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DANIEL CHU
ORAL HISTORY ABSTRACT

FATHER'S LIFE: parents' decision to join Lutheran Church of China; role in and development of Sinyang Lutheran Church; involvement in community and social programs; experience with Red Spears in Sinyang; anti-Christian sentiment and imprisonment during 1927; as president of Lutheran Church of China, 1932-1938; views on denominationalism and ecumenism; activities in Chungking during Japanese war; plans for post-war church.

BORN: March 20, 1918, Sinyang, Honan.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES: education; thoughts about Christianity's meaning for China as a student; response to mission schools; comparison of being a student at Yale-in-China and Lutheran Theological Seminary in Shekow; recommendations for Lutheran Church.

INTERVIEWER: Cora Martinson

DATE: May 29, 1979

PLACE: Federal Way, Washington

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INTERVIEW

Daniel Chu

INTERVIEWER: What is the background of your grandparents on your father's side?

CHU: My father's side grandparents were farmers in Hwangkong, Hupeh, and they had not been exposed yet to Christianity. They had no contacts with Christianity or missionaries.

I: How did they come to Sinyang?

CHU: My grandfather came to Sinyang, my father's father. He was a very faithful son to his parents. After his father died, he was supposed to have observed the old Chinese traditions and lived by the graveyard for three years. At the end of the third year he had consecutive dreams for several nights, dreaming of a white robed, white bearded man who suggested he should head north. Then in the dream, my grandfather asked: "What do I get by going north?" The figure wrote on his palm the Chinese character for blessing, meaning if you go north, you will receive blessings. Since he had that dream several times, finally my grandfather decided to take his wife and children northward to Sinyang in Honan province.

I: What was their vocational involvement in Sinyang?

CHU: When they first got there, they became laborers.

I: A weaver?

CHU: Yes.

I: How did persons in the community respond when your grandparents became Christians?

CHU: At first when my grandparents became Christians, even my father and my father's brother, my uncle, both were very strenuously opposed to that because at that time there were strong anti-missionary or anti-westerner sentiments. Anybody who became Christian in the neighborhood and friends knew of it would be despised.

I: In what year did your grandparents become Christians?

CHU: Around the turn of the century (1903-05).

I: How did they become Christians?

CHU: My grandfather, as I said, was a laborer. He happened to live next door to the Daniel Nelsons, two of the first pioneer Lutheran missionaries in Central China. My grandfather's big loom was going on every day; they didn't have any Sunday break or holiday rest. They just worked everyday. A loom makes a lot of noise which became a sort of music for the Nelsons next door to hear this loom going all the time. However, one day the loom did not go--there was no noise from next door.

At that time, Daniel Nelson had a Chinese teacher--I believe the teacher's name was Chen. Daniel Nelson asked the teacher to find out what happened with the Chus that they weren't working that day. "Was this a national holiday?" The teacher told him, "No, it is not a holiday, but only the Chus all got sick. They are having some kind of contagious sickness--the whole family is sick."

So Nelson decided to come over and have a visit. Mr. Chen warned him: "Don't go, in case anybody in their family dies while you visit. Then you will have a problem on your hands." Somehow, the missionary, courageous in spirit, was prompted to come over into the courtyard and push the gates open and come in, asking permission to come into the house. My grandfather said, "Don't come in. We are all sick." But Nelson said, "I've got some medicine that could possibly help you." So he did go in and brought some quinine tablets, I think, and gave the medicine to them. The next day they got well. So that experience opened the door for my grandfather to ask Nelson why he came to China; what is their mission. The contact grew and my grandfather learned about Christianity and was converted.

I: Very interesting. How many children were there in your father's family?

CHU: My father had one brother and three sisters, so there were five children in their generation.

I: Were they all Christians?

CHU: Yes. Of course, two of the girls were with my grandfather in Sinyang. The second girl was left behind in Hupeh Province. She didn't come as she was already married when the family moved to Sinyang.

I: Are any of them living now?

CHU: None of them are living, no. That was around the turn of the century.

I: What about your mother's parents? Were they also Christians?

CHU: My mother's parents had also become Christians shortly after my grandparents' conversion. My mother had some Chinese style education, so she was helping old Mrs. Anna Martinson as a teacher at Sintien at the foot of Kikungshan.

I: What was your father's educational background before he went to the seminary?

CHU: He was studying the old traditional Confucian way, by memorizing many of the Chinese classical books. Before he became a Christian, he was going around with the local scholars and also served as a small officer of the Ching Dynasty government under a magistrate. What position he actually held, I don't know very clearly.

I: How did your father's background differ from most of his fellow Lutheran pastors?

CHU: On the surface there should not be much difference in their background. They were all Chinese, raised from small towns with some education. The difference, if I had to pin point it, was that my father had a wider contact with the outside world before he became a Christian. He also traveled far more than his contemporaries. Thus, his vision must be wider and broader in scope than his contemporaries and his ways of dealing with problems may be less dogmatic. Besides, he read constantly and was well-informed on current events of his time.

I: How did your father make the decision to enter into church work full time?

CHU: It was accidental. My father was supposed to be a government official visiting the villages. One time while he was visiting a village, there was a market that day. Some China Inland missionaries were trying to gather a group of people to pass tracts and to preach to them. Those people were very hostile and wanted to throw the missionaries out. My father happened to see them, so he urged them to stop mistreating these foreign friends. Because of his official capacity, the people stopped harassing the missionaries. The missionaries began to wonder about why this man was so friendly to them.

They got into a conversation with him and my father mentioned that he knew the Nelsons in our home town and that missionaries were good people.

Later on the China Inland missionaries contacted Nelson and said this Chu Hao-jan seems to be a pretty good guy--why don't you get hold of him? "If you don't want him, then we would like to have him join our missionary work." Naturally, Nelson did not let him go and urged my father to join him to help his work. My father began to go around on Nelson's itinerary in the Honan-Hupeh area to work within the church. Later on, he went to the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Shekow for his theological training in order to prepare him for his later ministry.

I: What kinds of sacrifices were involved in making that decision?

CHU: The decision seemed to come quite spontaneously. The sacrifice he had to make was only to disassociate himself with work he was doing and also to separate himself from his former friends--the scholars--which at that time must mean quite a severe cut-off from the local relations.

I: Was he ever persecuted?

