination. Bishop Boone could not accept the signature of a British Anglican priest to make up the two presbyterial signatures required.<sup>276</sup>

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274 There is a full discussion of all views in the matter of ritual in the Protestant Episcopal Mission in China online, 1 January 2012, at — [http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/boone\\_correspondence1885.html](http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/boone_correspondence1885.html)

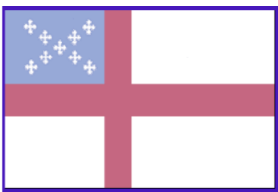
275 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 24 No 11, November 1859, p. 582.

276 The complexities of mutual recognition of the clergy of the American and British Anglican churches is discussed online 1 July 2013 at — <http://ecclesiasticallaw.wordpress.com/tag/colonial-clergy-act-1874/>



The American Episcopal Church was culturally WASP<sup>277</sup> dominated, from the General Convention of the PEC, the Foreign Missions Committee and the missionary bishop to the newest American missionary. Anglo-Saxon gender and racial assumptions were omnipresent in all English-speaking Protestant missions and was by no means a uniquely Episcopalian or American issue. In 19th century America, only half-a-century or so on from the old British North America, and in a church whose roots were unabashedly English, it is hardly surprising that commonalities remained and even less surprising that the expatriate communities were linked by personal values and culture.

**Bishop Charles McIlvaine** of Ohio was much respected in England for his advocacy of evangelical values. He was sent by President Lincoln to argue against British recognition of the Confederacy. He was a guest of Queen Victoria and a friend of many notable British leaders,<sup>278</sup> was awarded honorary doctorates by Oxford and Cambridge Universities. He is the only Episcopal bishop whose body has lain in state at Westminster Abbey.<sup>279</sup>



The English and Scottish parentage of the Episcopal Church is symbolized by the corporate flag (and shield) that incorporates St. George's Cross, the national flag of England, together with a blue insert modeled on the "Saltire", (St. Andrew's Cross) the national flag of Scotland, symbolizing the link to the Scottish Episcopal Church.<sup>280</sup> The nine crosses recall the nine original dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States all of which were former British colonies.



The Rt. Rev. William Jones Boone Sr., conducted the first Anglican confirmation (admission to adult membership) service in Hong Kong at the request of the official British chaplain (Rev. Vincent Stanton) demonstrating that both men, and the English community of Hong Kong, accepted the common ecclesiastical status of Anglicans and Episcopalians without question. When the British expatriate community, with financial support from the British

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277 A useful summary of the term is "cultural stratification." See online 1 July 2013 at — [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White\\_Anglo-Saxon\\_Protestant#Culture\\_attributed\\_to\\_WASPs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White_Anglo-Saxon_Protestant#Culture_attributed_to_WASPs)

278 The extensive contacts between Episcopalian bishops and clergy and the Church of England and English Anglicans is outlined in Boshier, Rev. Robert S., (1962), "The American Church and the Formation of the Anglican Communion, 1823-1853," online 1 July 2013 at Project Canterbury, <http://anglicanhistory.org/academic/boshier1962.pdf>

279 Carus, Rev. William, *Memorials of the Right Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Late Bishop of Ohio*, (London, Elliot Stock, 1886). Butler, Diana H. *Standing Against the Whirlwind: Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth Century America*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1995).

280 The Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury was the first bishop of the American Episcopal Church, consecrated by the Scottish Episcopal Church in Aberdeen, Scotland on 14 November 1784. As a citizen of the American Republic Seabury could not take an oath of allegiance to the British monarch. Subsequent legislation by the British Parliament (26 *Geo III (1786) c 84I*), allowed two more Americans, William White (Pennsylvania) and Samuel Provoost (New York), to be consecrated bishops on 14 February 1787 by the Church of England without first taking the oath of allegiance.

Government in London, erected their own “parish” church in Shanghai (Holy Trinity Church later rebuilt as a cathedral), Bishop Boone was the principal clerical advisor and laid the foundation stone of the first (of three or four) buildings on the site.<sup>281</sup>

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281 The present building, recently returned to the China Christian Council as the national church and administrative centre for Protestants in China, was opened in 1868. No images have been found of the earlier buildings.

## 2.17 EPISCOPAL MISSIONARIES & SLAVERY.

Most of the early Episcopalian missionaries in China were from the American South, a region strong in the belief that society should be ordered according to the will of God as revealed in the Bible.<sup>282</sup> In narrow exegetical terms, slavery is not condemned in the Bible and for most Southern evangelicals was an issue of property rights that did not directly involve Christian ethical principles.

The southerners, preaching to people who knew their Bible well and who even in those days preferred to take it straight, responded that those who called themselves Christians had to accept the Bible as God's revealed truth and had to understand that God, not man, defined sin and virtue.<sup>283</sup>

As far as the Southern States were concerned slavery was, with citizenship itself, a matter of the ultimate sovereignty of the States within the voluntary union of the United States of America.<sup>284</sup> The economic importance of slavery can be seen in the slave proportion of the population.<sup>285</sup>

**Table 8. Slavery in the Key Southern States, 1830-1860.**

STATE	SLAVES	TOTAL POPLN	SLAVES AS % OF TOTAL POPLN
1830			
VIRGINIA	469,757	1,211,405	38.78
SOUTH CAROLINA	315,401	581,185	54.27
NORTH CAROLINA	245,601	737,987	33.28
GEORGIA	217,531	516,823	42.09
KENTUCKY	165,213	687,917	24.02
1840			
VIRGINIA	449,087	1,239,797	36.22
SOUTH CAROLINA	327,038	594,398	55.02
GEORGIA	280,944	691,392	40.63
ALABAMA	253,532	590,756	42.92
NORTH CAROLINA	245,817	753,419	32.63
1850			
VIRGINIA	472,528	421,661	33.24
SOUTH CAROLINA	384,984	668,507	57.59
GEORGIA	381,682	906,185	42.12
ALABAMA	342,844	771,623	44.43
MISSISSIPPI	309,878	606,526	51.09
1860			
VIRGINIA	490,865	1,596,318	30.75
GEORGIA	462,198	1,057,286	43.72
MISSISSIPPI	436,631	791,305	55.18
ALABAMA	435,080	964,201	45.12
SOUTH CAROLINA	402,406	703,708	57.18

282 A link between racial superiority and the Bible was also a foundation of the South African policy of apartheid.

283 Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth and Eugene D. Genovese, "The Divine Sanction of Social Order: Religious Foundations of the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview," pp 211-233 in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol LV No 2, 1987, p 223

284 Stamp, Kenneth M., *The Causes of the Civil War*, (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1959).

285 *Slavery in Virginia: A Selected Bibliography*, The Library of Virginia. Online at — <http://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/guides/SlaveryInVA.pdf>

Southerners were confronted by the sheer size of the slave population, the function of slavery as regulated labour sustaining the Southern economy, the manifest injustices and social dangers of landless wage labour<sup>286</sup> and the commitment of a majority of wealthy church members, including ministers of religion, to the institution.<sup>287</sup>

Sixteen of the eighteen Episcopal missionaries who served in the Shanghai mission were graduates of the theologically evangelical Virginia Theological Seminary that stressed Biblical authority as the foundation of an ordered Christian society.<sup>288</sup>

It is important to recognize that the evangelicals' sense of duty regarding slaveholding was not in conflict with their religious profession.<sup>289</sup>

Some, such as William Jones Boone, were influenced by their secular education at South Carolina College and other Southern universities where slavery was an everyday part of institutional life.<sup>290</sup> People who advocated abolitionist views apparently suffered social exclusion.

The family of Smiths, who were recently driven out of Beaufort District, S.C. on account of their abolition proclivities.<sup>291</sup>

Boone was closely linked to Beaufort County that “literally swarms” with African Americans. The South Carolina Census of 1850 reported that there were five slaves for every white inhabitant of Beaufort county.<sup>292</sup>

**Table 9. Slavery in Beaufort County, South Carolina.**

Total White Population.	5,947
Free colored.	579
<b>Total Free Population.</b>	<b>6,526</b>
<b>Slaves.</b>	<b>32,279</b>

There were just 842 landowners with an average forty slaves per farm but only six working animals, and a newspaper concluded that the slaves did the work “performed elsewhere by horses, asses and mules.” Cotton and rice production was valued at \$2,500,000 each, and corn at \$500,000.<sup>293</sup>

South Carolina slavery was reputedly of a very mild form, and the slave population was “more contented and happier than in any part of the South.”<sup>294</sup> Many wealthy Southerners viewed the

286 See discussion of landless labour and slavery in Morgan, Edmund S., “Slavery and Freedom” *The American Paradox*, pp 5-29 in the *Journal of American History*, Vol 59 No 1, June 1972.

287 Loveland, Anne C., *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order 1800-1860*, (Baton Rouge La, Louisiana State University Press, 1980), Chapter 7, pp 186-188. Loveland does not discuss Episcopalians and care must be taken in assuming that the values and views of Episcopalians paralleled those of Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians. Even critics of Southern society, such as Fay or Tenney, stated a clear preference for ordered hierarchy of the Episcopal Church.

288 Cohen, Lucy M, *Chinese in the Post Civil War South: A People Without a History*, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1984), p. 11 and footnote 22.

289 Loveland, op cit, Chapter 7, pp 186-218

290 “Slavery at South Carolina College, 1801-1865? online at — <http://library.sc.edu/digital/slaverysc/intellectual-founders.html>

291 *Charleston Mercury*, 26 October 1860.

292 *New York Herald*, 12 November 1861.

293 Ibid.

294 *New York Herald*, 15 November 1861.

family and extended household (wife, children, slaves) as essential elements in a social order ethically and racially superior to the “worthless mongrel races”<sup>295</sup> so evident in the wage labour of the North.<sup>296</sup>

Slavery as a social relation was ordained of God, who thereby charged the masters with a heavy responsibility toward those in their custody. It would be the fault of a sinful people, not of the social system, if those chosen to rule abused their privileges, failed in their Christian responsibilities, and provoked an angry God to withdraw His sanction.<sup>297</sup>

Boone’s first wife was Sarah Amelia de Saussure, from a prominent slave-owning South Carolina family.<sup>298</sup> She may have been the person mentioned by Jane Edkins:

The American missionaries are very numerous at Shanghai. Several of them are favourable to slavery in America, and I know one lady who is a slaveholder.<sup>299</sup>

Mrs. Nancy Bostock De Saussure, a relative by marriage from another plantation and slave-owning family, published her recollections of the South before the Civil War.<sup>300</sup> Her family owned more than 500 slaves.<sup>301</sup>

My father and mother inherited most of their negroes, and there was an attachment existing between master and mistress and their slaves which one who had never borne such a relation could never understand.<sup>302</sup>

Two Northern women, Lydia Mary Fay and Caroline Tenney, both of whom worked in Virginia and observed slavery at first hand, recorded their disdain for the institution. Caroline Tenney’s views, although she did not publicly debate the issue, were hardened by the ill-treatment of New Englanders who came to argue against slavery. She told her employer that the more she saw of slavery, the more she detested it.<sup>303</sup> In July 1845 she returned to Massachusetts, determined never to return to the South.

She was an outspoken opponent of slavery in letters to friends and relatives in the North and at least one relationship with a Southern man failed when he took exception to her anti-slavery remarks although his real reasons were different.<sup>304</sup>

My lover has told me " to seek happiness elsewhere than from him!" The subject is painful ; but I wish you to know his course... May 15th he sat down deliberately, and stated the "reasons which forbade the consummation of our engagement." You shall hear them. First, "my superior mind and its unusual cultivation, together with my age, would make me much more than his equal." Second, our temperaments never would chord, for his love would ever seem to me careless and indifferent." In proof of this, he

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295 *Charleston Mercury*, 28 February 1860.

296 Fox-Genovese, op cit, p. 224.

297 Fox-Genovese, op cit, p. 222.

298 “Slavery at South Carolina College, 1801-1865? online at — <http://library.sc.edu/digital/slaveryscc/intellectual-founders.html> See paragraph on Henry William DeSaussure,(1763-1839). Papers of the DeSaussure family are held by the South Carolina Historical Society and include references to slavery.

299 Edkins, Jane, 1863, op cit, p. 71.

300 De Saussure, Mrs. N. B., *Old Plantation Days, Being Recollections of Southern Life Before the Civil War*, (New York, Duffield & Company, 1909).

301 *Ibid* p 41/

302 *Ibid* p. 17.

303 CT to William Tenney, 11 February 1845. Tenney op cit, p. 29.

304 For a brief account of Caroline Tenney’s life see Welch, Ian, *Caroline (Carrie) Phebe Tenney-Keith: Episcopal Church missionary in Shanghai, China*, online 13 June 2013 at — <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/10097>



quoted those old misunderstandings that had long ago been mutually forgiven. Yet, three times since our reconciliation he has left me to suffer agony from his confessed—mark, I say confessed—habit of procrastination. I never complained. Admonished by the past, I schooled my heart to suffer in silence, but I felt it a dark omen for the future; for if a man can procrastinate in writing to his betrothed, in what will he be punctual? Third, the fact that "he had been raised by slaveholding parents, and held notions abhorrent to mine! Take notice: last winter he requested me to write something on the subject of slavery, and let him have it published in the Examiner. In my reply, speaking of the "evil," I ventured to call it a "sin." He took fire as though I had slandered his parents.<sup>305</sup>

Dislike of slavery was not limited to women from the North. A Baptist minister wrote:

You know I am Southern born and raised. I am a Georgian, and although never a slave-holder I was nursed by a negro woman to whom I was most fondly attached, and who, I believe, loved me as she would her own son. I have had the opportunity to mingle freely with slaveholders of different characters and dispositions, and while I regard slavery as such an enormous evil and am heartily glad that it has been abolished in this country, I am bound in candor to say that my observation, during all these years of my residence in Georgia and South Carolina, thoroughly convinced me that in the majority of cases slaves were more kindly treated and brought into more intimate and kindly relations to white families than they are now, though free. This, of course, is not given as an apology for slavery, but it is a simple statement of facts. I might refer, for example, to what I witnessed and felt, while a guest, on more than one occasion, in the house of your honored father and mother. Your father seemed to me to be as watchful of the interests, both temporal and spiritual, of his slaves as of his own immediate white family. It was, to my mind, a beautiful illustration of patriarchal slavery, as it existed in the days of Abraham. Of course there were exceptions to this treatment of slaves by their owners, but, as a rule, so far as my observation extended, your father's methods were universally approved, while the cruel slaveholder was indignantly condemned and repudiated. You may remember that I was for three years the associate of Rev. Dr. Fuller, then pastor of the Baptist Church in Beaufort, S. C.

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

Most that I have stated above, as to the kindly treatment of slaves was emphatically true of Beaufort. The Baptist Church, in addition to its white membership, embraced about two thousand slaves. These slaves, as church members, enjoyed equal privileges with the whites. Dr. Fuller or myself preached to them every Sunday. The Lord's Supper was administered to them and to the whites impartially and at the same time. And any grievance that they complained of, among themselves, was as patiently listened to and adjusted as was the case with the white members. In a word, all that could be done for them, in their circumstances, was promptly and cheerfully done. I could add much more of the same tenor to what I have written, but I will not weary you with a long discourse.

Affectionately yours, Edward Lathrop.<sup>306</sup>

There is no analysis in the letters and reports of the Episcopal missionaries of Biblical social theories and Chinese society, beyond the exploitation of poor by the traditional education system, the inadequacy of traditional Chinese religious beliefs and the eternal sufferings of the poor. Their cultural background would have accepted the hierarchical nature of Chinese society and did not encourage any sense of a need for the complete reconstruction of Chinese society beyond the benefits of providing adequate social welfare and education to enable Chinese, like slaves in the American South, to be economically productive.

Missionary candidates were not moved...wholly by religious motives. The young men and women who volunteered...reflected the normal excitement over an unusual career in an unusual corner of the world,

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305 Caroline Terry to Mrs. Sumner, from Oaken Brow, Virginia, 15 July 1848, Terrey op cit, pp 50-51.

306 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). pp. 20-23.

free from the more prosaic patterns...at home.<sup>307</sup>

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307 Varg, Paul A., *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1958, pp vii-viii.

## 2.18 IMPACT OF THE CIVIL WAR ON THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CHINA.

The impact of the Civil War on the Episcopal Mission in China was immense, if largely unknown in Civil War histories or, for that matter, in histories of the Episcopal Church mission in China. The “American” Episcopal missionaries in this collection were mostly people shaped during a “white aristocracy” aspect of the slavery era of the United States of America. The Southerners (a clear majority among the Episcopalians) found themselves, from 1861-1865, citizens of the Confederate States in a rebellion against the United States of which they were also regarded as citizens.

For most of the four years of the Civil War, the majority of American missionaries in China were cut off from family, friends, and finance in America while firmly embedded in the American expatriate community in East Asia. Some items have been located indicating some of the personal difficulties of that period of Episcopal missionary history.

The majority of the clergy were from the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia.<sup>308</sup> The 1862 Convention of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina noted:

Resolved, That this afflictive Providence attracts our attention to the China Mission, where several of our brethren, from the Confederate States, are "preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ," and that we see in it no cause for discouragement, but rather an incitement to more energetic support, inasmuch as "the blood of the martyr has ever proved the seed of the Church."<sup>309</sup>

### United States Flags

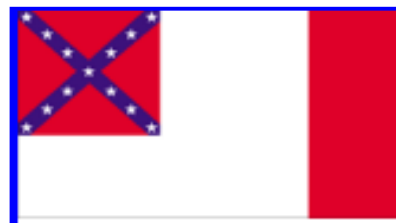


The 33 star American flag over Fort Sumter was lowered on 14 April 1861. It returned to Fort Sumter on 14 April 1865. By 1865 the Union flag had 36 stars.

### Confederate Flags.



CSA Flag from March 1861 to April 1863.

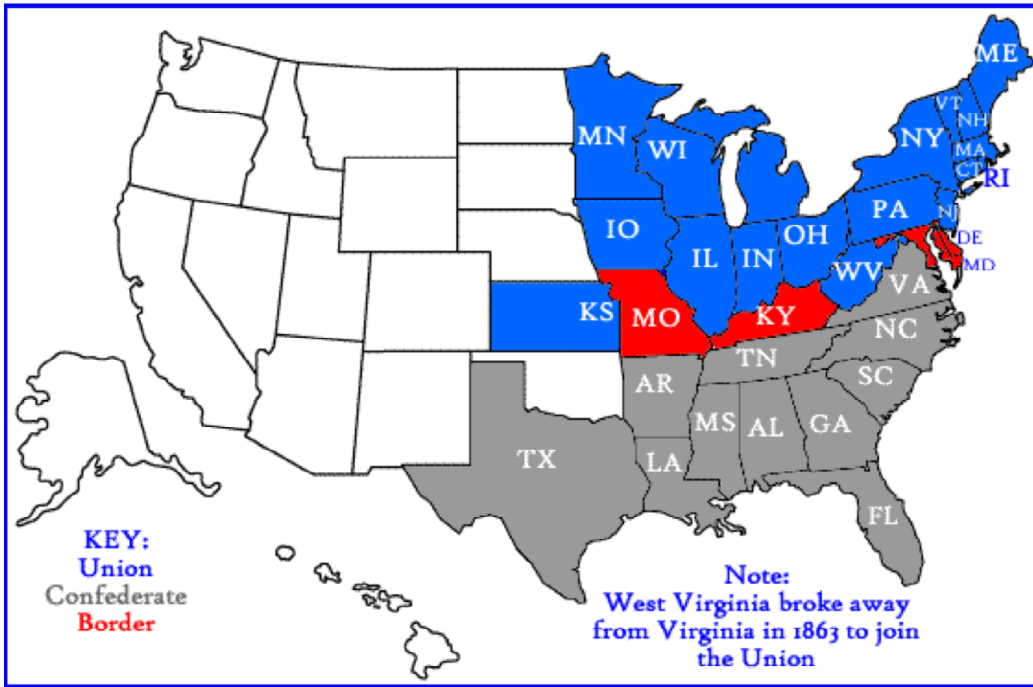


CSA Flag adopted 4 March 1865.