CHU: Not in the very beginning, but later on, in 1927, when he was imprisoned by the so-called "revolutionaries," some of the older, traditional enemies may have emerged.

I: Very interesting. How did your father believe that Christianity could meet the needs of the Chinese?

CHU: The feeling then was that the religion in the Chinese old traditional way mostly was other-worldly and non-involved. But Christianity had this positive attitude of serving people, loving your neighbor as yourself and offered a positive approach to improve the social system. It urged the raising of moral standards and asserted a fatherhood of God to all man. It was salvation through Jesus Christ and the forgiveness of sin--all this had a special meaning to that time and society in China as much as it does for us today. The social order in China at that time was feudalistic: the rich got richer and the poor got poorer. There was no way of initiating any change for the society.

The western world at that time was seen as far more progressive. The discoveries in science and medicine and military power simply pointed out that the West must have followed some direction which made them more progressive. If China wished to catch up with the rest of the world, it had to adopt some new teachings. Christianity at that time--they were not too sure, but they felt it may have contributed to the western progress--so that is one reason why Christianity was good for meeting the needs of the people of China at that time.

I: Would you provide us with a few more details on your mother's background?

CHU: My mother had some, not formal education in the western sense, but she was from a scholarly family. They did study and know how to read and write. Mother got acquainted with old Mrs. Anna Martinson in Sintien, which is part of Kikungshan. She became a Christian at that time. Through Mrs. Martinson, she got to know my father. Mrs. Martinson tried match-making for them to become husband and wife. I think they were married in 1909.

I: Interesting--more than I knew. What role did your father have in the development of the Sinyang Lutheran Church?

CHU: He was instrumental in developing the whole parish of southern Honan in the nine districts. In Sinyang we not only organized the largest Lutheran congregation, but we also had organized and established a boys' high school, a girls' high school and organized jointly with local leaders a union hospital in Sinyang. We also organized an orphanage for the refugee children coming from the north of China and gave them some kind of vocational training. Before 1927, everything was coming into the Sinyang area. We also have the outstations in Kioshan, Kwangchow. In those places we had clinics and hospitals and also elementary schools and middle schools. As well as I can remember, Christianity really found a footing there with a very elaborate program.

I: What was your father's role in community affairs in Sinyang after he entered the ministry?

CHU: Because of his church leadership and because of his former local contacts, he was highly respected and was also elected president of the Red Cross organization in Sinyang. When the military took power and one power after another had come and gone, the generals usually counted on him. So he became a go-between as well as a spokesman for the local interests to deal with the military powers as they came and went.

Several times they were even negotiating peace before opposing military powers. One time, Sinyang City was besieged for a number of days and my father and a Roman Catholic priest and Dr. C.C. Skinsnes were supposed to be leaders to negotiate a peace treaty for those opposing military powers. Because of these functions, he got acquainted with a number of military generals, among them especially the Christian general, General Feng Yu-hsiang, when he was stationed in Sinyang. My father even organized a Bible study prayer meeting for the officers in Feng's army.

I: You mentioned your father's involvement in the Red Cross and the orphanages and such. Could you expand on other things he was involved in to improve social conditions?

CHU: We've touched upon some of the relief work. Because of his encouragement, some of the small businessmen organized a home-family business like raising silk worms and fabricating and learning to read, write and do math. Because of the church's contact with some of the businessmen, members of the church were able to become agents of the Standard Oil Company and carry on trades with foreign firms from Hankow. Because a number of the church leaders were involved in business and through contact with missionaries, there was a visible improvement of the economic standards. Some of them also became agents, purchasing agents, for the military powers from the north or south. So there was a constant improvement in business contacts, especially in Sinyang, because it was the central district for the nine districts of the southern Honan Province. Most of the business redistribution was done through Sinyang to the other cities. Also, Sinyang was a center for transporting oil products to the factories in Hankow and other cities.

I: How did the citizens of Sinyang respond to your father?

CHU: He had always been one of the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce and seemed that he had his finger in so many things. As I remember, we had company visiting at home practically from morning to night. We didn't have the western style of 'appointment only' visiting, so there were always people waiting to see him for whatever needs they had.

As far as I can remember, he was busy all the time.

There was a time when Sinyang not only had local magistrates, but also had a tao-t'ai, not really a governor, but it was between a governor and a magistrate-- a supervisor of several cities. Usually the tao-t'ai would come to consult Father regarding their own political business too.

I: What were your father's roles as the negotiator when the Red Spears had surrounded Sinyang? You might explain what the Red Spears were.

CHU: The Red Spears was the organization of self-defense for local villages and cities in protecting themselves against military forces that came and went. When there was no real government authority ministering any of the local affairs, then the Red Spears would take over the power and protect their own people. However, they would also levy a certain amount of taxation or demand contribution from the local people in order to provide their military needs and ammunition. The Red Spear meant that they had a red handkerchief tied on the end of the spear because they didn't have any weapons or rifles of westernization, so the spear was the symbol of their organization and the weapon they had to protect their local interests. Because of my father's role as a leader of the church and also as a negotiator between divergent forces, the Red Spears came to him quite often for guidance or imposing on him to negotiate a peace treaty on the opposing military forces.

I: What happened, then, when the Red Spears surrounded Sinyang?

CHU: When the Red Spears surrounded Sinyang, there was, at that time, a vacuum because the northern army had gone and the southern army had not come yet. The Red Spears took over Sinyang for the duration, but they didn't really do any damage to the whole city because of my father's friendship with them. The church compound on the south side of the gate of Sinyang had quite frequently been opened for refugee relief shelters for Red Spears and for other refugees. The Red Spears knew that whenever there was an impasse, they could always come to the church compound for protection. Because of this advantage, it put the church and my father into a very good relationship with the surrounding organizations.

I: Why couldn't they be touched inside the church compound?

CHU: At that time, there was an extraterritorial law. After the Boxer Rebellion, the Ching Dynasty had been defeated. They had surrendered and signed a certain protective treaty. The church compound was considered almost like a foreign territory. Somehow, the divergent military forces both honored the foreign rights of the missionaries and the church, so there was a period of time when they were special privileged people.

I: What was your father's response to the growing nationalism of the 1920s?

CHU: As a religious leader, as well as a patriot of China, he was really very progressive in his thinking. Even before the Nationalist troops took over, he had printed materials from Dr. Sun Yat-sen and all the Nationalist leaders. He was also playing quite an aggressive role in enlightening our local people for national unity, for national independence. It's a hard feeling to explain. He was not, even though he was a Christian, a puppet of a foreign power. Maybe because of this different situation, it made him acceptable to the leaders, the Chinese leaders, as well as to the missionaries. Because of his independence, because of his political view, he drew respect from the missionary leadership and also was held in high regard by the Nationalist Chinese.

I: Could you tell a little bit more about his relationship with Feng Yu-hsiang?

Tape One-Side Two

CHU: When General Feng Yu-hsiang was stationed in Sinyang in early 1910-11 (no, I think in the teens), anyway Feng Yu-hsiang became a Christian when he was stationed in Hunan. They organized Bible studies and prayer meetings for his officers while they were in Sinyang. My father was instrumental in leading those worship services. Through this continuous contact, there developed very strong, mutual admiration and friendship.

I: What anti-Christian sentiment was activated in Sinyang in the late 1920s?

CHU: In the late 1920s the Sinyang City had organized a normal school which is a teacher's training college. This place became a hot-bed of revolutionary ideals. They felt, at that time, that the leadership or the respect of the whole area centered around my father. Therefore, they felt if they could wipe Chu Hao-jan out of the picture, then they could establish themselves as the replacement of the leadership. They began to scheme how to get my father.

To explain further, revolutionary armies at that time had agreed to march for a unified China. At that time, the Nationalists and Communists had joined together and one of the primary purposes was to destroy all the traditional authorities and leadership. Since my father had become over the years a very famous leader in southern Honan Province, they felt if they could persecute my father, then they were indirectly damaging the work of the church and creating chaos.

My father was imprisoned April 21, 1927, when he came out from train station near Hankow. He was welcomed by a young man he didn't recognize. The young man said, "I'm sent to help you." So he followed the young man and got into a ricksha. Then he found out they were going the wrong direction.

Before he knew it, he was arrested and put into prison in Wuchang for 49 days. There was a book written by Dr. O.R. Wold of Faith Under Fire, which is the story of my father's imprisonment.

The news of his arrest came back to Sinyang printed in large letters on the boxcars of all the railroad cars, saying that Chu Hao-jan had been shot. We thought my father was already killed. But Mother, a very talented and brilliant woman, got the children all taken to hideaway places. My older sister was taken to one place where even today I don't know where she went, but the five of us younger ones were trusted to one uncle of ours and taken up to Kikungshan. We hid ourselves in the house and did not even dare to open the window or door. We were inside there for almost one and one-half months. My mother took my younger brother David, who at that time was only three years old, and they went to Hankow to seek assistance to rescue my father.

I: What about that one sister? Did she ever join your family?

CHU: Later on when we got back, she came back.

I: What happened to your father during the imprisonment?

CHU: At first no information leaked out. He was tortured by all kinds of very cruel treatment. He was water tortured several times and he was hung on the beams from his index finger behind his back.

They used a pulley to pull him up a foot and he hung there practically every day until he collapsed. Then they would let him down. When he woke up, they would hang him over again. During those torturous experiences, he must have lost over 100 pounds.

I: Was it the strain of the water treatment?

CHU: In the water treatment they don't give you food. They just give you water to drink--pump you--until you are all swelled up. They wanted him to denounce Christianity, to admit he had been a foreign agent, but he, in all honesty, had never been a foreign agent. As far as denying Christianity, he had found God as his Savior and he couldn't have done that either. They had to continue to torture him, hoping to break him so that he would renounce Christianity. But thank God, he never did.

I: How did your father try to defend himself against this accusation of being anti-revolutionary?

CHU: He was associated with many of the generals of the Nationalist Movement so that that accusation did not have a leg to stand on. But they accused him of being anti-Communist. They may have had something to stand on, but at that time they did not really come out and say that he was anti-Communist. Communism was not really officially organized as a party until later on.

I: Who were his captors?

CHU: The captors we never really did assess because there were so many people. But we learned many of them got killed in the Northern March, so my father never really told us any of the individual names of his captors. I don't really know, but we did have suspicions. We understood them at that time to be the Communist influence.

I: How was he finally acquitted?

CHU: He was finally acquitted by a very miraculous way. My mother, when she was in Hankow, had together with missionaries searched all over trying to find where my father was held. One day they received a note from a jailer of Wuchang. They passed a note to our home in Hankow, indicating that Chu Hao-jan was in that prison. That was already after a month and we thought he was dead. But my mother insisted on finding the truth. If he was dead, she wanted to find his corpse. Then we got this note, indicating he was alive and imprisoned. My mother was overjoyed, but there was still no way of getting him out. The following Sunday she went to church at the Episcopal Church in Hankow. After the service, when she was coming out of church, the pastor greeted her and said that he was sorry to hear that my father was in prison.

When the pastor said that, a man standing by happened to be the representative of General Feng Yu-hsiang and stationed in Hankow.

He turned to my mother and said, "You are Mrs. Chu?"

Mother said, "Yes." He said, "I've overheard something about your husband. What was it?" My mother explained to him and he said, "I don't know your husband, but I have heard from General Feng quite frequently and he mentioned what a wonderful man your husband has been. Let me contact General Feng and see what we can do." Immediately he went home and sent a telegram to General Feng and reported about my father's imprisonment. He got a reply from General Feng that he would do everything within his power to get my father released. He sent a telegram to Chiang Kai-shek and one to the supreme court judge at that time--I've forgotten his name. Within a week my father was released.

I: Did the foreigners have anything to do with that?

CHU: Foreigners, at that time--it was a very unfortunate thing, because there was a slogan: "Anti-foreign extra-territorial privileges." So the missionaries were not able to help.

I: They didn't really help?

CHU: No, but they helped with their prayers.

I: They couldn't help?

CHU: They couldn't help. They were helpless.

I: How did your father respond to the charge that Christianity was a foreign religion?

CHU: That charge has never been really clarified. As far as it is a foreign religion, it has been in the Boxer Rebellion and back in ancient times. The Nestorians had been in China even during the T'ang Dynasty, so that teaching has been incorporated into the Buddhist teaching and a lot of other schools of thoughts. Many of the Chinese words have found that Christian thoughts were in the formation of these words. My father felt that the true religion does not have to be all foreign because it was only during the 19th Century that the missionaries were allowed to come back into China. It's maybe a rediscovery rather than a new religion. He had all kinds of explanations about Christianity in its own true value.