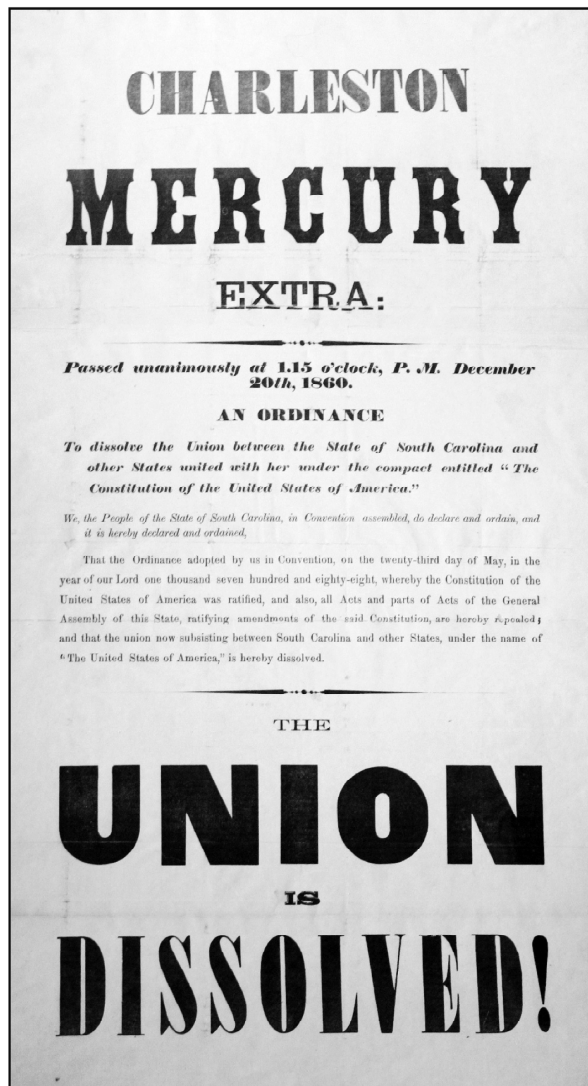
308 See missionary list in Part 1, Introduction.

309 Journal of the Proceedings of the Seventy-Third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> February, 1862, (Charleston SC, A. E. Miller, 1862). p.19.

North and South 1862.



Secession.



**Secretary of State William H. Seward to Abraham Lincoln, March 15, 1861**  
**Department of State, Washington, 15th March, 1861.**

The President submits to me the following question, namely, "Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances, is it wise to attempt it?"

If it were possible to peacefully provision Fort Sumter, of course I should answer that it would be both unwise and inhuman not to attempt it. But the facts of the case are known to be, that the attempt must be made with the employment of a military and marine force, which would provoke combat, and probably initiate a civil war, which the Government of the United States would be committed to maintain through all changes to some definite conclusion.

History must record that a sectional party practically constituting a majority of the people of the fifteen Slave States, excited to a high state of jealous apprehension for the safety of life and property, by impassioned, though groundless appeals, went into the late election with a predetermined purpose, if unsuccessful at the polls, to raise the standard of secession immediately afterwards, and to separate the Slave States, or so many of them as could be detached from the Union, and to organize them in a new, distinct, and independent confederacy: that party was unsuccessful at the polls. In the frenzy which followed the announcement of their defeat, they put the machinery of the State Legislatures and conventions into motion, and within the period of three months, they have succeeded in obtaining ordinances of secession by which seven of the Slave States have seceded and organized a new Confederacy under the name of the Confederate States of America. These States finding a large number of the mints, customhouses, forts and arsenals of the United States situate within their limits, unoccupied, undefended, and virtually abandoned by the late Administration, have seized and appropriated them to their own use, and under the same circumstances have seized and appropriated to their own use, large amounts of money and other public property of the United States, found within their limits. The people of the other Slave States, divided and balancing between sympathy with the seceding slave States and loyalty to the Union, have been intensely excited, but, at the present moment, indicate a disposition to adhere to the Union, if nothing extraordinary shall occur to renew excitement and produce popular exasperation. This is the stage in this premeditated revolution, at which we now stand.

The opening of this painful controversy, at once raised the question whether it would be for the interest of the country to admit the projected dismemberment, with its consequent evils, or whether patriotism and humanity require that it shall be prevented. As a citizen, my own decision on this subject was promptly made, namely, that the Union is inestimable and even indispensable to the welfare and happiness of the whole country, and to the best interests of mankind. As a statesman in the public service, I have not hesitated to assume that the Federal government is committed to maintain preserve and defend the Union, peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must, to every extremity. Next to Disunion itself, I regard civil war as the most disastrous and deplorable of national calamities, and as the most uncertain and fearful of all remedies for political disorders. I have therefore made it the study and labor of the hour, how to save the Union from dismemberment by peaceful policy and without civil war.

Influenced by these sentiments, I have felt that it is exceedingly fortunate that, to a great extent, the Federal government occupies, thus far, not an aggressive attitude, but, practically, a defensive one, while the necessity for action, if civil war is to be initiated, falls on those who seek to dismember and subvert this Union.

It has seemed to me equally fortunate that the Disunionists are absolutely without any justification for their rash and desperate designs. The administration of the Government had been for a long time virtually in their own hands, and controlled and directed by themselves, when they began the work of revolution. They had therefore no other excuse than apprehension of oppression from the new and adverse administration which was about to come into power

It seemed to me farther, to be a matter of good fortune that the new and adverse administration must come in with both Houses of Congress containing majorities opposed to its policy, so that, even if it would, it could commit no wrong or injustice against the States which were being madly goaded into revolution. Under the circumstances, Disunion could have no better basis to stand upon than a blind unreasoning popular excitement, arising out of a simple and harmless disappointment in a Presidential election -- that excitement, if it should find no new aliment, must soon subside and leave Disunion without any real support. On the other hand, I have believed firmly that every where, even in South Carolina, devotion to the Union is a profound and permanent national sentiment which, although it may

be suppressed and silenced by terror for a time, could, if encouraged, be ultimately relied upon to rally the people of the seceding States to reverse, upon due deliberation, all the popular acts of legislatures and Conventions by which they were hastily and violently committed to Disunion.

The policy of the time, therefore, has seemed to me to consist in conciliation, which should deny to the Disunionists any new provocation or apparent offence, while it would enable the Unionists in the slave states to maintain, with truth and with effect, that the claims and apprehensions put forth by the Disunionists, are groundless and false.

I have not been ignorant of the objection that the Administration was elected through the activity of the Republican party, that it must continue to deserve and retain the confidence of that party while conciliation towards the Slave States tends to demoralize the Republican party itself, on which party the main responsibility of maintaining the Union must rest.

But it has seemed to me a sufficient answer first, that the Administration could not demoralize the Republican party without making some sacrifice of its essential principles when no such sacrifice is necessary or is any where authoritatively proposed; and secondly, if it be indeed true that pacification is necessary to prevent dismemberment of the Union and civil war, or either of them, no patriot and lover of humanity could hesitate to surrender party for the higher interests of country and humanity.

Partly by design, partly by chance, this policy has been hitherto pursued by the last Administration of the Federal government and by the Republican party in its corporate action. It is by this policy thus pursued, I think, that the progress of dismemberment has been arrested after the seven Gulf States had seceded, and the Border States yet remain, although they do so uneasily, in the Union.

It is to a perseverance in this policy for a short time longer that I look as the only peaceful means of assuring the continuance of Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas, or most of those States, in the Union. It is through their good and patriotic offices that I look to see the Union sentiment revived and brought once more into activity in the seceding States, and through this agency those states themselves returning into the Union.

I am not unaware that I am conceding more than can reasonably be demanded by the people of the Border States. They could, speaking justly, demand nothing. They are bound by the federal obligation to adhere to the Union without concession or conciliation just as much as the people of the Free States are. But in administration we must deal with men, facts and circumstances not as they ought to be, but as they are.

The fact then is that while the people of the Border States desire to be loyal, they are at the same time sadly though temporarily demoralized by a sympathy for the Slave States which makes them forget their loyalty whenever there are any grounds for apprehending that the Federal Government will resort to military coercion against the seceding States, even though such coercion should be necessary to maintain the authority or even the integrity of the Union. This sympathy is unreasonable, unwise and dangerous, and therefore cannot, if left undisturbed, be permanent. It can be banished, however, only in one way, and that is by giving time for it to wear out and for reason to resume its sway. Time will do this, if it be not hindered by new alarms and provocations.

South Carolina opened the revolution Apprehending chastisement by the military arm of the United States, she seized all the Forts of the United States in the harbor of Charleston, except Fort Sumter, which, garrisoned by less than one hundred men, stands practically in a state of siege, but at the same time defying South Carolina and, as the seceding States imagine, menacing her with conquest. Every one knows, first, that even if Sumter were adequately reinforced, it would still be practically useless to the Government, because the administration in no case could attempt to subjugate Charleston or the State of South Carolina.

It is held now only because it is the property of the United States and is a monument of their authority and sovereignty. I would so continue to hold it so long as it can be done without involving some danger or evil greater than the advantage of continued possession. The highest military authority tells us that without supplies the garrison must yield in a few days to starvation, that its numbers are so small that it must yield in a few days to attack by the assailants lying around it, and that the case in this respect would remain the same even if it were supplied but not reinforced. All the military and naval authorities tell us, that any attempt at supplies would be unavailing without the employment of armed military and naval force. If we employ armed force for the purpose of supplying the fort, we give all the provocation that

could be offered by combining reinforcement with supply.

The question submitted to me then, practically, is, Supposing it to be possible to reinforce and supply Fort Sumter, is it wise now to attempt it, instead of withdrawing the garrison. The most that could be done by any means now in our hands, would be to throw 250 to 400 men into the garrison with provisions for supplying it for six months. In this active and enlightened country, in this season of excitement with a daily press, daily mails and incessantly operating telegraph, the design to reinforce and supply the garrison must become known to the opposite party at Charleston as soon, at least, as preparation for it should begin. The garrison would then almost certainly fall by assault before the expedition could reach the harbor of Charleston. But supposing the secret kept, the expedition must engage in conflict on entering the harbor of Charleston, suppose it to be overpowered and destroyed, is that new outrage to be avenged or are we then to return to our attitude of immobility? Shall we be allowed to do so? Moreover, in that event, what becomes of the garrison?

Suppose the expedition successful-- We have then a garrison in Fort Sumter that can defy assault for six months. What is it to do then? Is it to make war by opening its batteries and attempting to demolish the defences of the Carolinians? Can it demolish them if it tries? If it cannot, what is the advantage we shall have gained? If it can, how will it serve to check or prevent Disunion? In either case, it seems to me that we will have inaugurated a civil war by our own act, without an adequate object, after which reunion will be hopeless, at least under this administration, or in any other way than by a popular disavowal, both of the war and of the administration which unnecessarily commenced it. Fraternity is the element of Union. War the very element of disunion. Fraternity, if practiced by this administration, will rescue the Union from all its dangers. If this administration, on the other hand, take up the sword, then an opposition party will offer the olive branch and will, as it ought, profit by the restoration of peace and Union.

I may be asked, whether I would in no case and at no time, advise force -- whether I propose to give up everything. I reply, no, I would not initiate a war to regain a useless and unnecessary position on the soil of the seceding States. I would not provoke war in any way now. I would resort to force to protect the collection of the revenue, because this is a necessary as well as a legitimate union object. Even then, it should be only a naval force that I would employ, for that necessary purpose-- While I would defer military action on land until a case should arise when we would hold the defence. In that case, we should have the spirit of the country and the approval of mankind on our side. In the other, we should peril peace and Union, because we had not the courage to practice prudence and moderation at the cost of temporary misapprehension. If this counsel seems to be impassive and even unpatriotic, I console myself by the reflection that it is such as Chatham gave to his country under circumstances not widely different.

William H. Seward.<sup>310</sup>

The United States Navy, overall, remained with the United States Government but loyalty was a problem in ships serving in China. The processing of mail and the difficulties implicit in controlling the flow of information between belligerents is illustrated by the following letter from a North Carolina officer serving on the USS *Saginaw*<sup>311</sup>, anchored in Shanghai during the investment of the Chinese city by Taiping Rebels in October 1861. The writer leaves no doubt about his allegiance. Many Southern naval officers resigned their commissions in the U.S. Navy but this officer, stationed with the United States Navy's East Asia Squadron, was unable to do so, for reasons not known but probably indicating the lack of an alternative.

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310 Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress. Transcribed and Annotated by the Lincoln Studies Center, Knox College. Galesburg, Illinois. William H. Seward to Abraham Lincoln, Friday, March 15, 1861 (Report on Fort Sumter). Online 1 January 2012 at — [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mal:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(d0813900\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mal:@field(DOCID+@lit(d0813900)))

311 USS *Saginaw* is discussed online 1 January 2013 at — <http://totakeresponsibility.blogspot.com.au/2012/12/uss-saginaw.html>

The letter indicates the existence of the Union Postal Censorship office in Washington but also indicates alternative ways of sending mail across the battle lines of the Civil War.<sup>312</sup>

Shanghai Oct. 28th 1861.

My dear Sister,

Since the commencement of the war by the Yankees and abolitionists on the Southern people – I have not been able to hear from you; nor do I expect you have been more lucky than I.

I have tried several means of getting letters to you. Once by writing under cover to a friend in California and having the letter dispatched overland by St. Louis – and this time by getting a friend from Philadelphia to enclose the letter to his friends and to forward it if possible to you. I do not know of any other means by which I get letters to you; if anything should offer however I shall write.

I am still in China; making trips [?] from Shanghai to [?]; having splendid opportunities of observing the Country &c; but as I am so doubtful about your ever getting this letter, I shall not say much of myself of what I see.

If I thought the letter would go to Washington and be opened at the dead letter office, I would be apt to take this opportunity privately to swear a little at the Yankees, for their determined obstinacy in prosecuting a war. The consequences of which can only lead to the ruin of thousands of people; the loss of many lives; and the making of innumerable widows and orphans. They can no more make the South return again in the Union, in terms heretofore existing, thus they can do any other impossible thing.

If you should get any of my letters you must write in the same way – and be sure to give me all the details of the war news &c. from the beginning.

I have to form all my opinions from such papers as the “Times”, “Tribune” and “Herald” – even by these I see we have been victorious in several engagements.

I have no doubt but that the Saginaw will be ordered home in six of eight months – it she is not I shall return home by way of California.

Good by dear sister. I need not ask you to remember me – for I know you will do so.

Your affectionate brother, Joseph.<sup>313</sup>

The issue of loyalty was addressed in the following general order. issued by the Commander of the United States naval forces in Asia.

### **The United States East India Squadron on China Station, 1860-1861.**

The Commander-in-Chief feels called upon at this time to address those under his command upon the condition of the cause or causes which have resulted in plunging our country into all the horrors of a “civil war,” but to remind those under my command of their obligations now to a faithful and zealous performance of every duty.

Coming as we do from the various sections of the country, unanimity of opinion on this subject cannot be expected, and I would urge upon all the necessity of abstaining from all angry and inflammatory language upon the causes of the present slate of things in the United States, and to recollect that here we have nothing to do but to perform the duty of our respective stations, and to obey the orders of our superiors in authority; to this we are bound by the solemn obligations of our oath.

I charge all Commanders and other officers to show in themselves a good example of virtue, honor, patriotism and subordination, and to be vigilant in inspecting the conduct of all such as are placed under their command.

The honor of the nation, of the flag, under which many of us have served from boyhood, our own honor and good name require us now, if ever, that we suffer. No blot upon the character of our country

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312 Another example of evading mail restrictions was a letter from a fervent British supporter to a friend in the South will be found at Tilley, Nannie M, “England and the Confederacy,” pp 56-60 in *The American Historical Review*, Vol 44 No 1, October 1938.

313 Joseph Bird to his sister, 28 October 1861. Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Forms part of *The Civil War Day by Day* collection.



while the flag of the Union is in our keeping.

(signed) Flag Officer C. K. Stribling USN, Commander, East India Squadron, China 1861 (Flagship USS Hartford).<sup>314</sup>

The war was known variously as the Civil War; the War Between the States; the War of the Southern Secession (Indiana); the War for the Union; the War of the Rebellion; the War for Southern Independence; the War of Northern Aggression, etc.

For the Episcopal missionaries, the majority of whom were from the South, it was a particularly difficult time, made worse by their total dependence upon funds from the Foreign Committee in New York—when funds were available. There were serious problems in the North with fund raising resulting from the demands of the war and to this must be added the complete termination of funding from the South. Perhaps more personally difficult was the difficulty of receiving news from relatives and friends. Always a problem for missionaries anywhere it was made infinitely more difficult by the effective maritime blockade of the Confederacy and difficulties in sending and receiving overland mail.

The situation became all the more complicated when the Protestant Episcopal Church in the South became a separate body although North and South reunited without difficulty less than a year after the end of the war.<sup>315</sup> Although all Episcopal Bishops accepted the political realities of the War, they had no wish for permanent separation and no Canon was ever passed by the General Convention to expel the Southern dioceses within the Confederacy. When the Civil War ended, the Southern Bishops returned to the Episcopal House of Bishops and the General Convention in what all regarded as an unbroken fellowship.

In an address to his Diocesan Convention of 15 May 1862, the Bishop of North Carolina said:

It is certain that the Diocese of North Carolina was, in the autumn of 1860, a part of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and it is equally certain that that Church has done no act since to excise it, nor has the Diocese by its own act withdrawn itself. If then it be not now a part of the same Church, it must have been cut off by virtue of the political change produced by the secession of the State. But could the State, by any political act, destroy the organization of the Church, and annul its Constitution and Canons, which were its bonds of union with the Church in the United States? If it be the Church of Jesus Christ, or a part of the Church of Jesus Christ (and which of its members will declare it not to be?)., then the State can neither make nor unmake it, alter or amend it, directly or indirectly...In the meantime, according to my belief, until we form anew organization, the old continues to subsist. There is no interregnum of anarchy. We are not left weltering in chaos, without a Constitution, without any binding regulations for the consecration of Bishops, for the ordination of Clergymen, for the enforcement of discipline, so that each man is free to do what is right in his own eyes. God forbid we should ever be in such a condition.<sup>316</sup>

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314 Online 1 July 2013 at — [http://oldchinabooks.com/YangShen\\_eBook\\_Blog/2012/10/07/the-east-india-squadron-on-china-station-1860-1861/](http://oldchinabooks.com/YangShen_eBook_Blog/2012/10/07/the-east-india-squadron-on-china-station-1860-1861/)

315 Cheshire, Rt. Rev. Joseph Blunt, *The Church in the Confederate States: A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States*, (New York, Longmans, Green, 1912). Online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/jbcheshire/confederate1912/>

316 Ibid, pp 33-34.

Some Southern Episcopalians, such as a Miss Habersham of Savannah, Georgia, were able to send a little money to the Foreign Committee, this link became increasingly difficult for the Southerners in China as the war dragged on.

Savannah May 14th 1861

Rev. Mr. Denison,  
Dear Sir,

I sent you by a Schooner which was to sail yesterday, a box directed to Bishop Boone, Shanghai. The bill of lading I will enclose. Will you have the kindness to have the box opened, and take out three packages which are in the top, two marked for Willie and Tommy Boone, and one for Miss Haines, all which please have delivered when convenient. There is a letter for Willie with his packages. I would not have given this trouble but **for the difficulty of getting anything from our Port at present**. I directed the freight paid on the box, but in the hurry of getting it off at 9 o'clock in the morning I fear it was not done. If however you will let me know the expenses of the box, I will refund the amount when I send you the Sunday School and Chinese Society money, as I hope to do in a few weeks. I sincerely hope that our missionaries will not suffer, on account of the present troubles. I think I may promise from this State that you will receive nearly if not quite as much, as you did last year according to the statement in the May number of the Spirit of Missions. Will you also do me the favour to include Mrs. Boone's letter in your next overland package, and to forward one to Mrs. Nelson, as I have no confidence in the Mails at present, and will send this by Express.

Before closing may I be excused for saying a few words about the present troubles which make us indeed sick at heart. I appreciate the kind words in your letter of Feby 5th but where are the hopes there expressed? I am yet to learn if we have any friends left at the North. I cannot however admit that the South is responsible for the present state of things, but think we have evinced wonderful forbearance under the greatest wrongs and only acted in self-defence. **Even the firing on Sumter which it was pretended carried the whole North over to the enemy, was forced upon the South**, and there is but one opinion here on that subject. The strife will be a very unequal one, with the whole Navy at the North. Our Ports blockaded and many of our own Forts in the hands of the enemy, but we are wonderfully calm and hopeful, which I attribute to the fact that we are conscious that we are in the right, and may trust our cause with the Judge of all the Earth. May he sanctify our troubles to us, and give us hearts to forgive our enemies. I do not know what has become of the "hot bloods" of the South. I see only calmness and resolution under trial. I pray God to restrain the wrath of men and to bring good out of the present evil.