I: What impact did this prison experience in Wuchang have on the rest of your father's life and ministry?

CHU: After that imprisonment, he began to see that to be in the limelight is not always helpful. Since then, he worked equally as hard in the preaching of the Gospel, but he always avoided the limelight. He began to see that revolutionary forces are really inscrutable. They only want to wipe out whatever influence you can exercise. If you can exercise influence without gaining popularity, then you are not a target.

I: How was he received in Sinyang after his release?

CHU: He did not go back to Sinyang because Honan, at that time, was a very chaotic place. It was not safe to go back, so he was advised to go to Shanghai. He went to Shanghai in June of 1927, and the rest of the family went to Shanghai in August. We were all united in Shanghai.

I: How long did you stay in Shanghai?

CHU: We lived in Shanghai until the Japanese War. That's why I had my junior high and high school education in Shanghai. When law and order was re-established in Sinyang and our schools reopened, then we were back in Sinyang. My father was then teaching Bible school in Hsuchang. Our family lived in Sinyang, but my father's work was in Hsuchang.

I: That's quite a ways away. How many hours by train?

CHU: It was an overnight train ride. I think about six-eight hours by train.

I: How often did he come home?

CHU: He didn't come home very often--only during school vacations. Formerly my father was the pastor of the Lutheran Church in Sinyang, but when my father was in Shanghai, they called a pastor, Wu Ying, to be pastor in Sinyang.

We organized a Lutheran church in Shanghai, but then Shanghai was beseiged, so we had to return to Honan. Then they asked my father to go to Hsuchang to head the Bible school.

When in Shanghai, he was also the president of the Lutheran Church of China and was with Chinese independent mission work to organize the churches. In Shanghai at first that church was not sponsored by any mission society until later on when the United Lutheran Church of America sent over missionaries to take over that work. However, my father had already left that work by then.

I: How long was he in Hsuchang?

CHU: He was there until the war, the Japanese War, broke out.

I: Was your father involved in the revival of the 1930s?

CHU: He felt that the churches in China certainly could use revival, but he himself did not participate too strongly in the revival movement as such. He did preach at some of the revival meetings, but did not emphasize speaking in tongues and conversion experiences and such. He did support Dr. John Sung and Peter Shik of our Augustana group and Pastor Wu; he did render some support to the revivalistic preachers.

I: As the president of the Lutheran Church in China, what were the key issues your father was facing?

CHU: As a synod president, his primary responsibility was to strengthen the spiritual well-being and carry on the missionary programs in extending the church within the synod. As a president of the National Lutheran Church, his responsibility, goal, was to promote cooperation and joint effort. The issue he was facing was the lack of educational preparation and the level of the leadership in various areas. There was always a lot of convincing, a lot of discussions, in order to bring the understanding of his colleagues to the level of realism. There were some times when he was frustrated.

Then, you see, it was not only the problem of lack of understanding or common goal in the minds of his colleagues, but also there is a certain amount of divisiveness in the belief in the mind of the mission leadership, especially the European missionaries. Very often they were narrow-minded and lacked vision in their program, which I'm sorry to mention. It is already a by-gone and we should let "dead dogs lie" and shouldn't mention it. The truth of the matter is that an indigenous church leader, working with 16 different missions, does not find it easy to have a very successful result without the blessing of the missions. The missionaries themselves very often were not really cooperating wholeheartedly.

His primary concerns were to establish an indigenous Lutheran church in China and to have willing and able people to carry on the work of propagating the gospel among the people in China.

So the problem was to get not only the missionaries to see the need of working together, but also to convince the Chinese pastors and the bishop that they do need one another. He was traveling all over the country to visit the stations. On the one hand, he was trying to convince the missionaries to get together. On the other hand, he was trying to convince the Chinese leadership that no matter what dialect they were speaking, the Lutheran Church in China should be one and work together. He has been promoting this kind of union through the Lutheran Theological Seminary, through the Lutheran magazine, through our publication house, so that we would all use the same literature and the same catechism. It was not an easy job.

I: No, it was not. What was your father's assessment of the Lutheran indigenous church?

CHU: He also encouraged the church to work together with the Lutheran Church of China and establish some mission projects on their own, not totally depending on missionary support. The Shanghai Lutheran Church was the first example of indigenous organization.

I: How did it happen that your father was president of the church and then a missionary was president once again?

CHU: My father was the first native pastor to be elected president of the Lutheran Church in China.

He served two terms from 1932 until 1938. At the convention in Loyang in 1938, Dr. Peng Fu was elected to succeed him. There was no interim missionary president.

I: When O.R. Wold was on furlough around 1924-25, did your father then become president of the church? When Rev. Wold returned, did he then once again become president?

CHU: I believe that at that time my father was one of the vice-presidents of the Lutheran Church of China while Dr. Wold was president. Thus, when he was on furlough, my father served as acting president. When Dr. Wold returned, he naturally assumed the office again.

I: What were your father's views on the impact and importance of denominationalism in China?

CHU: My father attended as an observer the National Council of Church meetings several times. However, the Lutheran Church did not join the National Council of Churches at that time, primarily because of the policy of the churches in the United States. Just like the Lutheran Church in America did not open up and join the local National Council of Churches until in the 40s. The policy of the missionaries was that the Lutheran missionaries should stand alone. My father attended the conferences as an observer. He felt that Christianity was such a small minority church in China and that if we didn't cooperate with others, if we didn't join with the

National Council of Churches in China, at least we should cooperate in whatever way we can. Denominationalism has been, in my father's view, a deterrent to the progress of the Christian church work in China. Denominationalism in my father's mind was a very unfortunate historical development. However, even until his later years, he established and continued a close friendship with the leaders of many other denominations.

My father was highly impressed by some of the indigenuous leadership working in NCC of China, but also he was puzzled with the attitudes of some of the leadership and wondering about their political alignment. The Lutheran Church, at that time, did not have a definite policy of merging within itself and joining with other national organizations. So even though my father felt we should have worked together, but if the church policy was against actual joining, their keeping informed of what they are doing certainly was a necessary procedure. With contact with the National Council of Churches in China, my father felt the Lutheran Church should really pay more attention to educating of our young, to prepare leadership of high caliber for the future of the Lutheran Church. This endeavor brought about fruitful educational programs of a few young doctors from Sinyang, both of whom graduated from the Cheloo university--Dr. L.M. Yeh and Dr. P.K. Fan, who I presume are still in actual leadership in the medical field in China.

Unfortunately, the young men did not feel too closely connected with the Lutheran Church. That's something regretful. Father promoted with unceasing effort in encouraging young church leadership to become better informed.

As far as my father is concerned, he, although he had not had too much formal education as such, read very widely and purchased a lot of books. He thought that it would be for my benefit, but certainly he himself was reading most of the new publications. We had collections of not only the Chinese historically valuable books, but also many of the modern writings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and others and all the May Fourth leadership in China. We were able to read very widely and extensively about the political views, nationalistic views, and reconstruction of China, which has benefited me greatly.

But as for denominationalism, in a way my father was not a denominational person. He was far more ecumenical-minded and would rather be called a Christian. Because of his training in Lutheranism and his deep conviction of gospel truth discovered in Martin Luther's experience and doctrine of justification by faith, even though he has strong leanings of ecumenical endeavor, he had the conviction that the Lutherans would have a great contribution to the systematic theology and dogma of the future church. Some of the groups and denominations in China my Father found without a wholesome systematic understanding of the Scripture, which was rather unfortunate.

I: What happened to your father after he had to leave Hsuchang?

CHU: At first, when we left Honan and fled to Chungking, there were some criticism among some of the missionaries, especially Norwegian missionaries, who felt he deserted his flock and ran away like a hireling rather than a shepherd.

I: What did the Norwegian missionaries say about all the missionaries who were fleeing to West China at the same time?

CHU: In the first place, there were not too many Lutheran missionaries who fled and went to West China. Not until after Pearl Harbor did some Lutheran missionaries begin to congregate in Chungking. I don't know what the Norwegian missionary would have said.

But when he was in Chungking, the city began to become the central point, or rallying point, of all Lutheran refugees from Honan. Gradually we organized a Lutheran church in Chungking and reorganized the Lutheran Theological Seminary there. My father was one of the organizers in gathering the Lutherans together, so we began to see a blessing in disguise. He did some relief work and provided financial assistance to people in need--offering comfort and strengthening support for the young refugee students.

Responsibilities are hard to define, but it was that rendering of a very important ministry. At the same time, because he had friends in the high places in the government, some intercession was done in terms of refugee relief and student relief.

I: Do you know how long you were there in Chungking?

CHU: We were in Chungking practically eight long years.

I: What kind of planning was done in Chungking concerning the church after the war?

CHU: After the war was over, at first, most of the leaders thought that China would become a one China under the leadership of National government. They would work for rehabilitation--it was primary in the minds of the leaders to reorganize the church. To help to rehabilitate was the first primary job in the minds of people. The second thing they felt was maybe a possibility if we could get organized to establish a Lutheran college in China in order to educate our young. I guess, as far as I can remember, that was the extent of the planning of our future of the Lutheran Church in China and the leadership of Dr. Daniel Nelson. Some other church leaders or missionaries possibly never had any definite plan in mind, only hoping that by the mercy of God we could get back home and get this thing organized.

But we had grand plans with Daniel Nelson. At that time we thought after we had rehabilitated the work, we could organize a Lutheran college in China. Later, through the flying of the airplane, the St. Paul, we felt the money we made from the St. Paul could become the initial endowment for establishing a Lutheran college, but all those plans did not materialize.

I: Why were your father and Daniel Nelson particularly enthusiastic about starting a Lutheran college? What opposition did they meet to this plan?

CHU: The general educational standard of China had enhanced greatly during the World War II years. To cope with after-war rehabilitation and to carry on the program of the various mission fields, we needed far more leadership than we had at that time. Returned missionaries could certainly be depended upon. But China had come a long way in self-assertion. So, the Lutheran Church of China certainly should proceed along nationalistic lines. Thus, the need of local and national leadership was quite clear. We either had to depend on other Christian universities to educate for us our leadership, or we had to have our own institution to prepare our own. One of our own certainly would strengthen the fellowship of the future leadership; thus, strengthen the one national Lutheran Church of China.

There was some weak opposition mainly on financial resources and faculty sources. In principle, there was not too strong opposition. Of course, there was no time to carry out those dreams.

I: After the war, what did your father perceive as positive and negative changes in the church?

CHU: The main problem was to rehabilitate and re-establish the churches and stations all over China. Transportation, personnel, finances were connected problems. Hard to cope with, but the positive side was that the awareness of a nation and the Chinese pastors and leadership did get more assertive which is a good sign. But unfortunately, it was so short-lived. The church was striving to become self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing.

I: What were your father's responsibilities from 1945 until his retirement in 1948?

CHU: In 1945 he stayed in Chungking. Because of the rehabilitation at that time, Dr. Peng Fu was the president of the Lutheran Theological Seminary-in-exile in Chungking. When Dr. Peng Fu left Chungking, my father became acting president of the seminary, to look after the seminary, and at the same time to serve as the pastor of the Lutheran congregation in Chungking. He did not leave Chungking until 1948.

I: Where did he go then?

CHU: After 1948 he lived in Shanghai in retirement.

I: Do you remember what year he passed away?

CHU: He died in 1962 in Shanghai.

I: What about your mother?

CHU: My mother continued to live in Shanghai with my three sisters and their families until 1969 when she returned to the Lord.

I: What did your father anticipate would happen to the church if the Communists gained control?

CHU: There was no precedence that he could draw a parallel for guidance, so there was no way he could anticipate what would happen. He, as well as many of us, did not have the right assessment of the Communist's atheist philosophy. We were, he as well as many others, having wishful thinking, hoping that Communism would not totally destroy the church's structure. Fortunately he was in retirement, so he was not picked as a target for persecution. But many other church leaders were still occupying leadership positions and they were either sold-out to or manipulated as puppets of the new regime. On the other hand, even the Communist leadership at that time was overwhelmed with success. They didn't even know how to cope with the churches and all the emerging problems.

I: Earlier you mentioned Pastor Wu Ying. Do you know what happened to him?

CHU: According to information I heard, he was still living in Sinyang for many years after the Communists took over all the church property. He was having a vegetable stand near the church in the South Gate area to keep a livelihood in a very meager way. Recent visitors indicated that he is still living.

I: Why did some pastors like your father remain in China while others left after the Communists took over?