Very respectfully and truly,

Isabel Habersham

I hope I have not done wrong in expressing my opinions so freely to one with whom I have corresponded for so many years. I do not expect you to think as we do on this subject, only to judge us, with as Christian and charitable a spirit as you can, which I am very sorry to see some of the Bishops and clergy are not doing. I have concluded to send Mrs. Nelson's letter myself to Virginia.<sup>317</sup>

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317 Isabel Habersham, Savannah Ga, 14 May 1861. Letter in papers of Samuel d. Denison, Southern Historical Collection, the Louis Round Wilson Collections Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

1861, APRIL 12, Fort Sumter, South Carolina.



Communications between the Union and Confederate States was difficult but family, business, religious and other links endured although communications with the Episcopal missionaries in China were slow, and at times non-existent.

A system of **Flag of Truce** mail emerged. Wikipedia offers the following summary that seems to apply to the letter following that refers to a filtering or censorship process. Although nominally separated from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the North, Mrs. Habersham states that she is able to maintain her missionary giving through an agent.

Mail that was carried by Flag-of-Truce had to be put in an unsealed envelope with address and postage for delivery on the other side, then placed in an outer cover for delivery to the exchange point where the outer envelope would be destroyed and the inner envelope containing the prisoner's letter was inspected. The letter would then be placed in and sealed in the stamped addressed envelope and hand-stamped indicating that the item had been inspected.<sup>318</sup>

The letter following indicates the process Miss Habersham had to follow when writing to the Foreign Missions Committee in New York.

Mrs. William Coleman  
Care of Col. Freeman, Washington, D.C.

Savannah, January 16th, 1862.

Revd Mr. Denison<sup>319</sup>

Dear Sir

I learned through Miss Boone a day or two since, that you have letters for us from our friends in China. As our last letters were written a year ago, you may imagine how anxious we are for tidings. Will you have the kindness to forward any letters, either for the Elliots, or our family, to my sister Mrs. Coleman, whose address I will send in this. Please attend to my request at your earliest convenience, as my sister may succeed in getting a pass to return home. I was a great gratification to us to hear that our friends we well up to the 4<sup>th</sup> Oct. As I have not the satisfaction of knowing that any of my letters reach China, I will

318 See "Postage Stamps and Postal History of the Confederate States," online 1 January 1013 at — [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Postage\\_stamps\\_and\\_postal\\_history\\_of\\_the\\_Confederate\\_States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Postage_stamps_and_postal_history_of_the_Confederate_States)

319 Rev. Samuel Denison was Secretary of the Foreign Committee of the Episcopal Board of Missions in New York.

enclose in this for Mrs. Boone, one sheet of note paper which I hope will be allowed to pass, as it has not a word that could be objected to. If however it does not reach you, will you let Mrs. Boone know that her friends are all well and tell her not to think of us as unhappy or suffering. We fear that that she needs more sympathy than we do. Is it true that Miss G. is on her way home and where is Miss I? We are much concerned to hear the fate of Mr. Parker. Has young Menfrille the Africa returned to his own Country? I will send our Missionary funds through our appointed agent.

Very respectfully yours,

Isabel C. Habersham<sup>320</sup>

The Civil War inevitably affected the Virginia Theological Seminary, located in Alexandria, Virginia and occupied by the United States Army on the outbreak of war.

In the month of May, 1861, the officers and students of the Theological Seminary were interrupted in their duties by the national calamities which fell upon them. The students dispersed to their homes, North and South; the Rev. Dr. May went to his relations in Philadelphia; the Rev. Dr. Packard to his, in Fauquier County, Virginia; and the Rev. Dr. Sparrow to Staunton, Augusta County. In Staunton, with the sanction of the Board of Trustees, was made the temporary location of the Seminary; some students assembled for instruction, and for five months Dr. Sparrow and Dr. Packard taught them in conjunction. This was during the months of December, 1861, and This was during the months of December, 1861, and January, February, March, and April, 1862. After that, the former returned to his family, in Fauquier, and the latter retired, to avoid the dangers and excitements of war, to Halifax County, and there taught for five months. After that he returned to Staunton again, and there remained with the students which conscription left him, to the close of the war.<sup>321</sup>

In the closing hours of the Seminary, Sparrow wrote to Syle indicating that the outbreak of war would have wide impacts on friends and families, not least Sparrow's daughter, Susan Smith, with the Episcopal mission in China.

Tuesday May 14, 1861.

Rev. and Dear Brother :

I am all alone in my house, having sent off my family to Staunton ten days ago. I go to our Convention to-morrow, in Richmond, and return on Monday, to take charge of the premises, as I have been doing since the Seminary was prematurely closed.

I had a letter last night from Susan. It seems that unless help is sent to them immediately, they will have to come home. The thought seems almost death to her and her husband. To be driven home for want of a bare support, just when ready to be useful, is dreadful to them. Cannot something be done? ... S. says that the first announcement that they would soon have to leave was a most astounding and stunning blow to her and D. But they soon felt more calm, and were able to leave the matter at the Divine disposal, determined to trust though He should slay them; for next to slaying would a return be before they had gathered in any harvest,

I have no heart to speak about things here. I feel really broken-hearted. Is there on record the case of a nation holding to its lips a cup so full of blessing, and so wantonly and wickedly dashing it to the ground ? My own individual trials in this matter are most peculiar and painful ; but oh, my country, it is for thee I feel! Let me hear from you at your leisure, and believe me ever your friend and brother, W. Sparrow.<sup>322</sup>

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320 Mrs. Isabel C. Habersham, Savannah Ga, 16 January 1862. Letter in papers of Samuel d. Denison, Southern Historical Collection, the Louis Round Wilson Collections Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

321 Walker, Rev. Cornelius, *The Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Sparrow, D.D., Late Professor of Systematic Divinity and Evidences, in the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia, (Philadelphia, James Hammond, 1876)*, pp 243-246 & p. 255.

322 *Ibid* pp 243-244.

## 2.19 FAMILY & GENDER ISSUES.

The gender vision of the Episcopal mission was buried in 19th century Anglo-American social values that reflected a hierarchical social order in which males were viewed as the superior gender.<sup>323</sup> Gagan describes the churches and their missionary agencies quite accurately as “patriarchal religious institution(s),”<sup>324</sup> Male missionaries, ordained and lay, invariably took precedence over women. Married women always preceded single women, who, however educated and skilled as missionaries, were usually placed last in the Episcopal missionary lists.

Missionary women, and especially those single women who could live relatively unencumbered by the constraints of patriarchal families, were able to create a relatively women-identified space in which to live and work. The choices single white women missionaries made in their evangelical callings maintained traditional ideologies about women’s place at the same time that their experiences in the field and their interactions with each other and indigenous cultures threw those very ideologies into question.<sup>325</sup>

Most Protestant churches allowed only men to be ordained and conduct the ceremonies of the church. Only men could preach in public worship. The views of a woman advocate of female missionary work demonstrates the enduring double standard applying to women missionaries, even among themselves.

I am not an advocate for women in Christian lands addressing large mixed audiences, especially in the presence of clergy and others well qualified to speak. I can see no distinct warrant for this in Scripture, and a great deal ... contrary to it.

The egalitarian values that inspired objections to slavery also produced strong objections to gender inequality and is clear in the writings of single women missionaries such as Caroline Tenney-Keith and Lydia Mary Fay of the American Episcopal Mission. Caroline Tenney wrote of her life in Carolina outlining both gender issues and her feelings about slavery.

When in Carolina, I had, by various means, good access to books; but not so here... Month after month to see no one, to go nowhere, to have no books, to be deprived of church (for I have heard but four sermons since I came)—do you not think I shall relish a visit to the North? There is but one family here that I have visited, and they have been here once. I never ride out, and the walks are not safe. More and more thankful am I that I was born in the North. Women here are completely fettered by the power of custom and by the opinion of "the world." Unable to move without a "protector," and not always having one at command. Protector! I always blush to use the word; it makes me feel the yoke that woman bears. If, at the North, men have less "gallantry," they have, I hope, more genuine respect for the character of woman as an intellectual being, formed not merely to please, but to have an independent existence; and if woman has less "grace" and "sweetness," she certainly has more character and energy... Woman cannot act, breathe so freely here as in the North." And the curse of slavery! ... You are told the South wish to abolish slavery; but bring the question home, you see they shrink from really dispensing with their menials, though they do dread the future and its consequences.<sup>326</sup>

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323 “The Rights of Women,” *Chinese Recorder*, Vol XXI, February 1890, p. 92.

324 Gagan, Rosemary R., *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient*, (Montreal/Kingston, McGill/Queen’s University Press, 1992), p. 205.

325 Lee, 1996, op cit, p. 622.

326 Caroline Tenney to Miss Plumer, 23 April 1844. Tenney, [Rev] William C., *Memoir of Mrs. Caroline P. Keith*, (New York, D. Appleton & Co, 1864).. pp 20-21.

Women's roles were, if married, domestic management, domestic training and education of girls and uneducated Chinese women who were:

Essential to the formation of the "Christian homes" that they viewed as the foundation of Christian communities and nations.<sup>327</sup>

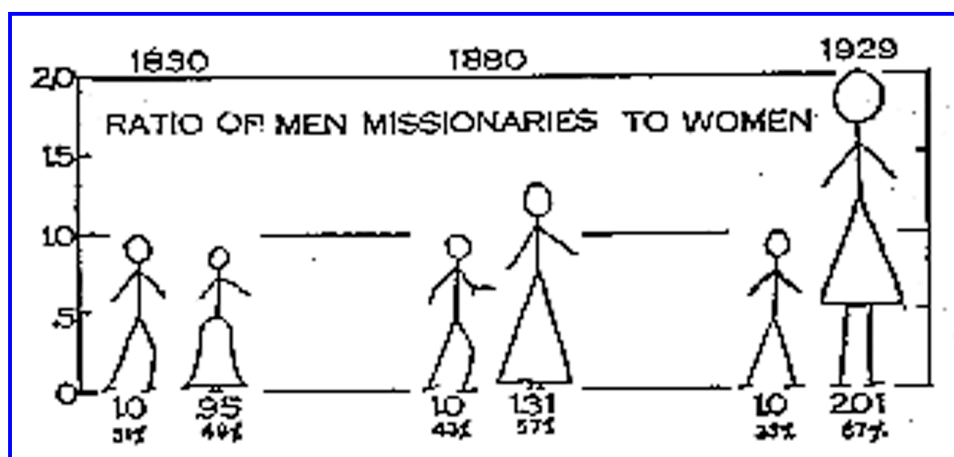
The principal role for single women was, put bluntly, to find a suitable husband but in the meantime teaching girls and women provided a respectable occupation.<sup>328</sup> Under Bishop Boone the Episcopal mission in Shanghai gave single women a prominent place in teaching boys chiefly because very few men offered for missionary teaching positions.<sup>329</sup>

A history of American Baptist women missionaries reported the changing scene during the 19th century.

In all the English-speaking world the only woman whom the law recognized as a person was the unmarried woman. The married woman, in the eyes of the law, ceased to exist the moment her vows were said. She could neither sue nor be sued, could hold no property, could not testify in a court of law, had no legal right to the money she might earn, nor to the control of her own children, the legal guardianship being vested solely in the father. The remark attributed to a fond lover, "We shall be one, darling, and I will be that one," accurately and succinctly states the common-law doctrine of woman's rights.<sup>330</sup>

Gender bias is ironic when seen against the reality of missionary work. From the outset of Protestant foreign missions the number of single women balanced men and soon outnumbered them between 1830 and 1929 as shown in Table 7.

**Table 10. United States, Gender Balance in Protestant Missions, 1830-1929**



Lennox 1933

327 Shemo, Connie, "Directions on Scholarship on American Women and Protestant Foreign Mission: Debates over 'Cultural Imperialism,'" pp 270-283 in *History Compass*, Vol 10 No 3, 2012, p. 27.  
 328 Prevost, Elizabeth, Assessing Women, Gender, and Empire in Britain's Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Movement," pp 765-799 in *History Compass*, Vol 7 No 3, 2009.  
 329 Welch, Ian, "Lydia Mary Fay and the Episcopal Church Mission in China," pp 33-37 in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol 36 No 1, January 2012.  
 330 Montgomery 1910, op cit, p 5.

An issue affecting the gender issue in 19<sup>th</sup> century foreign missions was an unjustified fear of assaults on unmarried foreign women. This can be illustrated by the Rev. Josiah Cox, an English Methodist missionary, when discussing the employment of single women missionaries.

We do not think it desirable that your agents should be compelled to live with a missionary family. At present, however, that must be the arrangement.<sup>331</sup>

The Australian missionary nurse, Amy Oxley, made short work of this kind of comment with its implication that missionary women were at risk of a “fate worse than death” at the hands of the Chinese.

Last week two [foreign] community gentlemen came in to call. They were sailing about and seeing our house came in. One said to me: ‘Don’t you feel very lonely here?’ ‘No.’ ‘Are you not afraid to travel about by yourself?’ And when I told him that the coolies as a rule were most kind and thoughtful and never said a bad word to me he was surprised and said, ‘Well, they are much better than our own English people, because it would not be safe for you to travel alone with them.’<sup>332</sup>

The enduring patriarchal nature of missions was repeated in an American study “re-thinking” a century of foreign missionary efforts.

Even a superficial observation, however, reveals the fact that breakdowns from emotional crises, the development of neurasthenic states and even more serious disturbances are by no means infrequent.

Some of the causes which lead to those conditions are obvious. The abnormality of the missionary's life in a foreign land is accentuated, in the case of the unmarried woman, by the lack of family ties and domestic responsibilities on the one hand, and of the social and recreational outlets of the professional woman in America on the other. There is little to shift the focus of her attention from routine mission work, and the consequence is a tendency to become mission-centric in a dangerous degree.<sup>333</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-American world, the conventional standard was that men worked outside the home while women, preferably married, managed the domestic environment. In brief, men were “breadwinners” while women were engaged in “home duties.” In some, but not all, Protestant missions, wives were included as missionaries in their own right—in most they were appendages of the males and few remained in the field following the death of their husbands, although Eliza Bridgman (Parts 7 and 9 discuss her work) was a notable exception.

Although sexuality is not openly discussed in missionary archives, birth-rates in missionary families show that the ‘facts of life’ were normal. Curtis-Wendlandt remarks that:

Popular Protestant advice literature for husbands and wives in late nineteenth-century Germany defined sexuality as an exclusive aspect of the companionate marriage between two spouses. Sexuality was generally not presented as the dominant marker of successful marital relationships; rather, emphasis was

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331 Findlay, G C, and W H Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, Vol IV, London, Epworth Press, 1921), p 35.

332 Amy Oxley to Isabel Hope, & May 1898. *Amy Oxley, Letters from China*, online at — [http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/welch\\_oxley.pdf](http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/welch_oxley.pdf)  
China was an extraordinarily safe place for travellers during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The same comments are made in Marshall, Elsie, ‘*For His Sake*’, *A Record of a Life consecrated to God and devoted to China*, (London, The Religious Tract Society, (c 1903), p 129. See also *The Chinese Recorder*, January 1896, p 10, cited in Chin, Carole C, (2003), ‘Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,’ pp 327-354 in *Diplomatic History*, Vol 27 Issue 3, June 2003, p 347.

333 Hocking, op cit, pp 299-300.

placed on the “companionship” between husband and wife.<sup>334</sup>

The Encyclopedia of New Zealand states that 19th century NZ married women had an average of nine births and other English-speaking countries were similar—the US figure was 7-8 children.<sup>335</sup> The mortality rate of children in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was high by today’s standards—between 200 deaths (1800) and 100 deaths (1900) per thousand live births compared to around 5 deaths today.<sup>336</sup> One report on missionary families stated that in Africa the death rate of missionary children was c32 in every 1,000 births.<sup>337</sup> The death rate of missionary children in China and Japan in the 20C is shown in the next table. There is no comparative table known to the author for the 19th century.<sup>338</sup> It should be noted that the death rate of older children is significantly higher than that of new-borns. Statistics on child mortality do not include still-born children. It is not unreasonable to assume that mortality rates in the 19th century would have been somewhat higher.

**Table 11. Mortality of Missionary Children in China and Japan.**

MISSIONARIES IN CHINA AND JAPAN							
Table 19 MORTALITY OF MISSIONARY CHILDREN IN CHINA AND IN JAPAN							
COUNTRY	Number of Living Births	Number of Deaths			Number of Deaths Per 1,000 Living Births		
		Total	0-5 Years	0-1 Years	Total	0-5 Years	0-1 Years
China.....	3,254	451	366	196	139	112	60
Japan.....	377	34	28	20	95	74	53

The documents in this collection point to a high rate of ill-health and early deaths among missionary wives. The China Inland Mission stated:

Owing to the great mortality rate which has been found to prevail among ladies who arrive in China newly married, or who marry on arrival, unmarried candidates of either sex, whether engaged or otherwise, will be expected to defer marriage until the completion of the second year from the date of arrival of the one who last reached China...<sup>339</sup>

The indirect message of this long-standing rule of the CIM seems to have two strands. The first

334 See discussion of the personal lives of Carl and Frieda Strehlow, German missionaries to the Aboriginal people in Central Australia at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Curtis-Wendlandt, Lisa, *Missionary Wives and the Sexual Narratives of German Lutheran Missions among Australian Aborigines*, pp 498-519 in *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol 20 No 3, September 2011, p. 500.

335 See online 1 July 2013 at — <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/contraception-and-sterilisation/page-1> and for US, <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/haines.demography>

336 Online access to Census reports from Great Britain, the United States, Australia, and many other countries show the high level of infant deaths.

337 Lennox, William Gordon. *The Health of Missionary Families in China: a statistical study*. (Denver: Dept. of Economics, University of Denver, c1920), p. 24.

338 Lennox 1920, op cit, p. 25.

339 Cited in Austin, Alvyn, *China’s Missions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905*, (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2007), p. 198.



is that health was a major issue and the second that the missionaries needed close personal relationships including sexual relations. Austin went on to report that the CIM kept the men and women's residences well apart and engaged couples had to be chaperoned and travel separately.<sup>340</sup>

Letters to his family by Frank Burden of Adelaide, South Australia, an English expatriate member of the First Australian Party of the China Inland Mission, reveal his deep feelings for the first Australian single woman missionary of the CIM, Mary Reed, who had joined the mission in England where her wealthy Tasmanian merchant family were residing for a time. Burden openly declared his love for Mary.<sup>341</sup> In a letter to his sister Kitty, Burden wrote:

But there is one thing which interests me, which you may like to know about, that is:—well, I hardly know how to commence to tell you. It's like this, there are two parties concerned in the matter viz. Self and (don't be shocked when I tell you it is one of the fairer sex) none other than Mary Reed. To make a long story short, we have both come to the conclusion that that we have a deep love for one another. Whatever she can see in me to love, I don't know, but that is just how the matter stands. One can but love her when they see the spirit of Christ which is exhibited in her. She lives very near The Lord and I feel that the time I have spent in her company has been a great blessing to me. It was while at Shanghai lately that I was led to open my heart to her, and that not till I had had much prayer and waiting on The Lord about it. I have not time now to go into details and tell you all about it now but I can tell you this, I feel quite sure that the Lord has guided me and her, and although the future is unknown to me, yet I can safely trust it all in the hands of our loving Father, who knows the end from the beginning, and who does all things well. Miss R. (rr Mary I call her) has written to her mother and told her the state of affairs, and asked her advice. There is only one drawback that I can see, that is, she has plenty of money and I have none.

Some people will be sure to think it is the money I love and not her but God forbid that should be the case. I feel selfish enough sometimes to wish that she had no money. But our Father is rich "the gold and silver his."<sup>342</sup>

Mary Reed left China on health grounds after telling Frank Burden she would not marry him

because her parents disapproved of a man who had arrived in Australia with a shadow over his reputation.<sup>343</sup> Mary Reed returned to Tasmania where she later married Hudson Fysh, a member of another distinguished Tasmanian family. Fysh found Mary's religious views overpowering and the couple parted.<sup>344</sup> **Burden later married Joanne Webster**, a Scottish missionary of the CIM. In accordance with CIM policy and their own preference, both are wearing Chinese dress in their wedding photograph, although that was not always the practice in the CIM.<sup>345</sup>



340 Ibid.

341 Frank Burden to Mary Reed, from Anking, 3 May 1891. Burden Family Archives with permission of Mr. Frank Burden, grandson. Burden had met Miss Reed just six weeks earlier.