CHU: The primary reason was, "Where could they go?" There was no place to go. They are Chinese and they have to stay in their own place. The Lutheran Seminary was in exile and moved to Hong Kong to carry on the ministry, but there were few Lutheran pastors who left China at that time except Dr. Peng Fu.

Tape Two-Side One

CHU: As a matter of fact, in 1949, except the missionaries who left China, the only Lutheran organization that left the Mainland of China was the seminary and its faculty. There really was no parish pastor who left China except for Dr. Peng Fu. The reason they remained was, "Where could they go?" If they fled to Hong Kong, what was the future? So that's why many of the pastors, in the Lutheran church especially, chose to stay in China in order to be able to carry on some of the work and to maintain ordinary subsistence living standards.

I: After 1949 some Lutherans were in the first group to sign the Three-Self Document. Why was that?

CHU: The Three-Self Document--self-propagation, self-support and self-government--is not anything new propagated by the Communists. It was publicized long before then that the goals of the Christian Church in China were to become more autonomous and to be able to maintain their own existence and expansion. Really, the Three-Self Document cannot be considered as a Communist gimmick as such. It was initiated by the National Council of Churches and some of the Lutheran leaders happened to be in a position to sign those documents. I doubt very much if there were any other ulterior reasons why they signed the Three-Self Document.

I: How much was your father able to minister after 1949?

CHU: I would say very little. The church activities were almost reduced to nothing. My father, being a retired pastor, enjoyed some limited freedom. Of course, our own family was still able to have prayer meetings and hymn singing together. Friends from Christian churches occasionally get together for a visit, but the ministry in the organized form as we understand in the West certainly was no longer in existence.

I: What were your parents' lifestyle after 1949?

CHU: My parents' lifestyle in Shanghai after 1949 began to become simpler and simpler. At first, we still had a household helper, but after Shanghai was so called "liberated," we did not have domestic help anymore. My wife, who was at that time still in China, and my brother's wife were taking turns to do the household cooking and grocery shopping to serve the grandparents. They were very careful because children were frequently asked by their teachers in school: "What kind of food are you eating at home?" If the children sometimes said they had meat, then they were asked questions of where they got the money to purchase meat. Because all were questioned, they had been very careful. The lifestyle was reduced to the bare minimum subsistence level.

I: What processes of re-education did they have to go through?

CHU: Shanghai is a larger city. Since my parents were retired, they did not have to go through any re-education process. But their grandchildren who were at that time still in school had a very obvious change of tune or attitude of the faculty or teaching staff and education that was used. Especially in kindergarten and elementary school, they began immediately shifting to revolutionary theory and tried to change the tune of the Creation story, which was certainly expected.

I: What kind of contact were you able to maintain with your parents?

CHU: My wife and my children and my youngest brother were very fortunate to get out of Shanghai to Hong Kong in December 1950. Since then, all communications from Hong Kong to Shanghai were reduced to very infrequent and very simple messages reporting that we are safe. We very seldom talked about anything else. Then in 1953 I went to Malaysia, but my three brothers, David, Paul and John, were still in Hong Kong. Usually I wrote my letters and sent them to Hong Kong along with a new envelope that would be forwarded to Shanghai. My parents wrote letters also and sent them to Hong Kong and my brothers would relay them to us. Later on in 1955, when I came back to the United States and in 1956 when my brothers all came to the United States, then we had to impose on our friends in Hong Kong to relay messages, to change the envelopes and forward letters back and forth. All this time I had tried to write letters as if I lived in Hong Kong. Then by 1958, one letter from my father indicated that I didn't have to pretend that I was living in Hong Kong because the People's Government knew well that we were in the United States. Since then, although we continued to transfer letters from Hong Kong and transfer letters to Hong Kong, we know in our hearts that the government over there knows very well where we are.

I: With what missionaries and Chinese leaders did your father interact after 1949 in Shanghai?

CHU: After the so called "liberation" of Shanghai, as I recall, there was still one Lutheran missionary in China. His name was Ralph Mortensen. He was with the Bible Society and he remained in Shanghai until '52. My father did have quite frequent visits with him. As far as other Chinese church leaders among the Lutherans, we had Pastor Ai Nien San and also his brother, who were in charge of religious affairs of the municipal government of Shanghai. Those people he would see frequently.

I: Let us switch to your background. Where and when were you born?

CHU: In Sinyang, Honan, China, 1918, March 20.

I: What is your educational background?

CHU: My elementary school was completed in Sinyang and Hankow and in a Methodist institution in Shanghai. My junior high was completed in the Methodist church school in Shanghai. In Shantung Province--high school and university. My senior high school was in the Methodist high school in Shanghai and the Baptist school in Kaifeng. My college days started with the Yale-in-China Medical School for not quite one year. Then I went to the Lutheran Theological Seminary-Shekow for the balance of the school year. Then the next year I enrolled in Cheloo University which I attended one year in Shantung.

Because of war, I became a refugee student in the University of Honan and then went to West China as the student of Cheloo University in-exile in Chengtu on the campus of West China University. That's my college education in China. I completed my degree in Wittenburg University in Springfield, Ohio in 1949 and completed my seminary education in Hamma Divinity School in Springfield, Ohio, and received my B.D. degree in 1950. So my B.D. and B.A. both were from the United States.

I: How did you as a student feel that Christianity could meet the needs of China?

CHU: Chinese religious understanding, historically speaking, involves mostly individual moral improvement. Christianity offers a positive activated spirit which is lacking from the Chinese religious concepts. Christianity also has this vehicle of organizational structure to promote, not only good will among men, but also to achieve the goals of improved social orders which I found most needed for the situation in China. Naturally, the fatherhood of God to all men, which is the basis of the premises for loving our neighbors as ourselves, is a very important premise. Without the fatherhood of God, then it is a very vague entity to talk about how we should love one another.

Because of Chinese family tradition and love of our fellow man, this doctrine of the fatherhood of God makes the brotherhood of all mankind mandatory so that we Chinese fit in very well. Then, through the Christian education system and through charitable organizations, we can work toward an improved lifestyle and the meaning for existence for our fellow man in our country blessed with such a great mass of population.

I: How did your peers differ in their response?

CHU: This is a funny question. My peers? I never really felt that the mission board or the missionaries, the leaders of the church, are in the category of peers. I have my own vision and my own understanding. And sometimes I talked to the leaders and sometimes I didn't really offer to explain what I think to my senior pastor. There is really no way of figuring out how differently they were thinking.