342 Frank Burden to Kitty Burden, 4 May 1891. Burden reveals that he is well aware of Mary Reed's family wealth and conscious that he might be seen as chasing her wealth.

343 "In reference to what I told Kitty last week about Mary Reed, I wish I had not mentioned it now, as I cannot entertain the thought of anything in that line just now so am going to try and forget all about it, although of course I cannot kill the love. She has started for Tasmania. I trust you have not breathed a word to anyone." Frank Burden to Mary Burden, 14 May 1891.

344 A member of another wealthy Tasmanian family Fysh later became a founder of Qantas Airways.

345 Frank Burden Collection (Ian Welch). Used by permission of Frank Burden, grandson.

Missionary letters give regular hints of the interdependence of married couples that no doubt deepened the shared life for some while straining relationships, sometimes permanently, between others. Mission histories do not discuss marital breakdowns.

After describing her work as a teacher and translator of western books for classroom use, Caroline Tenney of the American Episcopal Mission wrote:

I ought to have mentioned the great assistance I obtained from Mr. Keith in the preparation of the manuscripts of my translations for the printer, and in the correction of “proofs,” and in the business of buying the paper, and of having the books bound. He greatly expedites all my plans in these things, and encourages me in my undertakings.<sup>346</sup>

James Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission, had three wives with his youthful enthusiasm for his first wife, Maria Dyer, encouraging her guardian, Miss Mary Ann Aldersey, to unsuccessfully prevent the marriage. Footnotes throughout the collection record deaths and remarriages of many missionaries. It is unclear how the health of family members or domestic tensions affected the length of stay of missionaries in China. One Episcopal Church assessment states:

The average length of service of one of our missionaries in China between '35 and '85 was about six and one-half years while since '86 they have only averaged three and one-half years. This is due in the first place to the fact that many of late years have broken down or died shortly after arrival, and in the second place to the large increase in numbers which always pulls down averages.<sup>347</sup>

Eliza Gillett Bridgman wrote:

The health of several persons has been seriously injured, and some have lost it entirely, by too close indoor application, to Chinese during the first or second year of residence in the East, and then too, if a feeling of discouragement takes possession of the mind in the outset, it acts like an incubus—induces sedentary habits, and often the individual disheartened, sinks under the pressure of disease, or returns to his native land.<sup>348</sup>

Readers of 19th century literature are familiar with the romantic literature of the era but might be impressed by Mary Fay's letter to her ‘man of her dreams,’ who, sadly, did not return her affections.

To commence as the Book Makers say, “I had a dream.” A strange sweet dream of beauty and repose. I thought my guardian angel was near me, Oh! How near. I was folded in his arms, pressed close to his pure heart, and in the silent rapture of that moment I felt that earth had no more to give of happiness, except its continuance; and yet it continued long for a dream. I slept, and waked locked in the same sweet embrace, the strong and good was still watching over me, and all earth's evils seemed prevailed against one thus protected. It was morning, I fancied a gentle kiss upon my cheek, a quiet step as if someone leaving the room. I awoke and found myself alone. The commenced the “common places of life”, the “waking realities” and morning toilette. The noise of servants. Breakfast. The salutations of friends. The Drawing room, in which was assembled a little world in miniature. The grave and gay, the young and old, the clear glad voices of children mingled with the wisdom of years and the frivolity of youth. All seemed engaged in some object. All seemed intend to promote their own, or others happiness. I saw again the form of my dreams. He spoke not to me, he appeared not to see me, though my heart listened to every tone of his voice as he said indifferent things to those around him. I tried to forget the impressions of the

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346 See letter in Part 17, under date of 1861, February 19.

347 Gray, Arthur R and Arthur M Sherman, *The Story of the Church in China*, (New York, The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, 1913). pp.41-42.

348 Bridgman 1853, op cit, pp 34-35.

night. I joined in conversation, spoke of things in which I had no interest, and appeared listening to answers which I did not hear for amid all those voices there was but one I cared to hear. At length, business, pleasure, the beauty of the Morning ... induced one after another to leave the room. Mechanically I followed, and glad to escape from those in whom I had no interest shut myself up in my chamber. I threw myself in a chair, took up a book, cast it aside, covered my face with my hands and wept. I fancied the angel of my dreams was again near me, but my heart was oppressed with thoughts of parting. I kneeled by his side. I bowed my aching head heavily upon his breast and prayed for strength to live in loneliness and continued absence from all that could make life bright and beautiful and desirable. He raises me from my knees, one long kiss and passionate embrace was returned with all a woman's deep idolatry. I was again alone, and shall never forget the moment of intense misery, of thought, of prayer that followed. The sun shone mockingly in at my window.<sup>349</sup>

Negativity was prominent in the public arguments of some prominent 19th century populist evangelicals. “**WOWSER**” is an Australian expression for people who insist that everyone should follow their moral values.<sup>350</sup> The Anglo-Australian Baptist evangelist **Henry Varley**, who preached to large audiences in the United States, was representative of the Protestant “wowser” label. Catholics, on the whole, had a different view.<sup>351</sup> It is claimed that nearly half a million men heard Varley declare that sexual excess produced “pale, wizened, angular and premature” ageing. He urged men not to engage their wives sexually after the age of fifty years.<sup>352</sup>



19th century evangelical and other Christians were leaders in the movement to limit and if possible prohibit, the sale of alcohol. **Mrs. Carrie Nation**, the “original Bar Room Smasher.” was an American example of the temperance “wowsers”<sup>353</sup> who gave the world the two extremes of the anti-liquor lobbyists. The first was the disaster of Prohibition in the United States and the second, far more influential in Australia, was the concept of “local option” where residents could vote to prohibit liquor establishments in specific geographic areas.

The entire edifice of missionary ‘feminism’ – the employment opportunities, the valorization of (British) women’s skills and virtues, the institutional and social space for self-assertion, collective action, and aggressive challenging of male prerogatives – rested on the existence of a degraded female Other in the colonies and at home. The missionary rationale for women’s escape from the separate sphere, in other words, actively depended on the subordination of their heathen sisters.<sup>354</sup>

349 Fay, Lydia Mary to Rev. C. B. Dana, 22 November 1849. (Original held at University of Texas at Austin, American Studies).

350 Operating public transport on Sunday was a major theme of the ‘wowser’ interest. See Adelaide Advertiser, 20 September 1905, for a report of a meeting in Melbourne to stop the running of trains on Sunday mornings. online 1 July 2013 at — <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/4962566>

351 *The Catholic Record*, 1 September 1923, London, Ontario. Online 1 July 2013 at — <http://biblelight.net/c-record.htm>

352 Varley Henry, “Lecture to men only: on a vitally important subject containing invaluable information,” See American version notes at Entry 3640 in Hoolihan Christopher, *An Annotated Catalogue of the Edward W. Atwater Collection of American Popular Medicine and Health Reform*, (Rochester NY, University of Rochester Press, 2004). [Copy held by Ian Welch]

353 See online at 1 July 2013 at — [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carrie\\_Nation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carrie_Nation)

354 Susan Thorne cited in Prevost op cit, p. 722.

The concept of “cultural imperialism” has been coined in an attempt to tie missions and missionaries to imperialism through their work in education, health, and social welfare. It is an understandable attempt to re-present the history and theological foundations of Christianity in Asia in “primarily anti-colonial/anti-imperialist/anti-West.”<sup>355</sup> Although the “cultural imperialism” theory is now questioned, there are gender issues involved in discussing the values imparted by European and American female missionaries to the indigenous women whom they sought to convert. As part of the wider dimension of cultural imperialism there is a view that any efforts by foreign missionaries to intervene in local cultures is by its nature an imperialist act. This begs the question of whether there can be a valid distinction between universal human, and specifically, female rights.<sup>356</sup>

A brief mention must be made of efforts, chiefly by British Anglicans, to establish specialist missions to women. In the Anglican context, the first was the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East.<sup>357</sup> It was predominantly involved in India, where it began, but extended its work to China where it operated a girls’ school in Fuzhou that later merged with the work of the Church Missionary Society. The second society was the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. There was no equivalent in the Episcopal missionary structure although Bishop Boone was a strong supporter of single women missionaries in teaching roles. Other American Protestant denominations established distinct branches of their missions to work with women.<sup>358</sup>

Housekeeping was far more complex for foreigners in 19<sup>th</sup> century China than it is today when globalization provides ample excess to foreign goods. Topsy Saunders from Melbourne gave this insight into the challenges for missionaries in isolated inland locations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century

Oatmeal you can get, but don’t want; at least I don’t. Do you know this, that China is a funny place, and the things that it has are far better than the imported things. Now every morning, instead of porridge, we have a great plateful of plain boiled rice, with buffalo milk and sugar, and it is just tipping! I could not possibly do without my rice in the morning now! It is not a quarter as heating as porridge, and it tastes much nicer. Now, the wheaten meals touches a point on which I feel deeply. You can get heaps of wheat here as cheap as anything. On the other hand, if you buy flour in Fuzhou it is very expensive — first, its own cost, and then the cost of carting it up, and it is such heavy stuff. But Mr. Bannister is a wonderful man; I do admire him very much. He got a grinding machine out from England, and bought his wheat for next to nothing, and made one of the men grind it up. So there he has his own little mill on the place; and I propose to adopt the same plan when we are settled at Ning Taik.<sup>359</sup>

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355 Wong, Angela Wai Ching, “The Economy of God-talk in Asia: A Cultural Materialist Cringe,” pp 91-108 in Kim, Heup Young and Fumiaka Matsuoka, Anri Morimoto, *Asian and Oceanic Christianities in Conversation: Exploring Theological Identities at Home and in Diaspora*, (Amsterdam, New York, Rodopi, 2011)

356 Cudd, Ann E., “Missionary Positions,” pp 164-182 in *Hyatia*, Vol 20 No 4, Autumn 2005.

357 See summary online at —  
[http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/church\\_missionary\\_society\\_archive\\_general/related%20organisations.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/church_missionary_society_archive_general/related%20organisations.aspx)

358 Montgomery, Helen B., *Western Women in Eastern Lands*, (New York, Macmillan, 1910).

359 Topsy Saunders, April or May 1894, Berry, Digby Marsh. (1895), *The sister martyrs of Ku Cheng Memoir and letters of Eleanor and Elizabeth Saunders*, London, James Nisbet & Co, p 96.

## 2.20 EVANGELISM, EDUCATION & CURRICULUM.

Education and curriculum have been key aspects of Christian evangelism for centuries. The place of schools and colleges in forming ethical values is so deep in Western culture that is taken for granted. Evangelism and education share:

The deliberate attempt of a person or organization, through communication, to bring about the conversion of another person or a group of persons, where conversion is understood to involve a change of a person's belief, behavior, identity, and belonging.<sup>360</sup>

Most American and Anglican missionaries in mid-19th century China had post-secondary school educational qualifications. As the century wore on university-level education became increasingly rare among CMS missionaries and American conservative evangelicals. University training was progressively replaced by specialist theological and Bible colleges. By the time of the great expansion following the Second Opium War (1860) and the explosion of the mid 1880s onwards, the majority of "British"<sup>361</sup> missionaries, other than those of the CMS and the SPG, had not completed secondary schooling and American missionary preparation was increasingly outside liberal arts colleges or university-based theological seminaries.<sup>362</sup> One of the consequences of this, in Roberts assessment, was that the educational standards of American missionaries declined.

Instead of obtaining liberal-arts-college degrees and seminary training, evangelists and faith missionaries enrolled in course of practical training that isolated them from dominant religious culture.<sup>363</sup>

These were people who would have been puzzled by the Most Rev. Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury, when he spoke of the "history of Christian doctrine as a history of discarded solutions."<sup>364</sup> A key aspect in understanding Protestant missions in China is to appreciate how conventional 18<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-American Protestantism transformed itself throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

University/College level qualifications were a permanent element in the recruitment of people for the American Church Mission in China and this arrangement contributed to the eventual rise of St. John's Episcopal University in Shanghai. Bishop Boone was a graduate in law, theology and medicine; the Rev. Henry Lockwood was a graduate in theology and medicine; as was the Rev. Dr.

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360 Thiessen, Elmer, *The Ethics of Evangelism: A Philosophical Defense of Ethical Proselytizing and Persuasion*, (Downers Grove Ill, IVP Academic, 2011) cited in *Sacred Tribes Journal*, Vol 8 No 1, Fall 2013, Issue on "The Ethics of Evangelism: When in Proselytism Predatory."

361 American readers need to keep in mind that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century "British" identity included English, Irish, Scottish, Australian, Canadian, New Zealand and other people from the British colonies of settlement.

362 Bickers, Robert, *Britain in China: Community Culture and Colonialism, 1900-1949*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999), p 68 and Ch 3.

363 Robert, op cit, p 45.

364 Williams, Rowan, Archbishop of Canterbury, Address to the First International Consultation for Anglican Communion Theological College Principals and Deans, 13 May 2011. Online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/2058/teac-consultation-of-anglican-theological-college-principals>

Peter Parker of the Presbyterian Mission.<sup>365</sup> Other missionaries, admittedly a small number, had similar skills but multi-skilling declined over the later years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as more conservative and fundamentalist models of missionary and bible colleges became the predominant source of missionary pre-service education.

Possession of a college/university education cannot be said to overcome cultural differences. Indeed, all forms of higher Western education may have hardened differences as reflected in this observation:

In our intercourse with the East, we have lost sight of this psychological fact; we have ignored the existence of any mental stamp but one—that which is impressed with the European practical stamp. I have not the slightest hesitation in stating it as my opinion, that the comparative failure of our missionary enterprises in China, is to be attributed to the inadequate machinery employed, and the use of means unsuited to the habits of the people we propose to convert. ... No person requires evidence of the utter failure of our Chinese Missions, indeed the wonder would be if it were otherwise. Our missionaries are amiable, pious men, of irreproachable character but in general peculiarly unfitted for the sphere in which they are placed. They are, for the greater part, young men fresh from the Universities, who enter on a foreign mission with no more preparation than they would on a curacy. Like the Romans of old, we regard every place beyond the Pillars of Hercules [i.e., Straits of Gibraltar], as sunk in all but hopeless ignorance, and we generously send out a young clergyman to enlighten their minds; but when this clergyman arrives at the scene of his future labors, he discovers, if the scene should be laid in China, that he has been thrown among a people shrewd, sharp and observant; with a civilization dating back to days when... Britain was a howling wilderness.<sup>366</sup>

The archives cited in this report are a reminder that the culture in which missionaries are embedded is just as significant for modern foreign observers of China today as it was in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The debate surrounding the employment of the Rev. William Banister in the Huashan “Commission of Enquiry” and the daily reliance of American officials upon local Chinese highlights the weakness of foreign language skills.<sup>367</sup>

Missionaries retained the services of a Chinese teacher for years and evidence of this recurs constantly in the archives. A basic capacity in a local dialect did not mean that missionaries were able to fully communicate their religious message or to measure the sincerity of those who sought baptism. A CMS missionary, the Rev. Henry Reeve, wrote:

I have commenced reading Chinese literature, having acquired enough of the [local dialect] to converse with those around us, and I hope daily to increase my stock by constant association. But every day makes it increasingly manifest how much remains to be done before this language is mastered.<sup>368</sup>

Protestant missionaries shared Reeve’s experience when commenting on Chinese attendance at church services and identical observations were made by the American Episcopal missionaries in Shanghai about Chinese behaviour in Christ Church, the Episcopal mission chapel in the Chinese city.

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365 Gulick, Edward V., *Peter Parker and the Opening of China*, (Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1973).

366 Cited in *The Church Journal*, 5 August 1857.

367 Welch, Ian, *The Flower Mountain Murders: A Missionary Case data-base*, online 1 July 2013, at — <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/7273>

368 Reeve, Rev. Henry, c 12 February 1853, *CMS Missionary Register*, February 1855, p. 92.

It was, to judge after the manner of men, somewhat discouraging. Persons were coming and going throughout the service, but some listened quietly and attentively, and gladly received books.<sup>369</sup>

The uncertainty underlying evangelism was (and remains) how Christianity might be effectively transmitted to people with different cultural and religious backgrounds. For many 19th century Protestant missionaries one response, whose effect has never been examined objectively, involved adopting a lifestyle they thought related most to the lives of the local people.

Those of us who belong to the China Inland Mission wear the same clothes, eat the same food and live in the same kind of houses as the Chinese.<sup>370</sup>

But that was often superficial at best. Eating Chinese food was not always a happy experience for foreigners. Topsy Saunders wrote:

The best way to eat, when you have something nasty, is to count “thirteen times on, etc, etc, and you get so interested that you forget the taste of the stuff you are eating.” The recipe for eating slugs is to put the slug into your mouth and say ‘Amen.’<sup>371</sup>

**Table 12. China—Protestant Missionary and Conversion Statistics**

Protestant Missionaries	Population of China	Baptized Protestants	Protestants per Chinese
1807: 1	1812: 362 million	1800: 0	1850: 1 in 1 million
1840: 20	1851: 380 million	1834: 10	1900: 1 in 2,000
1858: 81	1949: 450 million	1853: 350	1926: 1 in 1,000
1865: 189	1980: 900 million	1869: 5,753	1952: 1 in 1,000
1874: 436	1990: 1.1 billion	1876: 13,035	1996: 1 in 36 ??
1893: 1,324	1996: 1.2 billion	1898: 80,000	
1906: 3,833		1911: 207,747	
1918: 6,395		1934: 500,000	
1926: 8,325		1980: 2 million	
1928: 4,375		1996: 33 million (??)	
1930: 6,346		(government estimate: 19 million)	
1951: 0			
Roman Catholics			
1800: -250,000 (compared to 0 Protestants)			
1900: (about) 1 million			
1950: -3 million-or five times the number of Protestants			
1996: -18 million-or about half the number of Protestants (government estimate: 6 million)			
Total Christians (Protestants & Catholics) in China's population today			
4.3 percent or 1 in 23.			
From Editorial, <i>Christian History</i> , Fall 1996, Issue 52, Vol. XV, No. 4, Page 41			

369 Reeve, Rev. Henry, c 14-21 May 1853, *CMS Missionary Register*, February 1855, p. 93. Also cited in *The Church Journal*, 5 August 1857.

370 Frank Burden, to Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour, Flinders St Baptist Church, Adelaide, 8 April, 1895. Letter Book 5, Letter 40, with permission of his grandson. (Collection, Ian Welch).

371 Topsy Saunders, *Berry* (London Edition), p 32.

Dress and food are minor issues when it comes to adaptation **and** evangelism. Most of the 19th century Protestant missionary societies in China from the 1840s to the late 1880s saw personal evangelism as their primary task. Schools were utilitarian tools intended to produce a core of educated men who could become clergymen, teachers and catechists.<sup>372</sup>

There were fundamental differences of opinion among missionaries about the evangelistic utility of schools and higher education, and to some extent social welfare activities including medical services.<sup>373</sup> Archdeacon Wolfe made his position in this debate very clear while still making an argument for primary schools.

I have received your two letters . . . Schools in the Fukien Mission. I fully and entirely agree with what you say as to the danger of relying on the Schools and Education rather than on the divine method of preaching the Gospel to Adults, and I beg to assure you that as far as I am concerned there is no danger that the Fukien Mission is to be transferred from Class A to Class B. I hate the system that you hint at as much as you do and I have even, and very recently too, raised my voice against it. But I do not at all consider that which I have ever aimed at in this Mission and am still striving after comes under your condemnation or my own. What I want to be accomplished here is that all our Christian children at as early an age as possible, shall be able to read the simple style in which our Scriptures are written and be able to repeat the responses in church and enter in intelligently into our beautiful and Scriptural church services. This is all I want for our boys and girls generally. Capable of producing these results, they are also important contributory agencies for evangelistic work which I for one would not like to see abandoned... Hitherto, as far as my experience goes they have failed even in this for everyone that has been thus educated have not only not become Christians, but have become the greatest enemies of Christianity, and many who were Christians when they entered those schools and colleges have turned out if not absolutely unbelievers, certainly not Christians.<sup>374</sup>

The Rev. Edward Syle, of the Episcopal Mission in Shanghai, was initially very doubtful about the benefits of missionary schools but quite quickly changed his mind.

I might here say much of the importance and success of our school, and my testimony would be entitled to some confidence, because on my arrival here, and for some time afterwards, I was far from being an enthusiast on this subject; **I had many doubts as to whether this instrumentality were not rather merely educational rather than strictly Missionary.** But I am now quite convinced that, for China (without making the question a more general one) it is, under present circumstances, one of the very best ways of reaching and conciliating the people, of doing a great amount of unquestionable good to the scholars themselves, of conveying a correct impression of our object and principles, (an end very hard to be accomplished)—in short, of letting our light shine so that others may see, and be guided to the right way, now in the hour of our dumbness, when we are as yet unable to speak to the people plainly and fully of the goodness of the Lord, and his purposes of mercy to them and to their children.<sup>375</sup>

It was inevitable that educating males would raise the question of whom, in a society in which marriage was a social necessity, the educated males would marry. Chinese traditional beliefs were totally unacceptable for potential mission workers so the education of girls in Christian schools became a necessity.

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372 Dan Cui, *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant missionaries and British-American Cooperation to China's National Development during the 1920s*, (Lanham, University Press of America, 1998).

373 See Dana L. Robert, "The Methodist Struggle Over Higher Education in Fuzhou, China, 1877-1883," *Methodist History* 34:3 (1996), pp. 173-189 for discussion of American Methodist Episcopal Mission debate on this issue.

374 Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Rev. Fenn, Secretary, Church Missionary Society, London, 24 December 1895. CMS Archives.

375 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 12 No 6, June 1847, pp 181-187. Part 7. 1846, June, Shanghai. Rev. Edward. W. Syle.



Underlying the efforts of the missions to evangelise was an unrecognized issue of “predatory” or “unethical” evangelism, i.e., using a variety of material enticements to achieve conversions. It is apparent in the many comments on the everyday religion of Chinese by Episcopal missionaries that, in common with other Christians, they held indigenous religious practices and beliefs as mistaken and their own religion as superior. It is not surprising that many Chinese returned the prejudice, regarding the missionary offerings with disinterest. When the Chinese did accept missionary incentives, such as schooling, or medical services, or employment, it was almost always for utilitarian reasons and rarely involved religious commitment. One small example of utilitarianism in the Episcopal mission centred on the giving of “alms” following Communion services. A cluster of poor women developed around Christ Church expecting to receive monetary gifts from the missionaries, and even developed a small “trade” in the tickets issued by the missionaries. Thiessen offers the following appraisal of offering incentives in the hope of achieving conversions:

Evangelism accompanied by material enticement such as money, gifts, or privileges, is unethical. In situations where providing medical care, humanitarian aid, or education is in some way linked with evangelism, the greater the need, the more sensitive the person(s) engaged in social aid/development must be to the danger of exploiting that need, and thus inducing to convert. In situations where physical needs are overwhelming, evangelism should be kept entirely separate from the activity of responding to these physical needs. A further requirement is a high standard of transparency. Persons engaged in social aid/development must make it clear that they are not trading medical or humanitarian aid for conversion. There is no *quid pro quo*. The person being evangelized must therefore be given a clear sense that it is perfectly acceptable for him or her to accept aid, or medical help, and yet refuse any persuasive appeals to convert.<sup>376</sup>

The Chinese experience of non-missionary foreigners, symbolised by the opium trade but apparent in many other aspects of group and individual behaviour, confirmed that “Christians” lacked ethical or moral superiority, a complaint often heard from the missionary cohort. The CMS missionary, the Rev. John Mahood, referred to the foreign merchant community of Shanghai as a “sink of iniquity.”<sup>377</sup> A subtheme in the collection is the emergence of seamen’s missions, or “Bethels,” in the Treaty Ports in which many missionaries became involved as result of the bad behaviour of many seamen.

The Episcopal boys’ schools in Shanghai provided three hours of English language instruction in the morning. In the afternoon Chinese was taught by a Chinese teacher<sup>378</sup> following a traditional Chinese curriculum. The letters of the Rev. Edward Syle illustrate the careful inculcation of Anglican/Episcopal Christianity through texts centred on the Catechism translated by Bishop Boone into classical written Chinese and the local dialect of Shanghai.

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376 Thiessen op cit, p. 235.

377 Mahood, Rev. John, 15 June 1869. CMS Archives.

378 There was a comprehensive examination system in China intended to prepare men for possible employment in government administration. Competition for positions at district, provincial and national levels was fierce. Many men never passed the basic level but continued to sit the examinations while others passed the basic district level without ever securing employment. These men were collectively referred to as “scholar-gentry” or *literati*. Many found employment with missionaries although Chinese law forbade them to convert.

The mission carefully followed the Episcopal Church's Foreign Committee's direction to use schooling as a basis for evangelism. In the lengthy instructions issued to Boone, the Committee declared:

So small the number of Missionaries or teachers than we can send out from this country; and so heavy the expense at which they are to be maintained, that there is an evident and imperative necessity for taking immediate steps for rearing in the shortest space of time a band of Christian teachers for schools; a body of able translators; and above all, an efficient native ministry. The training of children will, therefore, form a very important part of your labors.<sup>379</sup>

By the end of the 19th century colleges along American lines were established with socially (collectively) reconstructionist goals with personal conversions a secondary consideration, if considered at all. The majority of Episcopal missionaries in China were academic educators, teaching secular courses in English and mostly serving very short periods of time before returning to American colleges with an enhanced resume.

Mrs. Cleveland Keith (Caroline Tenney) wrote about her work in education that centred on translating foreign works into Chinese.

During the first half of last year, I finished the translation of the *Child's Book on the Soul*, by Gallaudet, and it is through the press, except a few pages... I have begun the translation of Gallaudet's *Youth's Book of Natural Theology* and hope to finish it by May or June, and to see it in print by autumn. It is intended to follow the book spoken of above, and perhaps will open to the pupils in the schools a new page of thought. I hope it may give stimulus to their minds, and open their eyes to some of the wonders of daily life, that they may learn to adore the Creator and to feel themselves surrounded by his power and goodness. Hitherto there have been few school-books prepared, partly because the Bible required so much of the available time and attention, partly that there was so much else to do, there was little leisure for translating and preparing school-books. Some Geographies and Arithmetics and *Line upon Line* are, so far as I know, all that Ningpo and Shanghai combined, have hitherto done for school-books, beside Catechisms. Now that children are in the schools from six to ten years, their minds need to be enriched more with general knowledge, and to be stimulated to observation and reflection and reasoning. I have in view one or two books when I shall have finished the *Theology*; and I shall aim to translate at least one book a year as long as I live in China, and health and strength sufficient for the labor he granted me. I have been translating some little tales, mostly relating to converted heathen. These I expect to have printed soon, and bound up with the reprint of *Henry and his Bearer*. New plans and new works open before me continually, and new hope and new joy in pressing forward to the accomplishment of these.<sup>380</sup>

Protestant Missions did not operate in an educational vacuum. An article in a Methodist Episcopal publication made a number of observations about Chinese educational patterns:

CHINA is a country of schools and books. It has a copious literature, embracing philosophy, history, poetry, criticism, and commentary. Every village and neighborhood has its school, every town its academy, every county its college, every state its university, and the empire its imperial college at the imperial capital. Free-schools are unknown... The Chinese primary school corresponds to our private or select school. The teacher gathers his own pupils, and derives his support from tuition fees paid by the scholars. The Celestials build no school-houses. The loft of a story and a half house, a room in a common dwelling, an apartment in the village or neighborhood temple, is obtained by the teacher, and the rent, if any, is assessed upon the scholars, included in the term bills. This system, if system it might be called, is very ancient, coming down from immemorial antiquity... In the primary school, the master has about twenty scholars, seated on bamboo stools, at wooden tables, furnished with the Sangche-king [Sanzi

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379 Cited in Gray and Sherman, op cit, pp 37-38.

380 Part 17, under date 1861, February 14.

Jing]<sup>381</sup>, the Three-Character-Classic, a Chinese "hornbook,"<sup>382</sup> containing about a "thousand words, and about half that number of separate characters." The first great object is to learn the characters, by repeating them, line by line, after the teacher, as he pronounces them to the class.<sup>383</sup> Both teacher and scholar use a sing-song tone and a high key. Every one of the twenty scholars studies and recites at the top of his voice. A Chinese school-room is a bawling Babel, and at all hours of the day parents have audible evidence that the children are studying their lessons...The first five or ten years of school life must be given to memorizing the forms and names of characters, without giving much, if any, attention to their meaning and combination in phrases and sentences... Chinese education has far more reference to mental training than to the uses of practical life. It aims chiefly to develop memory and imagination, to make the scholar familiar with the written character, with the sayings and doings of the great and wise of other days in his own nation, and to give him facility for composition in verse and prose.<sup>384</sup>

#### A Chinese Village School.



Frank Burden Collection (Ian Welch).  
Used by permission of Frank Burden, grandson.

Insufficient attention has been given to the actual content of the curriculum in missionary schools and still less to the willing cooperation of Chinese in establishing, building, financing and staffing of mission schools or Chinese institutions following a "Western" curriculum.

381 Sanzi Ling: three Character Classic: A Confucian Roadmap for Kids. Online 1 July 2013 at — <http://www.yellowbridge.com/onlinelit/sanzijing.html>

"The Sanzi Jing, usually translated as the *Three-Character Classic*, has been a required text for all Chinese children and was used in Taiwan at least as late as the 1960s. Kids would recite it as a group, accompanied with the swaying of the body to give it a proper rhythm. It was written in the thirteenth century and usually attributed to Wang Yinglin (1223-1296), a renowned Confucian scholar. The "poem" consists of a series of couplets of three characters. The complete text is less than 1200 characters but in that limited space it manages to enumerate all of the salient features of the Confucian tradition. Children were required to memorize it, much as a Catholic Catechism might be, even before they could read and write. The text is broken down into five paragraphs, as follows:

\* Paragraph 1 states the basic belief in the inherent goodness of mankind, the importance of education, filial piety, and family and social relationships.

\* Paragraph 2 provides a roadmap to the Confucian Classics.

\* Paragraph 3 lists the dynastic history of China. The text was updated multiple times to bring it up to date and suit current sensibilities. This particular version ends with the Qing dynasty.

\* Paragraph 4 lists exemplary Confucian behavior.

\* Paragraph 5 serves as closing statement and exhortation to the student to study hard."

382 See discussion of hornbooks online at — <http://www.bookmakingwithkids.com/?p=716>

383 A learning technique known as "rote learning" in Euro-American schooling. The classic examples were learning ABC etc and the "Times Tables">

384 Wentworth, Rev. E., "American and Chinese Education: What Can American Educators Learn from the "Heathen Chinese," *The Ladies Repository*, Vol 2 Issue 5, November 1875, (Cincinnati, Methodist Episcopal Church).

The Anglican CMS saw schools as a means of evangelism and a proof of the acceptance of Christianity. A report from Fujian Province indicates that at the time of writing (1893) there were 96 day-schools although more than 120 schools operated around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century..

Mr. Lloyd, writing some time ago from the district of Hing-Hwa, gave a striking illustration of this. A request came to him to establish a Christian school in the village; he did so, and through the instrumentality of the schoolmaster, who was a 'very earnest man, with a good influence outside the school,' and interest began at once to spring up; this steadily increased, till in the short space of two years the number of converts had grown to 150. He added that the converts had proved the reality of their faith by subscribing liberally towards the erection of a much needed church, school room and catechist's house, having given ninety dollars in money, and about 1,500 days' labour, and various gifts of tiles, etc. 'It is built,' he writes, 'of red brick, entirely in the Native style of architecture, and as I came in sight of it I could have cried with joy at what God had wrought by His grace in the village. What a joy it was to examine a school in that nice building, knowing as I did, that only two years before the Christians could have been counted on the fingers of one hand, and that, humanly speaking, *but for our little school all would still be in heathen darkness.*'<sup>385</sup>

Lloyd's detailed account of a purpose built school was relatively uncommon. The Episcopal mission in Shanghai conducted day schools employing Chinese teachers in rented premises and this was typical of most missionary day-schools. In this regard, missionary education reflected traditional Chinese schooling arrangements.

The Fujian Sub-Committee that managed the CMS missionary operations published a summary of the approved curriculum for its mission schools. This is the clearest summary of the missionary day-school curriculum in the Anglican/Episcopal archives.

#### **CURRICULUM IN FUJIAN ANGLICAN DAY SCHOOLS.**<sup>386</sup>

The Course of Instruction shall be as arranged last year and published in Chinese, with the following amendments;- In the 2nd year course the Gospel of St Mark is omitted, and '1st year's work added'. The course will thus be as follows:—

##### **1st Year.**

The Creed; Lord's Prayer; Ten Commandments; — reckoned as one subject.

Hymns - Repetition.

[Chinese] 3 Character Classic – Repetition.

(Note. Mr Stewart proposed that colloquial be used in Kucheng and Ping Nang Districts but this was not the wish of Native Church Councils)

Ong Dak [Simple Anglican catechism].

3 Character Classic – Examination of Characters and Meaning

Doctrine of Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments

Dai Hok [*Dazue— Great Learning*] and Dung Ung [*Zhong yong—Doctrine of the Mean*].

##### **2nd Year**

Bible History, New Testament.

Picture Book

100 Texts<sup>387</sup>

1st Year's work (review/revision)

Doctrine

Siong a Laung [*Sahng/Xia Lun—i.e., Lunyu (Analects) in two parts*].

385 Rev. Robert Stewart, Dublin Report of the Fuh-kien Day Schools, 1891-1893. CMS East Asia Archives.

386 Minutes of 21<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the Fuhkien Sub-Conference, Foochow, 1-10 November 1894. CMS East Asia Archives.

387 100 Texts was based on the "One Hundred Texts" published by supporters of the Irish Church (Anglican) Missions. It was arranged in ten groups of ten biblical texts to be used in Protestant schools intended to win Catholic children to Anglicanism. The core elements of *The Hundred Texts* were published as Hammond T. C. *In Understanding Be Men*, (London, Inter-Varsity Press, 1936) and still in print.

### 3rd Year

Bible History, Old Testament

St Luke

Siong A Maing [*Shang/Xia Meng i.e.. Mengzi (Mencius) in two parts*].

### 4th Year

St Matthew

St John

Catechism on Creed

Si Sing and Si Ung.

The emphasis in the First Year on classic Anglican texts parallels the curriculum in the Episcopal schools in Java and Shanghai half-a-century earlier. Both the Anglican and Episcopal primary school ventures recognised the importance of traditional Chinese texts. The Rev. Henry Lockwood described the curriculum offered in the boarding school in Batavia in September 1836.<sup>388</sup>

The Chinese school consists at present of about 20 boys and 10 girls. **They are taught by a native master to read the Chinese classics**, and also the New Testament and a book containing simple lessons of Christian truth, written by Mr. Medhurst. They assemble at the house every Sunday afternoon, where we hear them read a lesson and give them such oral instructions as our knowledge of the language permits. By the assistance of Mr. Barrenstyne<sup>389</sup>, a German Missionary, they are also learning to read the Malay language in the Roman character, and to sing devotional tunes, an employment of which they seem very fond.

The two pioneer Episcopal missionaries in Java were the Rev. Henry Lockwood and the Rev. Francis Hanson. They established a distinct model of an Episcopal boarding-school with parents contracting to enrol their children for ten years aiming at a higher standard of educational outcomes as a preparation for possible service as Christian catechists and ministers.

The American arrangement differed from the Anglican model of village day-schools in Fujian Province. The British model, despite its wider reach, could not ensure that a Chinese boy or girl would achieve long-term educational benefits and could not guarantee a supply of young men suitable for mission employment. The Americans focused on keeping students long enough to ensure permanent outcomes of which the most important was always to “train young men for the ministry.”<sup>390</sup> Boone commented that operating a school had linguistic advantages for the missionaries irrespective of the educational gains for the students.<sup>391</sup>

Another difference between the American and British approach was that the American policy of education for girls parallel with that offered to boys. As Lockwood pointed out, girls were never enrolled in traditional Chinese schools and were the chief victims of infanticide widely practiced in Fujian Province, the source province of most Chinese living in Java.<sup>392</sup> A Chinese scholar in

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388 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol II, No. 3, March 1837, pp 81-83. See Part 4: 1836, September 17, Batavia.

389 Correct spelling — Barnstein but also rendered Barrenstein.

390 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol III No 1, January 1838, pp 20-22. See Part 4, 1837, September 11, Batavia, Rev. Henry Lockwood. See comment in Part 7. 1837, 14 April, Shanghai. Rev. Edward W. Syle notes that all but one student had returned after three weeks holiday leave. See also 1847, June 24, New York. Board of Missions, Twelfth Annual Report, incorporating the Report by Bishop Boone, 13 February 1847.

391 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol III No 7, July 1838, pp 209-212. See Part 4, 1837, November 15, Batavia. Rev. William J. Boone.

392 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol II No 9, October 1837, pp 303-308, Report of the Rev. H. Lockwood, Associate

Shanghai later produced the standard response that it was a waste of time and money to educate girls whose primary purpose was to cook rice and wash.<sup>393</sup> Lydia Mary Fay remarked that while she was a committed teacher of English to boys, she did not teach English to the girls. Their mission school education was intended to make them effective wives for their husbands.

The girls I do not teach English, hence do not spend so much time with them as the boys.<sup>394</sup>

#### **A European Artist's Impression of a Chinese Christian Day-School.**



*The Gleaner Pictorial Album*, (London, Church Missionary Society, p. 185.

The second key aspect of Protestant educational activity was the development of Romanised forms of Chinese texts as the vast majority of Chinese were unable to read anything beyond the most basic words in written Chinese. Virtually all women outside a few from elite families, were illiterate, Each mission (and missionary) created unique forms of Romanized Chinese with the intention of enabling ordinary people to read the Bible, or portions, as well as other religious works.<sup>395</sup>

#### **The Origin of the Phonetic System (in Shanghai).**

In the fall of 1852, some eight or nine months after my arrival at Shanghai, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, of the Southern Methodist Church, presented a well-prepared paper to the "Monthly Missionary Conference," containing, as he supposed, all the sounds of the Shanghai dialect, written out in Roman letters aided by

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Missionary to China, Batavia, Island of Java, February 22, 1837. See Part 4, 1837, February 22, Batavia. Rev. Henry Lockwood.

393 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 12 No 1, January 1847, pp 17-19. See Part 7, 1846, March 6, Shanghai. Wife of a Missionary.

394 Miss Lydia MARY Fay, 7 January 1862. *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 27 No 4, April 1862. pp 149-151.

395 Wylie, op cit, provides details of the translation work of almost all the early Protestant missionaries.

diacritical marks. The Conference highly appreciated Dr. Taylor's labors, but realizing the impossibility of expressing correctly all the various sounds of the dialect by means of our alphabet, and seeing their utter want of adaptation to the Chinese pen and habits of writing, proceeded after a lengthy discussion of the subject to appoint a Committee of the older missionaries to prepare a system of symbols adapted to the nature of the case. The Committee consisted of Rev. Messrs. Taylor, Syle, Yates, Wight and Wardner.

They held their sittings in the vestry of the Episcopal Church near my residence, then within the walls of the old city. Being at that time a "new comer" and anxious to learn all I could about the sounds of the strange dialect, I obtained permission to attend the meetings of the committee and listen to the discussions. I was present on every occasion, and received great benefit by so doing. They spent several sessions in settling the number and nature of the sounds to be represented by the new alphabet, some of which puzzled even these "Older Missionaries," the oldest of whom did not exceed seven years. Having adopted a basis of procedure, they agreed that each of them should make out a system of signs according to the programme, and meet again at the call of the Chairman to decide upon the one to be presented to the Conference.

One day during this recess, the Rev. Mr. Percy<sup>396</sup> being at my house and conversing with me on the sounds of the dialect, remarked that, "according to the statement of Dr. Marshman, of India, Chinese words consisted of initial and final parts which might be written with two symbols," illustrating the idea by certain strokes of his pencil. This first drew my attention to the subject, and I soon found Dr. Marshman to be correct. Then, for my own satisfaction alone, I began trying, after a fashion, to invent a series of signs for writing the dialect on the initial and final basis, but without any satisfactory result. Quite a number of seemingly good starts broke down before reaching the middle of Dr. Taylor's list of sounds, which perplexed me not a little. One day while thus engaged, my eye incidentally falling upon the Chinese character for door the thought occurred that its form might serve as a base of procedure. Turning the backs of its two parts together, I first made a number of initial signs on the left perpendicular, then a number of final signs on the right perpendicular. This beginning, crude as it was, proved to be a start in the right direction, and much encouraged me though the work still seemed beset with difficulties. But, proceeding on in this way, the thought finally occurred to me that one perpendicular stroke would serve for separating the initial and final parts far better than two, by making the characters become much more simple and compact, which proved correct.