However, though, I do remember that when we were still in China and some of my missionary friends felt they would like to bring me over to the United States to study, there was some opposition from the missionary council because they were wondering whether they could meaningfully use my personality and ability within the framework of the church. My scholarship processing was postponed or delayed for several times which naturally caused some anxiety in my mind. I was wondering what was going on.

Later on, there was an incident I would like to mention. Upon my completion of education here in the United States (I studied one summer in Union Theological Seminary in New York at summer school), I decided I was going to go back to China by way of Europe. My rationale was that I would like to go to visit the co-ops in England and in the Scandinavian countries to see how they work. I felt that the transition from feudal and capitalistic systems into state-owned Communistic system would require some time. Since the Chinese church in the past was supported by mission funds in China and the mission funds were cut-off, the Christian society in China would have to maintain some kind of economical structure. Through my imagination I thought co-ops, while allowing private ownership but motivated with Christian sharing as the radical approach, could be of use for ways of bridging through a period of time for the Christians who may be able to find a longer unity. I wanted to start something like a co-op.

When I brought this thought to the secretary of the Board of Missions of the United Lutheran Church, at that time, the greater majority of the leaders were very sympathetic. However, one said, "Oh, I imagine you just want to have a grand time and tour of Europe." What they decided was to only grant me direct passage to go back to China. I can go anyway I want, but I would have to make my own arrangements.

If my funds weren't sufficient, that's my tough luck. I felt maybe they were right to feel so, or maybe they were a little too careful. I had never had any such thought. I just accepted what they offered and I went on to visit Europe on my own, which I found very meaningful. Although I had no way of putting any of those thoughts into practice in China, I still think the visit was very enriching to my own personal growth.

I: What are your impressions of being educated in a mission school?

CHU: When I was young, my education almost completely was in church-related schools; however, they were operated primarily by Chinese teachers-leaders. I do not have any opinion against the missionary schools. They were operated in a first-class way and I felt they were all fine schools. Possibly I received some special consideration because my father was a pastor, so the teachers and missionaries treated me a little nicer than the others. I cannot tell. But on the whole, my mission school experience was a wonderful one.

I: What concepts, values and ideas were introduced in the mission schools that influenced you the most?

CHU: Based on Christianity, as I mentioned earlier, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of mankind are the values that really have influenced me the most.

Then the organizational ability of the western world and the music, the use of music as amassed emotional vibration, certainly has a very great effect and so I think this has influenced me. There were, of course, obvious imperialistic elements which every now and then bothered me. But, on the other hand, we are all human. If there are advantages to be enjoyed, who would voluntarily refuse to exercise such privileges? So I was never really overly critical against the missionaries.

I: What seemed the most foreign to you about your contacts with the West?

CHU: There were quite frequent contacts with my father and many of the missionaries, so meeting foreigners and other missionaries was almost like a daily routine in our family. I don't remember if there were any special occasions that made me feel strange about the foreigners.

There is one experience I would like to relate. Since my father was the president of the Lutheran Church in China, every now and then they had board meetings. Of course, the Executive Board of the Lutheran Church has Chinese members and western members. As the meetings began, at first they were all talking in Chinese. When they became critical, the missionaries began to turn around and speak in English.

Unfortunately, my father had a very limited understanding of the English language. As presiding officer of the meeting, and in order to hold the meeting to the normal process, he felt left out when those missionaries began to whisper in foreign languages. He had repeatedly instructed me: "Son, you will have to study English well."

Later on, in my high school years, because I was able to understand some English already, there were times he took me with him to some of the meetings. He let me sit next to him. When any English conversation started, I would whisper to him whatever I could pick up from the conversation. Some of the missionary friends were very good-hearted and laughed: "Pastor Chu, you have your own interpreter, huh?"

Then, whenever questions got to be crucial, the Norwegians and Swedes immediately began to switch from English to their own mother tongue, Swedish or Norwegian, so my father and I were upset. He said, "Dan, you have to study Swedish and Norwegian." That's why when I first enrolled in Cheloo University, I entered the Foreign Languages Department -- not only to study English very strenuously and diligently, but also to study French, German and Latin, hoping that we were not going to be left out of any future international gatherings.

Tape Two-Side Two

I: How would you evaluate the quality of education you received?

CHU: I am very grateful to my parents because they made great sacrifice to provide the best education money could buy in China at that time. When school was closed in Sinyang, they scraped to send me to schools in Hankow. Then to Shanghai. Although I had to walk a long distance to go to school in Shanghai, that was the best school in the neighborhood and I was fortunate to be there. My education here in the United States was in the middle western small cities, instead of large cities like Chicago, San Francisco or New York City. In a small city setting and a small Christian college campus, I was able to be received as a human being and establish personal contacts with the student body, the professors, the towns' people. I found the simplicity of the life-style of the people and the warmth expressed in their Christianity and the friendship we established has meaning far more than a lot of foreign students experienced in western education in the United States. Many of the friendships I was able to experience have lingered practically all my life. Many of my schoolmates are still buddies of mine, which was of tremendous value in shaping my personality. Therefore, I felt fortunate to have grown up and matured in an interesting time of history. I felt I had received not only the best institutional education, but also because of matured age (I became a student in the United States at age of 30 after my military service experiences and refugee experiences), I was far more mature than my colleagues.

My opinion formed through those experiences was invaluable.

I: How did you decide to go initially to Yale-in-China?

CHU: I went to Yale-in-China to study medicine because my parents told me that even before I was born, they were praying to God to give them a son. My mother and father had three daughters before I was born. In the Chinese setting, then, a family without a son would mean an end to the family tree and there would be no son to carry on the banner of the family. They were hard-pressed to pray for the gift of a son. They even went so far as to promise that their son would become a servant of the Lord, a preacher. In my younger days, I was always urged to be nice, to be good and to prepare myself to become a preacher. Because of this constant reminding, I developed some kind of resentment against becoming a preacher.

Although my father was not as poor as some other clergymen, certainly we also suffered some financial needs; therefore, I developed the rationale that to be a preacher is not easy. I also developed the rationale that Jesus Christ was not only a preacher but also a healer and all the miracles He had done created the opportunity for Him to preach. If He did not have the medical miraculous ability, who knows whether He would have been successful or not. Therefore, when I was completing my high school education, I decided to argue with my parents to allow me to go to medical school, so that I could become a medical doctor.