In the next step onwards the forms presented such an improvement over their predecessors as greatly to stimulate my efforts, hoping now to produce something which might be useful to the Committee. For a month or two I employed my leisure hours in making and combining strokes on this basis, endeavoring to discover those best adapted to the writing habits of the people. I strove at the same time to secure the greatest possible simplicity, distinctness and compactness for the strokes of each character, joined with completeness, variety, order, and beauty for the system as a whole. No easy task, be assured, but one requiring the most intense exercise of mind, discrimination and taste in adjusting a great Variety of most delicate points and relations. I have never found any work more difficult of execution. However, by persevering efforts, aided by a native teacher of excellent ear and penmanship, my crude beginnings finally culminated in what then seemed to me success—everything being complete except the tone marks. These I could not make to my satisfaction. Afterwards, however, I discovered other defects which had to be corrected. Notwithstanding these, the few friends to whom I showed specimens pronounced the new writing "remarkable for simplicity and beauty." While these labors were going on, each member of the Committee was trying to make out a system of signs for the inspection of the called meetings, and for presentation to the monthly Conference. One of them took our capital A as his base of operations, making various strokes on its two limbs, but finding it would not serve he gave up all further efforts. Those of the other members must have had a similar termination, as they never presented anything for the consideration of the Conference.

After the lapse of more than a year, if my memory serves, Rev. Mr. Wight presented my phonetic system to the Conference, and after some discussion of the subject it was recommended for the adoption of the missionaries. A few of them learned to use it, also taught the Chinese about them both to read and write it. This usually required five or six days. The Gospel of Luke, Aesop's Fables, and a few tracts, were

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396 Rev. George Percy, Southern Baptist Mission, Shanghai. Arrived Macao Canton 9 October 1846. Moved to Shanghai, September 1848 where he served until 1854 when health forced his return to US. Worked with Baptist Mission to the Chinese in California. Wylie op cit, p. 156.

printed in it—the books presenting a very attractive appearance. One or two hundred natives learned to use it with facility, some of them taking pleasure in teaching it to their friends. Unfortunately, however, in a few years after this start, every missionary who encouraged its use, including myself, had departed from Shanghai, leaving the infant system to shift for itself.

After removing to Tungchow, in 1863, I adapted the Shanghai symbols, with as few changes as possible, to the Mandarin as spoken in the eastern portion of Shantung Province. A few missionaries and a few natives learned to write it, but no books have been printed in Mandarin or any efforts made to introduce it among the people of this region. As the common Chinese characters are here read as spoken the necessity for phonetic books is comparatively not so great as in other parts of the Empire, yet it is actually great here as most of the people are painfully illiterate.

Some years ago I attempted to associate the diphthongal I with the initial signs instead of with the finals, but it proved unsatisfactory; and, as the difficulty of writing the tone sign in the body of each character still appeared after twenty-five years trial to be insurmountable, and as this is clearly the sine qua non of any phonetic system in China, I gave up all hope of success for my efforts. It seemed to me impossible to teach the Chinese to regard tones as something distinct from their words—something to be indicated by dots, quirls or other extraneous marks (making every page look as if the pepper-box had been shaken over it) and then expect them to determine the sense of strange compositions by such devices. Thence I ceased to give further attention to the matter...<sup>397</sup>

A biography of the Stewart family (Church Missionary Society, Fujian Province) records the situation of Chinese peasant women, particularly those being trained as evangelists to women in situations from which men were excluded:

Mrs. Stewart fully realised that in training these Bible-women one great obstacle was the Chinese written character. It was a great task for these poor, uneducated women to be taught to learn off page after page of Chinese characters, which on their return home they might possibly forget. She therefore adopted the plan of teaching them the system of "Romanised Colloquial," in which Roman letters are used to represent the Chinese sounds. And not merely was this found useful for teaching them to read, but also to write so that when the women had been trained they might themselves be able to correspond with Mrs. Stewart.<sup>398</sup>

Missions, such as the CMS, the American Protestant Episcopal Church Mission (ACM)<sup>399</sup> and the American Methodist Episcopal Mission (MEM), systematically tried to combine personal evangelism<sup>400</sup> with structured educational programs.<sup>401</sup> For Americans, all forms of personal

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397 Crawford, Rev. Tarleton Perry, "A System of Phonetic Symbols for writing the Dialects of China," *The Chinese Recorder*, Vol XIX, March 1858, pp 101-105. Southern Baptist Mission. Arrived Shanghai 28 March 1852. Wylie op cit, p. 214. See online 1 July 2013 at — <http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/c/crawford-tarleton-perry.php> See also Foster, L.S., *Fifty Years in China: An Eventful Memoir of Tarleton Perry Crawford*, (Nashville, Bayless-Pullen Co, 1909).

398 Watson, Mary E, *Robert and Louisa Stewart, in Life and in Death*, (London, Marshall Bros. 1895), p. 151. There are numerous articles on Romanization in various parts of China. Taiwan still uses a Presbyterian missionary Romanised form of a Southern Min (Fujian) dialect (Peh-oe-ji). Chiang, Wi-vun Taiffalo, (2000), Peh-oe-ji, childish writing? Paper presented at the 6th Annual North American Taiwan Studies Conference, June 16-19, Harvard University. See also Chiang, Wi-vun Taiffalo, (2001), 'Romanization and Language Planning in Taiwan,' in *Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, Vol 9, Issue 1. In mainland China the pinyin system has replaced the earlier Wade-Giles system.

399 There is no standard acronym for the Protestant Episcopal Church Mission in China although American Church Mission (ACM) is often used.

400 The Letters and Reports of the Rev. Edward W. Syle in this collection illustrate the limited success of the American Episcopal missionaries in achieving conversions.

401 Stewart, Rev. Robert, 23 August 1893, *Report of the Fuh-kien Day Schools, 1891-93*, included with letter to Church Missionary Society, London, from Dublin, 31 May 1894. CMS Archives GC10. The pamphlet outlines the curriculum and operations of a network of over 100 elementary schools in the Gutian District of Fujian Province. It was funded entirely by donations from supporters of the Stewarts in Ireland and England. The CMS supported a small group of elementary schools in other parts of Fujian province but not on the scale achieved personally by Robert and Louisa Stewart.



evangelism were inseparable from the transforming power of education.<sup>402</sup> By the end of the 19th century Americans were advancing a concept of the Christian Gospel as a culturally and socially reconstructive force affecting the whole society, irrespective of personal conversion—a concept labelled the “social gospel”, an American liberal theological approach that lessened the evangelistic and conversion focus of the evangelicals, stressing rather:

The application of the teaching of Jesus and the total message of the Christian salvation to society, the economic life, and social institutions...as well as to individuals.<sup>403</sup>

Evangelistic methods throughout the 19th century missionary work aimed at converting enough individuals to change the indigenous culture from the bottom up by creating a pool of Christian-educated Chinese who would become leaders in Chinese society. The acceptance of foreign education by mostly better-off Chinese families encouraged development of a “top-down” approach, i.e., providing appropriate skills to a Western-educated indigenous leadership group, not necessarily Christian, whose “modern” outlook would transform Chinese institutions and culture.<sup>404</sup>

The Chinese always believed that higher education produces a meritocracy in principle but does not guarantee economic opportunity for ambitious individuals. The traditional Chinese examination system, nominally open to all, required many years of education that only wealthy families could afford. Chinese traditional education was:

An effective intellectual, social and political construction that met the needs of the state bureaucracy while simultaneously supporting late imperial class structure.<sup>405</sup>

19th century China had what was possibly the world’s most comprehensive system of fee-paying private village schools run by literati but cost was a barrier for most families.<sup>406</sup> Mission schools provided a potential economic gain through employment as interpreters and translators working as intermediaries or “compradores” between foreign and Chinese businessmen.<sup>407</sup> Only a small number

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Rawski, E., *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*, (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1979). This remains the classic work on traditional education in Qing China.

Rawski, E., “Elementary Education in the Mission Enterprise,” pp 135-151 in Barnett, Susan Wilson and John K Fairbank, eds, *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Writings*, (The Committee on American-East Asian Relations of the Department of History), Harvard University Press, 1985).

402 Lutz, Jessie Gregory, *China and the Christian colleges, 1850-1950*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1971).

403 Cited in White, C W, *the Social Gospel, Religion and Reform in Changing America*, (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1976), p xi. For one contemporary review of the impact of theological liberalism on American foreign missions see, Moore, Edward Caldwell, “The Liberal Movement and Missions,” in *The American Journal of Theology*, Vol 17 No 1, January 1913, see in particular comments at p. 26.

404 On one model of the impact of the ‘Social Gospel’ in China see Jun Xing and Chun Hsing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution: The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China*, (Bethlehem PA, LeHigh University Press, 1996). On the ‘top-down’ achievements of American colleges see Dikotter, Frank, *The Age of Openness: China Before Mao*, (Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2008). The standard work is Lutz, Jessie Gregory, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1971).

405 Elman, Benjamin A, ‘Political, Social and Cultural Reproduction via Civil Service Examinations in Late Imperial China,’ *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol 50, No 1, February 1991, p 8.

406 Lewis, Robert, E, *The Educational Conquest of the Far East*, New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1903. Chang Chung-li, *The Income of the Chinese Gentry*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1962. Chang Chung-li, (1967), *The Chinese Gentry: Studies in Their Role in Nineteenth Century Chinese Society*. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1967.

407 Chinese agent/managers employed to facilitate foreign businesses. See Hao Yeng-P’ing, ‘The Comprador as

of mission school students sought employment with the missions other than as domestic staff.<sup>408</sup> The American Episcopal Mission Boys' Boarding School discussed many times in this collection became a theological school—Duane Hall—and finally a theological college within St. John's University but the number of clergy produced by 1950 was tiny compared to overall graduates. It is a comment on the nature of the education provided by St. John's University that the only part of the university where Chinese was actively taught as part of the curriculum was the divinity school.

The ability to speak English at a high standard along with the local dialects and the ability to read official, or "Mandarin" Chinese were key considerations for potential employers. In China, economic security and social status was a matter for the entire extended family or as one researcher puts it, the family was "as much an enterprise as a domestic group."<sup>409</sup> It is not surprising Chu Kiung Tong, deaconed by Bishop Boone in February 1860, resigned from the Episcopal ministry in May 1861, prompted by a "want of success in his work, and lack of sufficient means for the support of his family."<sup>410</sup>

Some American missions in China tended to see education as part of the reconstruction of Chinese life and institutions and had less interest in conversion of the Chinese. By the 20<sup>th</sup> century personal evangelism played almost no part within the Episcopal Mission.<sup>411</sup> The Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott, who joined the Episcopal mission in 1886 and was President of St John's University, Shanghai, for fifty-two years, provides a case-study of an Episcopal missionary committed to the social gospel.<sup>412</sup>

Providing education had a significant impact on mission statistics. By the 1920s about 8000 of the approximately 20,000 foreigners in China were English-speaking missionaries.<sup>413</sup> Slightly more than half of all Protestant missionaries were Americans and more than half of these, or a quarter of

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Reformer,' in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol 29 No 1, November 1969, pp 15-22. The paper describes the achievements of Cheng Kuan-ying, a leading comprador and reformer in later 19<sup>th</sup> century China. Hao suggests that Cheng "was the first merchant in modern China to provide an ideological rationale for his own class.'

408 Welch, Ian, 'Our Neighbours but not our Countrymen, Christianity and the Chinese in Nineteenth Century Victoria (Australia) and California,' *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol 13, (2004-2006), Theme Volume: Christianity as an Issue in the History of US-China Relations.

409 Elman op cit, p 116.

410 *An Historical Sketch of the China Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.*, (New York, The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1893). 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, pp 25 and 31. The London Missionary Society ran the Anglo-Chinese College in Malaya and subsequently Hong Kong for over fifty years. Most students educated in missionary higher education in China did not choose employment as Christian ministers or workers.

411 Xu Yihua 2006, op cit, p. 23.

412 For an introduction to the life and work of the Rev. Francis L. Hawks Pott see online 1 July 2013 at—[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis\\_Lister\\_Hawks\\_Pott](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis_Lister_Hawks_Pott)

413 Dikotter, op cit, pp 40 and 48. Stanley, Brian, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (Leicester, Apollon, 1990), p 140. English Roman Catholics contributed £11,786 compared to Protestant contrib. of £1,020,390). Maughan, Steven, 'Mighty England Do Good': The Major English Denominations and Organisation for the Support of Foreign Missions in the Nineteenth Century,' in Bickers, Robert H and Rosemary Seton, *Missionary Encounters, Sources and Issues*, (Richmond, Surrey, Curzon, 1996), p 12.

all English-speaking missionaries, were educators.<sup>414</sup> The history of 19th century missions in China is inseparable from observations of China by foreign missionaries published in innumerable, and generally accurate, English language reports and letters. There are many superb descriptions of 19th century China unavailable elsewhere and the regular letters from Shanghai of the Rev. E. W. Syle and his unfortunate colleague the Rev. Phineas Spalding are gems of information about China and Chinese life in the mid-19th century. The China described in this collection is seen through European<sup>415</sup> eyes and only rarely is a Chinese voice heard and these are often filtered when included in foreign reports. The few Chinese observations of foreigners and their beliefs reflect cultural differences from the opposite perspective.<sup>416</sup>

In every major missionary report, especially in the early years when missionaries worked with educated Chinese teaching classical written Chinese there are instances of the missionaries asking their teachers to provide a Chinese view of the world outside a mission compound.

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414 Bays, Daniel H and Ellen Widner, eds, *China's Christian Colleges: Cross Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2009). Lutz, 1971 op cit. Fairbank, John K, *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1974), For a wider overview see <http://www.library.yale.edu/div/colleges/>

415 The term "European" is used as a generic term for the British—including people from the British colonies of settlement (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, etc); European Protestant missions; and American Protestant missions.

416 See Part 10—Anti-Christian Cartoons and Part 11, Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines, pp 1083-1180 in Welch, Ian, 2011, *The Flower Mountain murders: a "Missionary Case" data-base*. Online 1 July 2013 at—  
<https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/7273>

## 2.21. LANGUAGE ISSUES—“TERMS FOR GOD” DEBATE.<sup>417</sup>

All Protestant societies in China grounded their work in translation of the Bible, prayer books, and religious tracts and pamphlets. The work necessarily involved non-Christian Chinese scholars.<sup>418</sup>

The primary task for Christian translators was to keep the meaning of words as close as possible to conventional foreign (Hebrew, Greek, English) theological terms, of which the central challenge was to find the closest Chinese equivalent to “God”. The process is highlighted in the collection as the **“Terms for God”** debate.<sup>419</sup> There was no equivalent in Chinese thinking to the Judaeo-Christian concept of monotheism and the situation was complicated by the absence of any specific Jewish word naming God, other than the tetragram JHWH [Hebrew: יהוה], sometimes mistakenly “translated” into English as *Jehovah*, a word unknown in the Bible. The usual translation of JHWH in English is LORD. The Hebrew word ADONAI אֲדֹנָי conveying the English meaning “God is Lord” defines the role of believers as servants of God and is not, linguistically, the name of God. Heated disagreements over the “terms” debate found close friends and colleagues such as Boone and his old friend from Java, the Rev. Walter Medhurst, on opposite sides.<sup>420</sup> All the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, led by Medhurst, withdrew from the joint translation committee in Shanghai. The disagreement resulted in the use of two names for God in Chinese. Shangti 上帝 (or Shangdi, Supreme Emperor), was preferred by the LMS and most British missionaries while Shen 神 (or Shin, Spirit) was preferred by Boone and most American missionaries. This division continues in the Chinese Protestant Church although Shen now seems the most common usage, perhaps reflecting the strong residual links of Chinese Christianity with the United States.<sup>421</sup> Catholics had adopted Tianzhou 天主 (Heavenly Master] by 1715 and Chinese Catholicism is Tianzhou Jiao, 天主教 (the “religion of the Lord of Heaven).”<sup>422</sup> The character 天 Zhu-Lord is now in common use among Chinese Protestants.

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417 A substantial collection of documents dealing with the “Terms” debate is available online. See

418 Wylie, Alexander, *Memorials of Protestant Christian Missionaries to the Chinese*, (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), See also Welch, Ian, ‘Chinese Protestant Christian Tracts in 19th Century Australia’, Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Melbourne, April 2000. See also Lai, John Tsz Pang, *The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China*, D Phil, University of Oxford, 2003.

419 The ‘terms debate’ is too complex a topic for a brief paragraph to deal with. A good introduction to the issue is: Lee, Archie C. C. “God’s Asian Names: Rendering the Biblical God in Chinese,” *SBL Forum*, [Cited October 2005]. Online 8 May 2009 at — <http://sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleID=456>

420 For a first-hand report of the debate between Bishop Boone and Rev. Dr. Walter Medhurst see Lowrie, Thomas, *Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie: Missionary to China*, (Philadelphia, Presbyterian (USA) Board of Publication, 1854), pp 442-443.

421 Reilly, Thomas C, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire*, (Seattle, University Washington Press, 2004). Although nominally about the ideology of the Taiping rebels, the book provides a comprehensive review of the ‘terms debate’ and the extensive discussions in the missionary journal, *The Chinese Repository*.

422 The Catholic Church did not accept Shangdi as a name for God.

## 2.22 RECURRENT MISSION CRISES IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The recurrent topics, in almost every issue of *Spirit of Missions*, for both domestic and foreign missions, were administration, finance and above all else, missionary personnel. There is ample evidence in the collection of the shortage of personnel. A letter in November 1863 remarked:

One thing is clear—we have not sufficient Missionaries...Our students will not go... Other countries and Missionary Societies *have* sufficient laborers, and they have men who do not run away again, as a number of ours did in China and Africa.<sup>423</sup>

The Episcopal problem of recruiting new missionaries was shared by the Anglicans. A letter from the Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong to the Archbishop of Canterbury repeated the theme so often raised in Bishop Boone's letters to his Mission Board in the United States.

The Church Missionary Society will doubtless renew her long and—alas! it must be added—her almost fruitless appeal for men.<sup>424</sup>

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was the residual body of a widely dispersed and fractured colonial Church of England that was severely reduced in influence and membership as a result of the American Revolution. Reestablishing an American Anglican church, with an indigenous episcopate, preoccupied American Anglicans for nearly forty years after the Revolution and it was not until the 1830s that mission work became serious business.<sup>425</sup>

Religious enthusiasm by the few cannot obscure the reality that Episcopalian foreign missions operated with recurrent crises of which the central issue was finance. As far as the administration of the PEC missionary effort was concerned, there are many references by the Domestic and Foreign Committees of serious delays in payments to missionaries because of inadequate income.

Established Episcopal churches along the Eastern seaboard were expected to underwrite the endless creation of new parishes across the American continent as immigration grew and the population moved westward during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>426</sup> England provided a quarter of a million immigrants most of whom were nominal Anglicans. The Rev. V. Spalding, missionary at Saginaw, Michigan, in 1857, wrote:

The field committed to my charge is of quite a motley description, containing people of almost all nations, and of nearly every shade of religious belief and unbelief. Amongst them are a good many English people, some of whom were communicants of the Church in the old country but who seem to think they are released, in this land of liberty, from all obligation to come and sit at the feet of the mother that bore them in baptism, and hear her instructions. They will come once or twice, after having been visited and urged to so, but that is the end of it until the next visit, or until I am called upon to marry or

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423 Durborow, Charles B., *History of the Mission House of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, (Philadelphia, A. C. Bryson, 1869), p. 7.

424 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 18 No 10, October 1853, p 362.

425 Posey, Walter B, "The Protestant Episcopal Church: An American Adaptation," pp 3-30 in *Journal of Southern History*, Vol 25 No 1, February 1959.

426 Tables, including that above, outlining American immigration statistics are online 1 July 2013 at—<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/immigration-statistics.htm>

bury some of them, for which offices they usually resort to me.<sup>427</sup>

Andrew Walls, perhaps the leading missionary historian of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, wrote:

The main missionary achievement of the nineteenth century was the Christianizing of the United States.<sup>428</sup>

Walls added:

American overseas missions were a continuation and extension of home missions. The Christianity displayed in twentieth-century American missions was determined by the nineteenth-century Christian movement along the frontier and the evangelization of new cities. The whole climate of American Christian thinking was conditioned by expansion... The specifically Christian aspect of that expansion was vigorous evangelism—primary evangelism, the delivery of elements of the Christian gospel. The delivery was couched in terms which sought individual commitment yet recognized the family unit and created and strengthened local *communitas*.<sup>429</sup>

**Table 13. Main Sources of European Immigration to the United States, 1841-1860.**

MAIN SOURCES OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1841–1860		
	1841–1850	1851–1860
Belgium	5,074	4,738
Denmark	539	3,749
France	77,262	76,358
Germany	434,626	951,667
Great Britain		
England	32,092	247,125
Scotland	3,712	38,331
Not Specified	229,979	132,199
Ireland	780,719	914,119
Netherlands	8,251	10,789
Norway	13,903	20,931
Sweden		
Switzerland	4,644	25,011

The California gold-rushes of the early 1850s produced the wry comment from the Missionary Bishop that in the town of Nevada with about 10,000 residents, mostly young men of good education with a “love of gold” there were just 500 Protestant churchgoers of all denominations.<sup>430</sup>

A fundamental tenet of episcopal churches is complete ecclesiastical coverage of a geographical area—the diocese—under the leadership of a bishop. As discussed earlier, the Americans insisted that all outreach in areas outside existing diocesan arrangements should be led by a ‘missionary bishop.’ The task of providing Episcopal Church ministry in remote areas was an almost

427 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 22 No 6, June 1857, p. 259.

428 Walls, op cit, p. 8.

429 Walls, op cit, p.9.

430 Rt. Rev. William Ingraham Kit, *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 19 No 7, July 1854, p. 248.

superhuman task.<sup>431</sup> The Rev. W. J. Ellis, of Enfaula, Alabama, wrote in 1853 that his parishioners were now able to pay a full stipend and he no longer required support from the Domestic Committee. He remarked:

It is perhaps, proper, for me to state, that my nominal salary last year was enough for me then to have taken this step, and I should have done so, had it not been that for the year previous to that, I had received but the merest pittance, and most of my last year's salary had to go to pay the debts of the previous year.<sup>432</sup>

Fewer than half of the established parishes of the Episcopal Church in 1862 contributed to the missionary effort seeking to establish new congregations in the newly settled areas. The average contribution for missions per communicant approximated one dollar a year.<sup>433</sup> The Rev. G. Unonius, missionary at Chicago, reported to the Domestic Committee that his members were almost entirely newly arrived immigrant labourers, a third of whom earned too little to make any contribution to the church.<sup>434</sup>

It is difficult for anyone unfamiliar with the populating of the United States during the 19th century to fully grasp the extraordinary challenges that faced the churches, and communities generally, in providing services, including education and health. The pressure was magnified by a straightforward competition for members with other Christian denominations. It is not surprising that many Episcopalians believed that their primary mission field lay in the United States if their church was to have a future.

In 1849 the following appeared in *Spirit of Missions* under the title of "The Evangelization of the West."

According to the late census, there are in the great valley of the West nearly a quarter of a million of white persons, over twenty years of age, unable to read or write. In the same territory are a million and a quarter of children, between five and fifteen years of age, and schools to accommodate only half a million: thus leaving three fifths of the rising generation uneducated. This is owing to no apathy towards education, but to the unparalleled rapidity with which the population rushes in, surpassing the most zealous efforts of public and private philanthropy to meet its wants. Amongst this population must be reckoned a vast amount of ignorant and degraded mind poured into the West by Romish Europe.

The rapid increase of this heterogeneous and semi-barbarous population is enough to startle one who has not familiarized himself with its wonderful figures. While the aggregate of the population of the United States is supposed to double every *twenty-three* years, the population of the West nearly doubles *every ten* years. At this rate, in twenty years the people of the great valley will outnumber those of the Atlantic states, and control the moral and political destinies of the nation. This amazing mass of humanity is to be Christianized. If you do not Christianize it, it will become barbarized You must accept the one or the other.<sup>435</sup>

Table 11 presents the growth through immigration by the mid-19th century that stimulated the

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431 19<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. Immigration Statistics, online 1 July 2013 at—  
<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/immigration-statistics.htm>

432 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 18 No 5, May 1853, p. 177.

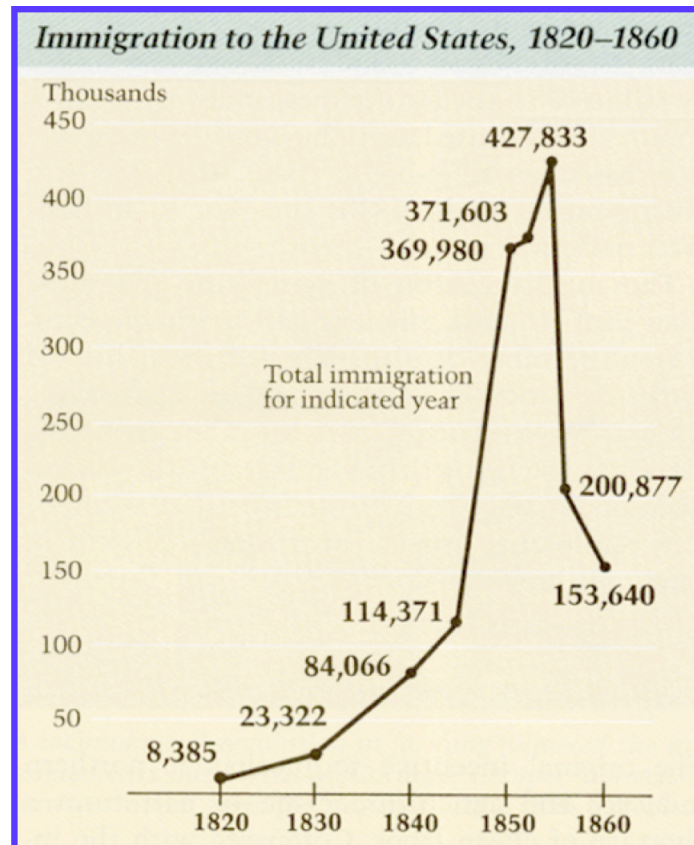
433 Holmes, David L., *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church*, (Harrisburg, Trinity Press International, 1993), p. 65.

434 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 16 No 2, February 1851, p. 60.

435 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 14, No 10, October 1849, p. 356.

Protestant Episcopal Church to develop a systematic system of church planting in new areas. The table partly explains the reluctance of many parishes to support the heathen abroad when they had plenty of heathen at home.

**Table 14. Immigration to the United States 1820-1860.**



The challenge went far beyond church-planting across the rapidly expanding settlement of the United States. The Episcopal Church found it difficult to find men for work outside the settled areas of the East highlighting a problem—not unique to America—of recruiting people willing to accept the discomforts of a pioneering lifestyle.<sup>436</sup> The first American domestic “missionary bishop”, the **Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper**, wrote that he could: “Immediately employ one hundred clergy; seven years later, he had been able to secure only thirty-one.”<sup>437</sup>



The Rev. W. P. Saunders experiences in Monticello, Florida were typical of dozens of clergy reports in *Spirit of Missions* from all parts of the continental

United States.

436 As the various letters and reports from Shanghai reveal, this was a significant issue. The Shanghai Mission constantly mentioned that the mission provided all the opportunities and comforts for clergy considered normal in the settled Eastern United States.

437 Ibid, p. 66.



I propose, during my sojourn, to preach the gospel through this destitute region, making Monticello, the feeblest parish in the diocese, the centre of my operations. I find here two Episcopal families, and three or four others in the surrounding country; some too far off to attend the services regularly. The parish had once a minister, but has now been vacant for five or six years; and too retired and unpromising to present any allurements to the spiritual husbandman, the few devoted adherents to the Church were nearly in despair of ever securing another.<sup>438</sup>

A comment on domestic missions highlights the casting-off of much of the cultural baggage of people movement in the US in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The clergyman who goes to the newer parts of the West... finds the Church generally unknown. Three or four families at the most, and frequently fewer, are all that he can meet with who will extend any assistance to him. The sectarians who are scattered around view him with jealousy, as a trespasser on grounds which they already consider their own; and while they openly abuse Episcopacy, and invent all sorts of stories concerning it, they are no less actively engaged in secretly undermining, by private whispers and insinuations, the clergyman's usefulness. The worldly and the sinful, again, find cause of objection.<sup>439</sup>

In 1851 a report described the religious life of people in Mississippi, stating that:

The great valley of the Mississippi ... has not failed to attract the attention of the Board I address to its spiritual wants. This immense region, extending from the Alleghany ridges to the Rocky mountains, and from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico, was a few years since but a vast wilderness, inhabited by wild beasts, and a few tribes of wandering savages. At the present day, it ... contains nearly five millions of inhabitants. In twenty years to come, it will probably contain twelve millions of souls; which will then be a majority of the whole population of the Union.

There is a grandeur and solemnity in this march of population, which cannot fail to arrest our attention, and dispose us to reflect on its results. What is to be the religious, the moral, and the intellectual state, of these increasing millions? Who that regards their temporal welfare, would not wish to see them in possession of the advantages of enlightened knowledge, and of Christian morals? Who that regards their eternal weal, would not wish to see them blessed with the religion and the ministrations of the Gospel? But from the manner in which this country was settled, it is unreasonable to expect that competent provision should yet be made for the support of literary and religious institutions. The emigrants did not take with them their pastors and schoolmasters, like the pilgrim fathers of New England. And though their enterprise and industry have made the wilderness to bud and blossom as the rose, there have not been the same inducements, nor the same opportunities, for religious culture.

It is well known that a large portion of the original emigrants to this country were brought up in the faith of the Church to which we belong. And yet in the States of Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and the Territories of Florida, Arkansas, Michigan and Missouri, comprising a population of 4,000,000 of souls, there are only twenty congregations in communion with our Church. In these congregations only eleven houses of public worship have been completed; and throughout all this region there are but twenty-three Episcopal clergymen. The condition of other denominations is probably not much more prosperous. The permanent and regular moral influence of settled religious institutions, is felt only in a few favoured places. Immense districts are entirely destitute of regular ministrations. Some sense of religion is indeed kept alive in the community by itinerant preaching. But it is too often the case that rude and unlettered men assume the sacred office, and heresy and fanaticism are promulgated, as the miserable substitutes for religion and piety.<sup>440</sup>

Most new Episcopal parishes in the "West" depended on support from people already enculturated in the Anglican tradition. A clergyman in the Domestic Missionary district of Calais,

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438 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 14 No 6, June 1848, p. 163.

439 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol XI No 6, June 1836, p 184; Vol XI No 7, July 1846, pp 236-242; Vol XI No 8 August 1846, p. 253.

440 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 16 No 11, November 1851, p. 476.

Maine, wrote:

A LARGE proportion of those for whom I minister here, were brought up in the Church of England. Many of them, and especially such as depend for support upon their daily labor, are, with great difficulty, induced to attend Church regularly.<sup>441</sup>

The US Census of 1850 indicated that 281,000 people were English-born almost all of whom were baptised and confirmed in the Church of England.

**Table 15. United States Census, 1850—  
The number of natives of England inhabiting the United States.**

Maine	1,949	Texas.	1,002
New-Hampshire	1,469	Arkansas	166
Vermont	1,546	Tennessee	706
Massachusetts	16,635	Kentucky	2,805
Rhode Island	4,490	Ohio	25,660
Connecticut	5,091	Michigan	10,620
New-York	84,820	Indiana	5,550
New-Jersey	11,377	Illinois	18,628
Pennsylvania	38,048	Missouri	8,379
Delaware	952	Iowa	3,785
Maryland	3,467	Wisconsin	18,972
District of Columbia	682	California	3,050
Virginia	2,998	Minnesota Territory	84
North Carolina	394	Oregon Territory	209
South Carolina	921	Utah Territory	1,056
Georgia	670	New Mexico Territory	43
Florida	300	Alabama	941
Mississippi	593	Louisiana	3,550
		Total	<b>281,608</b>

Other European immigrants, most whom had paid a compulsory church tax at home were reluctant to spare any of their mostly small incomes to support religion.<sup>442</sup> Once in America they found that the costs of the churches were met on a voluntary basis, with the result:

That no foreigner of the laboring classes, transferred from any country in Europe to the United States, can by any means short of miracle be convinced of the necessity of supporting the clergy, even those who minister to himself.<sup>443</sup>

There were interesting experiments in the Episcopal Church to attract and retain former Anglicans by providing various forms of ethnic services. An Anglo-American Church for New York, to include a hospital, was mentioned in a sermon given by the Rev. M. Marcus on 6 June 1852 in Camborne, Cornwall, England. An Anglo-American Free church of St. George the Martyr had a property at Fifth Avenue and 54<sup>th</sup> Street in New York but failed to attract a congregation. It came under the control of St. George's Society of New York, a body formed in 170 to assist British

441 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 25 No 3, March 1859, p. 134.

442 Church taxes are still imposed in many European countries.

443 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 23 No 5, May 1858, p. 208.

immigrants to America.<sup>444</sup> In 1855 an Anglo-American Church Emigrant's Aid Society was established.<sup>445</sup> The Bishop of Illinois reported to his Diocesan Convention that he had received a letter from the Rev. Henry Caswall enclosing a copy of a letter from the Bishop of London, sent to all American Bishops, concerning the activity of the Society:

I have received within a few days a document from the Bishop of London, as President of a new Society having for its object to assist the church in this country in her weighty charge of the Emigrant members of the church of Great Britain. It opens seasonable assistance in the heavy burthen of expense and responsibility; and through the provision of regular means of bringing these strangers immediately to the notice of the Clergy, will save thousands from forsaking the ritual of their fathers ; or, as so largely happens, casting off all restraints of worship and religion.

The Bishop of London wrote to the Presiding Bishop;

Right Rev. Bishop Whitehouse :

Right Rev. and dear Brother,— You will remember that, in the year of our Lord, 1853, a Deputation was sent from England to represent the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at the Meeting of the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church in the United States, held in New York during the Session of the General Convention.

The Deputies were commissioned "to strengthen and improve the intimate relations which happily already exist between the Mother and Daughter Church," and "to receive and communicate information and suggestions on the best mode of conducting Missionary operations."

After conferring with a Committee of the Board of Missions, the Deputies concluded that the Emigrants from this country, who annually seek your shores in multitudes, presented a field of Missionary labor in which the two branches of our common Reformed Church might co-operate with good prospect of success. It was subsequently resolved, at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, "that the Standing committee be requested to consider .and mature a plan, whereby emigrant members of the Church may be most readily and conveniently brought under the notice of the Clergy of the United States at the port of their debarkation, as well as at the settlements to which they may ultimately proceed."

I regret however to say, that, after a discussion on the subject, it was found that the constitution of the venerable Society which I have named, precluded it from undertaking the execution of the plan. It therefore seemed to be necessary that, although the multiplication of societies is in general to be deprecated, some new association should be formed for the purpose of carrying into effect a design already sanctioned by high authority on both sides of the Atlantic.

It gives me pleasure to state that such an association has been duly organized, and to forward to you a copy of its constitution, embodying the principles and rules designed for its government. In appointing me its President, the Association has been influenced by a remembrance of the connection formerly subsisting between the Bishop of London and the members of your American Church.

You will perceive that the Association has engaged to alter any of its rules or regulations which may be regarded as exceptionable by your ecclesiastical authorities. I shall gladly receive any suggestions which you may be kind enough to offer; and if you deem it proper to lay the matter before your Convention, whether General or Diocesan, any resolution of such a body will meet with our most respectful attention.

The Association desires to act for the general good of the Church, and independently of all party influences. I think it right also to mention, that we should on no account encourage the formation of English congregations, as such, within your limits. On the contrary, we hope that English Churchmen, on taking up their permanent residence in the United States, will become amalgamated with your own communion, in connection with the authorities of which our Association proposes to carry on its operations.

We think it simply an act of justice to your Church to offer some assistance towards supplying those

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444 See online 1 July 2013 at— <http://www.stgeorgessociety.org/>

445 Holmes, David L, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church: With a Chapter on the Anglican Reformation...* Valley Forge PA, Trinity Press International, 1993), p. 88.

who are by birth our countrymen with the means of religious worship during the early period of their sojourn in a strange land.

In apportioning such temporary assistance, we shall need your brotherly advice and guidance as to the wants of the people for whom we desire to make provision, and as to the varied circumstances of the different portions of your Church. We hope that, amidst the numerous openings presented to industry in most parts of your Continent congregations, when once established, will soon be enabled, not only to maintain themselves, but to assist in extending the blessings of pure religion to others.

With earnest prayer that this effort to advance the kingdom of our blessed Lord and Saviour may, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, be made effectual; and in the hope that your Church and ours may continue throughout all generations to maintain and advance the truth as it is in Jesus, I beg to subscribe myself.

Your affectionate friend. And Brother in Christ,

C. J. LONDON.

**CONSTITUTION AND RULES  
OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CHURCH EMIGRANT'S AID SOCIETY.<sup>446</sup>**

I. The object of this Association is the promotion of the spiritual welfare of English Churchmen emigrating to the United States.

II. The Association hopes to effect this object by encouraging and assisting such emigrants to avail themselves of the privileges afforded by the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States," a body identical in its principles with the Church of England.

III. The principal means by which the Association proposes to supply such encouragement and assistance are

1st. Introductions to Clerical and Lay Churchmen in America.

2nd. Temporary and limited grants to aid in supporting Pastors and Teachers, and in erecting places of worship.

IV. The Association desires to act in connection with the ecclesiastical authorities in America, to which the American part of the organization will be subordinate. It can give no encouragement to the formation of separate English congregations within the dioceses of the United States.

V. The Association shall consist of all members of the Church of England, who shall pay into the hands of the Treasurer One Pound annually, or Ten Pounds at one time. Corresponding members in America may also be elected by the Association, who, when in England, may vote at the annual meetings, or at the meetings of the Executive Committee.

VI. There shall be an Annual Meeting of the Association in London.

VII. There shall be elected at the annual meeting, an Executive Committee for the following year, a Secretary or Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

VIII. The Secretary shall correspond with persons in England and America with reference to the object of the Association. He shall prepare an Annual Report of the proceedings, and shall produce at the annual meeting such extracts from the correspondence as may appear calculated to interest Churchmen generally.

IX. The Executive Committee shall appoint Agents of the Association in those parts of America to which the stream of English emigration is generally directed.

X. The American Agents shall receive, through the Secretary, a list of the emigrants proceeding to America in connection with the Association. They shall give such emigrants advice on their arrival, and shall promote their spiritual welfare by placing them in connection with parishes and clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

XI. Notice of all grants made by the Association shall be forthwith communicated by the Secretary to the President, who may within a fortnight communicate his disapproval to the Secretary, and every grant so disapproved of shall be null and void.

XII. No alteration of the rules of this Association shall be made, except at an Annual Meeting.

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446 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 23 No 5, May 1858 p 208--.Also Vol 23 No 7, July 1858 pp 358.

XIII. The above Rules shall be deemed to be preliminary, and subject to be modified on any general representation from the ecclesiastical authorities of the United States.<sup>447</sup>

There appears to have been no comprehensive research done on the Emigrant's Aid Society either in the United Kingdom or the United States so it is not possible to offer any firm conclusions on the effectiveness of this project.



The budgetary problems of the Domestic and Foreign Committees of the Episcopal Board of Missions were compounded by a range of divergent views, as was also the case in the Anglican Church, that led to a split of mission commitment along theological lines. High (ritualistic) churchmen tending to support domestic work and low (evangelical) churchmen supporting overseas missions.<sup>448</sup>

The sensitivity of the Shanghai Episcopal missionaries is shown in a letter from the Rev. Edward Syle to his close friend **Captain F. S. Dupont, USN**, a lay member of the Foreign Missions Committee, in which he refers to the need for the Protestant Episcopal Church to pursue:

A broad missionary policy; tho as to the carrying out of a good plan in the teeth of an uncomfortable opposition...<sup>449</sup>

These prejudices contributed to ongoing questioning about the priorities of the church at home, grounded at least in part in a shadowy belief about the unity of Euro-American identity and Christianity, [Christendom], against the needs of “heathen” people overseas. For the United States, inward migration and the movement of the population westward challenged all churches to active ‘church planting’ in hitherto virgin soil. It was not easy to argue the case for foreign “adventures” in a church overwhelmed by the demands of the domestic environment.

Our Missions in behalf of the unevangelized can no longer be considered an experiment. The prejudices and doubts with which this department of benevolent enterprise have had to contend, are, we trust, greatly diminished, and the duty of laboring for the conversion of the heathen to Christ now generally acknowledged. The exemption of the treasury of the Foreign Committee from serious financial embarrassments, during the year just concluded (1845-1846), your committee would regard as a cheering evidence that the cause has the sympathy and approval of churchmen. At the same time, it must be confessed, that the standard of liberality falls very far short of what it ought to be, and that, without entrenching upon its resources for other works, the Church might engage much more heartily in this.<sup>450</sup>

By 1855, after nearly two decades of domestic and foreign missionary work, the Episcopal Church was struggling. A centralised system, with every member of the church nominally a member of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, the legal name of the church, was failing

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447 Journal of a Special Convention in lieu of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Illinois, 17-19 October 1855, (Springfield, Illinois State Journal Job Office Print, 1855), pp 25-28

448 Emery, Julia C, *A Century of Endeavor 1821-1921*, (New York, The Department of Missions, 1921), p. 110. See fuller discussion in Ch. VI: A Divided House.

449 Syle to Dupont, Shanghai, 29 February 1857. Syle Correspondence, W9-8206, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware.

450 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol XI No 7, July 1846, p. 231.

. Comparisons were often drawn with the voluntary societies of the Church of England and the generosity of British subscribers to foreign and domestic missions. More important, perhaps, was the steady increase in giving by Congregationalists and Methodists in the United States. In 1855, the difficult financial situation was presented to the readers of *Spirit of Missions*.

**STATEMENT AND APPEAL,  
FOREIGN COMMITTEE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH  
EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE FOREIGN COMMITTEE,  
MARCH 13TH, 1855.**

At a Meeting of the Foreign Committee, held on the above-named day, the following Resolutions were adopted, viz. :—

Resolved,—That the present state of the affairs and prospects of this Committee, renders it the duty of the Committee to lay a distinct statement of their condition and responsibilities before the Church, whose representatives and agents they have been constituted for the important work of Foreign Mission!

Resolved,—That the Statement and Appeal following, be adopted and signed by the Committee, with instructions to the Secretaries to give it immediately the widest possible circulation, in circulars addressed to the Bishops, Clergy and Laity, individually, and by its publication in all the religious periodicals of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Resolved,—That the Secretaries prepare a list of the Churches which have contributed, and those which have not contributed to the Foreign Missionary Treasury during the last year, and that the same be printed, and appended to the following Statement and Appeal.

Resolved,—That, with a view to securing some reliable basis for future appropriations, the Secretary and General Agent prepare a circular letter, to be addressed to Rectors of Parishes, classifying the same, with a request for early information in regard to the probable amount which may be relied upon from each, and of the period of the year when remittances may be looked for.

**TO THE BISHOPS, CLERGY, AND LAITY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH:**

The undersigned, the Committee appointed for Foreign Missions, make the following Statement and Appeal:—

In 1835, the Protestant Episcopal Church, through its General Convention, declared itself a Missionary Society or Organization, and created a Board of Missions, to carry out the work which, as a Church, it had thus assumed, both in the Domestic and Foreign fields.

This Convention pledged the Church thus represented, and all the baptized members of this Church, to sustain and carry forward the work of preaching the Gospel at home and abroad ;—a work which was thus solemnly undertaken as an obligation and duty to the gracious Saviour, who commanded that His Gospel should be preached to every creature.

Committees for Domestic and for Foreign Missions were severally appointed, and were charged with the duty thus particularly entrusted to them.

Twenty years have passed by since this solemn covenant was made, in the presence of God, and angels, and surrounding men.

The system of voluntary Missionary Societies, by which the members of this Church had before carried on the work of Missions, was by this covenant laid aside; and the funds and means of the whole Church were pledged in their stead, to maintain the great work which was thus assumed by the highest assembled authority of the Church.

Some of the undersigned have been members of the Committee for Foreign Missions during this whole period. All of them have, for several years past, labored in the important work which was thus assigned to them. They have cheerfully and assiduously devoted themselves, according to the wisdom given to them, to the duties of their sacred trust. They have spared no time, or labor, or thought, which was within their command, to forward this great work of the Church, and to fulfil this high command of the exalted Saviour.

At the end of twenty years' labor, although they have been most liberally upheld by a portion of the Churches, they find themselves to a lamentable extent unsustained by the Church at large, and unable to fulfil the duties imposed upon them. They are brought to a position and a crisis, in their responsible relations to the cause committed to them, at which they have no longer the right to be silent, or to suffer the difficulties and embarrassments which they meet, to pass without remonstrance or appeal. They are compelled to say, if the Churches mean to sustain them in this work, it must be in a very different measure from their past experience.

During these twenty years, the field of Missions entrusted to their watchful care has been opening before them in the gracious providence of God, to an extent in the highest degree encouraging and remunerative. The work in China has gone forward with advancing prosperity and success; and, though partially interrupted by the internal wars in that kingdom, has never been closed for a day, nor retarded to a degree that did not leave an opening, still entirely beyond the power of the Committee to embrace and improve.

The Mission in Africa has advanced in an unprecedented career of prosperity, until the whole western coast is not only open to useful labor, but eager for its employ. There is no limit there to be assigned but the grievous one of the total inability of the Committee to go forward, in paths which the mercy of God has so freely opened before them. The whole present income of the Committee might be expended with the highest advantage and economy in this single field, in the mere response to actual demands for help from those whose desires for Christian teaching have been already excited, without originating for themselves a single aggressive movement.

In Greece, our single venerated brother has been toiling on through a quarter of a century, making the utmost of the limited means allowed him; and is now asking for the relief of a short tour for his failing health, the expense of which the Committee have no ability to meet.

From South and Central America, the Committee have had the most ear-nerst and encouraging appeals, for Missionaries to preach the Gospel amidst the Papal darkness of those regions, where civil revolutions have opened the widest doors for religious liberty; while there is among us no religious zeal, or love for the Gospel, or for the souls of men, at all prepared to furnish the means of even entering into the work to which we are so constantly solicited.

From the Sandwich Islands appeals have come to us, one after another, for a Mission there, which, from utter inability to meet, we have not even considered.

Japan has been opened to our advance, and we have been entreated to send upon its untrodden soil the feet of those who preach the Gospel of peace. But such entreaties are addressed to us in vain.

We have not even the ability to maintain our own acquired ground in the promising fields of labor upon which we have already entered.

In 1850 we addressed, as a Committee, a Circular to religious young men in our Colleges and Seminaries, calling their attention to the work of Foreign Missions, and asking their labors for the Lord, under our authorized direction.

Young men have applied, of admirable character and recommendations, and we have not had, nor have we now, the means to send them to the work to which we ourselves had called and encouraged them. At this moment there are waiting, at our invitation, three young servants of Christ, desiring to embark for China, to preach the unsearchable riches of His grace. But we have no funds to send them. One is waiting to join our devoted band in Africa; but we have no means to gratify his wish.

We have, for years, desired the services of an accomplished physician for our Mission to China. One has been engaged by us for months, fully qualified. But he stands waiting and delayed, because we have not the ability to send him, after we have ourselves called him from other employments to his self-denying work.

Our Treasury is already in debt, for advances in the maintenance of our *present occupied Missionary force abroad*, above ten thousand dollars.

Our main receipts for the present winter have come in, and instead of means to advance in our work, we are unable to pay our present obligations, and are over seven thousand dollars behind the receipts of last year, at the same period of time.

We have sent out every month intelligence of our work, and of our wants, in the Spirit of Missions, to every clergyman in the Church. But more than one half of the clergy have manifested no responsive interest what ever. In many cases we are grieved to be informed, that they do not trouble themselves even to read of the work of the Lord in our hands; much less to speak of its demands and results to the people committed to their charge.

For the dissemination of still more intelligence, we have repeatedly sent to the clergy, for distribution among the members of the Church, Occasional Papers, containing interesting histories and facts in our important work. In many cases, and some of those of very important and influential congregations, our bundles of papers have not even been opened, but have been thrown aside with apparent utter indifference and inattention to the call.

We have sent out Agents to present to the Churches the claims of the Missions entrusted to our charge. Some of these Agents have been honored Missionaries, who have hazarded their lives abroad for our Lord Jesus Christ. But many of the Churches have been wholly shut against their appeals. In some cases the clergy have refused them admission to their pulpits as our Agents—and in others, all opportunity of pecuniary collection, or appeal for funds in our behalf.

The parochial clergy constitute, in their canonical rights, our only way of entrance to the attention of the Churches. But though we are the appointed Agents of the Church for this great work, more than half the clergy have neglected to make any presentation of the claims we plead, and we are compelled to submit to the effects of their neglect.

There is no room for any other conclusion, than that the clergy, so far as this statement of facts applies, take upon themselves the responsibility of shutting out the claims of the perishing heathen, the command of our Divine Lord, and the authority of their own Church, from the congregations over which they are placed.

The painful results of all these recited facts, are constant embarrassment in our work, unceasing perplexity in the fulfilment of our trust, a constrained vacillation appearing in our efforts, and inability to carry on the work committed to us in any course of steady, uniform, and healthful advancement.

We have sent abroad Bishops, Missionaries, and Christian females, to preach and propagate the sacred word of God. We have gathered Schools and Churches, and have established Asylums and Families under Christian influence on heathen soil.—All these are dependent on our steady and uniform remittance of funds, for their food and raiment, which is all that we have the power at any time to give. If such remittance be withheld or delayed, suffering and distress must immediately accrue, with no local means of relief. These laborers, worthy of their hire, are thousands of miles from us. We cannot recall them until many months of notice have elapsed. To keep these faithful messengers of Christ alive, without adding to their force, or allowing them to go forward in their work a step in advance, we are already in debt to members of our own Committee and others above ten thousand dollars.

The labor, toil and anxiety which are involved in the management of the arduous work entrusted to us, we are willing cheerfully to bear. The experience and wisdom which in our many years of labor in the cause we may have acquired, we thankfully give to a cause so dear to us and to our Lord.

But it is impossible for us to pursue a course which, in our past experience, has become so harassing and afflictive. To continue in our present position, under the compulsion of making our tale of brick without straw given to us, cannot be justly demanded of us.

What then, we ask, are the results to which we are compelled to look?

To abandon the Foreign Field of Christian Missions, and recall our laborers home, is an issue so dishonorable to the character, and so destructive to the prosperity of the Church in every branch of its operations and prospects, that we cannot for a moment regard it as possible.

To limit our operations to their present position of growth in the field which we now occupy, and yet continue them there, is impossible. Every attainment makes a necessity for further advance. Every stone we lay is but the preparation for another to be laid upon that, and is an useless labor unless the edifice is to go on to its completion. We cannot but say that we should deem the arbitrary limiting of the work, to be equivalent to its abandonment, exhibiting an outlay which will thus have been made useless and an unfinished attempt, the impossibility of the accomplishment of which, makes all that has been done in it without avail.



To refuse new openings for Missions in other fields, to which we are called, while not involving the same difficulty, would be equally dishonorable and injurious to the Church.

Instead of entering upon new fields of labor, the Committee are now under the absolute necessity of reducing all their estimates for expenditure in the current year, at least one-third, from the amount desired, in urgent appeals and statements of actual need, from their Bishops and Missionaries now abroad.

In this crisis of their affairs, the Committee for Foreign Missions appeal to the Church—

With more than ten thousand dollars debt, on their present scale of operations;

With seven Missionaries standing at their doors, and asking to be sent abroad, for whom they can make no provision;

With no ground for expectation, in their customary experience, that either of these embarrassments is to be removed by their remnant of receipts for the current year;

With their Missions on every field asking for an enlargement, which they have no power to give;

With unfinished Churches, School-houses, and habitations, on heathen ground, which they have no means to complete;

With hardly the hope that they can continue to feed and clothe the laborers, male and female, whom they have already in their employ;

With the painful necessity of reading, at every meeting, letters of application for Christian aid, which they are obliged to refuse;

With the anguish of hearing from their devoted Bishops and Missionaries, of wants and openings, which they are compelled to disregard;

With the constantly threatening necessity of dishonoring the drafts which these faithful men make upon them, in the prosecution of their ordered and appointed work,— a necessity repeatedly averted only by the actual advances and responsibilities of individuals, of their own body—

The Foreign Committee respectfully ask the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, what course of duty remains for them, but solemnly to demand and expect support in the trust committed to them.

The Foreign Committee have thus far, in more than nine months of their current year, received but \$34,000. Less than the same sum in the remaining period of less than three months will not relieve their embarrassments, and enable them to finish the work of the year.

To meet this want, and far more than to meet it, requires nothing but the united and prompt action of the Clergy and the churches committed to them. With more than one hundred thousand communicants, and more than fifteen hundred pastors in the Church, it would seem like a dishonorable suspicion to doubt that it would be met.

They call upon the Church, therefore, with the solemnity and boldness of conscious truth and duty, to consider and to meet this case. They ask Bishops, Clergy and Laity to take it immediately in hand. They beg the liberality and effort of all their brethren, individually and collectively, in the crisis thus presented. They freely say, that the progress, and even the continued existence of their Foreign Missionary work makes the aid demanded indispensable. They have spoken in the plainest, frankest manner. Their brethren have the same interest and obligation in this work with themselves. They can only apologise, by asking with David, "Is there not a cause?" They are willing to run the whole hazard of thus lifting up their voice like a trumpet, because the pressure is great, the burden is intolerable, and the embarrassment must be removed, or Foreign Missions must die in the Episcopal Church; and this Committee cannot silently assume the responsibility or the shame of their destruction.

OFFICE OF THE FOREIGN COMMITTEE,  
19 BIBLE HOUSE, New-York, March 13th, 1855)

HORATIO POTTER  
S. H. TURNER, S. H. TYNG,  
T. BEDELL, P. P. IRVING,  
S. D. DENISON, J. S. ASPINWALL,  
STEWART BROWN, LEWIS CURTIS,  
JAMES F. DE PEYSTBR, F. S. WINSTON.

*N.B. To do away with an impression which exists in the minds of some, that the diminished*

*receipts of the Foreign Committee may be fairly attributed to the "hard times" in monetary matters, it is here distinctly stated, that the receipts of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and of the Methodist Missionary Society are larger thus far for the current year, than they were for a corresponding period last year; and those of the Presbyterian Board are equal to what they were last year. The receipts of "The Methodist Missionary Society North" will probably reach \$260,000 by the close of the current financial year.<sup>451</sup>*

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451 *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 20 No 5, May 1850, pp 189-195.

## **2.23 AN EPISCOPAL MISSIONARY COLLEGE.**

### **1863, November, New York.**

#### **PROPOSAL FOR MISSIONARY COLLEGE.**

Both his own education at Basle, and his experience as Missionary in Africa, made him feel very much the want of a special Missionary school in the United States. ... The very first step taken by him to call *public attention* to the subject, was the delivery of a course of Special Missionary Lectures ... Philadelphia, ... on November 2d, 3d, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5th, 1863. ...

In November, 1863, Mr. Auer, addressed a letter to Bishop Bedell, suggesting the advantage and practicability of establishing a Mission House in the United States, from which we quote the following portions:

A Seminary for Training Foreign Missionaries in this country, did not meet the approbation of the Foreign Committee in New York. They think it would be impossible to establish one regarding both means and men. I, of course, cannot go on in speaking on the subject and interesting the church at large; but as long as we have so great need of *more laborers*, and as it is very unlikely that we shall get a sufficient number of efficient Missionaries from our Theological Seminaries, I cannot but pray the Lord of the Harvest to open new channels for procuring laborers; and I shall, in private circles, speak of this matter until I am forbidden to do so.<sup>452</sup>

### **1864, 14 October, Gambier, Ohio.**

A Missionary Training School “Gambier Mission House,” was opened near Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.

### **1866, 4 June, Gambier, Ohio.**

“Gambier Mission House,” closed.

### **1866, 13 June, Philadelphia, Pa.**

The “Mission House of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States” opened. Sixteen students, including two “coloured” , for more “white” men expected and seven “blacks” from Haiti. Two native Americans from Nebraska expected.

### **1867, 19 October, Philadelphia, Pa.**

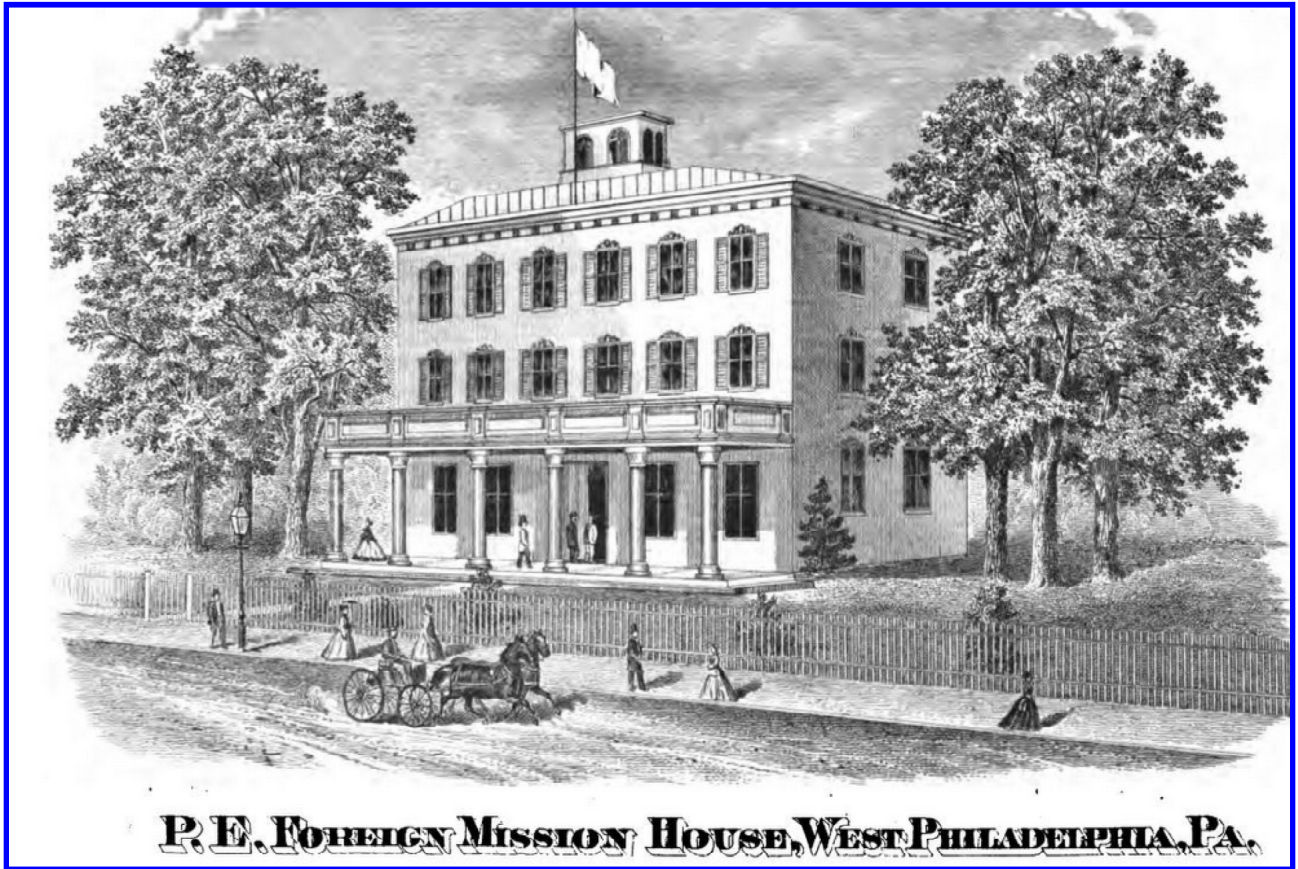
Rev. J. G. Auer returned to Liberia.

#### **COURSE OF STUDY.<sup>453</sup>**

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452 Durborow, Charles B.m History of the Mission House of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, Philadelphia, A. C. Bryson, 1869), pp 6-7.

453 Ibid, pp 67-69.



**P. E. FOREIGN MISSION HOUSE, WEST PHILADELPHIA, PA.**