Then I would study theology, to be so well-prepared as a doctor and a preacher combined. That is the reason I decided to go to Yale-in-China.

I: What were the issues that the students in Changsha were facing when you were there?

CHU: When I went to Yale, I was only 17. I lived my 17 years in Honan and in Shanghai completely under the wing and protection of my parents. We eat certain foods and got used to it--we liked certain things and were not exposed to other things. When I went to Yale in Changsha, the school was full of other students from Hunan Province. The teachers speak Hunan dialects which I had no problem learning to understand, but the food they ate, practically every dish had hot peppers, which takes a little learning to get used to. I never knew anything about college fraternity-sorority initiation. There really were no burning issues at that time among the students. Everybody was studying hard. Because I was the youngest of the whole student body, some of the good-natured students were trying to pull some tricks on me for my initiation to the college campus. One day when I was walking down to the dining hall, somebody threw a blanket or shirt over me. Several came and tied me up and carried me out. Being completely blindfolded, I didn't know what they were doing.

They turned one of the benches around, set me in the legs and tied me in there. They didn't tie me so tightly, but I was imagining I was put on some high place in the air, and I was tightly roped into something. When they left me there, I struggled very carefully, trying to get myself untied and get the blindfold opened. I found I was only very securely lying just a few inches above the ground. That was very humiliating experience. At that time I thought they were irritating me--a northerner in a southern campus. I did not see it as merely a student body prank--an initiation. I thought they were mistreating me. I decided to go to seminary instead of completing my education in the medical school.

Another thing that bothered me was when I visited the anatomy room. The odor bothered me. Now I know I have sinus problems, but at that time I didn't know what it was. The odor made me sick to my stomach. Besides, the dead bodies they were cutting with knives under the skin and slicing them piece by piece--that really frightened me. I did have some theological wonderings: "Thou shall not kill." Does that apply only to living beings or can we cut dead cadavers? I felt that if the Lord said, "Thou shall not kill," we should not even use knives to slice anybody's body. I felt that perhaps I was not ready to be a doctor. I had better go just to be a preacher, so I left the medical school.

I: How did you decide to go to the Lutheran Seminary for a year?

CHU: I left Yale-in-China, but where could I go? I had pleaded very hard with my father to allow me to go to Yale to study because I wanted to be a doctor and a preacher combined. If I deserted medical school, which was very hard to get into, I must have some good explanation. So, instead of going directly home, I felt seminary was my sanctuary. How can a pastor have anything contrary to say about his own son who wants to go to seminary? Therefore, I left Changsha and went to Lutheran Theological Seminary in Shekow and asked to be enrolled to that school for a year. It was after Shekow that I enrolled in the University at Cheloo.

I: What differences did you note among Yale-in-China, Cheloo and the seminary?

CHU: The differences were like night and day. At Yale, because it was a professional medical school (four years of college and four years of medical school were packed into a six years of education), the pressure was to concentrate on studies. At Cheloo University, the liberal arts school, the lifestyle was not as strenuous, but nevertheless, it was an academic institution and the students' diligence was also pronounced. On the other hand, the theological seminary in China, Lutheran or other theological seminaries possibly were all alike,

was really there to provide some additional tools for evangelists. The student body of the Lutheran Theological Seminary was primarily older people who had already had a number of years of field evangelistic experience. They would go to the seminary to have a little advanced brush-up to prepare for ordination. When I went there, I was not even 18 years old, but the student body, the older ones, were in their 50s. That certainly was a big gap and the style of the instruction was also geared for that group of people. Many of them were really highly respected church leaders, but there were also limitations in their backgrounds and some of them did not have much formal school training. There were times I felt frustrated because the press of requirements of academic standing were somewhat different. Looking back on it--some of the mission churches started missions--there is no other way they could do it, but to operate in the style they did, and I had no gripe about it.

I: How were conditions for study when you were refugeeing in Chengtu?

CHU: When I was a refugee student in Chengtu, I went to Chengtu with two of my sisters. My third sister was to be in medical school in Cheeloo and my younger sister was to be a high school student. The family could not all get up there, so they sent us first. We took a bus trip. It was a long way.

From Hankow to Changsha to Heinyang to Kweiling, Kwangsi, and Kweichow and Chungking. We arrived in Chengtu to go back to school. The conditions were a little chaotic. Other than that it was just a normal campus. The university was a beautiful campus built to accommodate, I guess, 1500 students, but then there were 4,000-5,000 students there. Our dormitory was in a large room in the basement of one of the intellectual halls, but student spirit and diligence of the student body certainly was very remarkable.

I: Why did you join the military in your senior year instead of after graduation?

CHU: I joined the military because the campus was bombed. Many students decided to join the military to fight the war against Japan. Since the campus was bombed and so many people were killed, naturally a lot of them felt far more patriotic and wanted to help the nation. The same spirit swept me into joining then. In the meantime, I had my own personal problem about the family's desire that I should become a preacher. I thought if I joined the military service and if by the providence of God that I got killed, then I didn't even have to be a preacher.

I: When you came to the U.S. in 1948, what do you consider would be happening in China in the following few years?

CHU: I was not expecting that the national government troops would collapse so fast. I thought the civil war would have to carry on a few more years. As a matter of fact, I really didn't even think that the Nationalists would be driven off the Mainland of China, so that shows how my projection could be very wrong.

I: Before China closed, what did you foresee as your involvement in Lutheran Church in China?

CHU: Before China closed, I was hoping that I would go back to China to work in the Lutheran Church of China, where the missionaries had left off. Since my father had contact with the Lutheran Church of China all over the country, I felt I could make a real contribution with some understanding of co-ops as economic foundations. I could go and help to get the church reorganized and introduce some economical ways so that they could at least be self-perpetuating. Before I left China, I was not involved too much with the Lutheran Church of China except through my father. Many of the people who knew my father naturally also could easily be approached by me. Besides, I also knew many of them personally.

I: Could you have returned to Shanghai in 1950 if it had not been for your theological education?

CHU: I was fully prepared to return to China. I even ventured to choose not to be ordained after my graduation, hoping that I could be ordained in China which was under Communist domination.

In that way, I would not be coined with any western coloring. Enroute home, I was returning from Europe with 11 other students returning from England. I thought I could very easily be assimilated into the group, but when I returned to Hong Kong in November, 1950, China was involved in war in Korea. That made my theological education a little undesirable if I had gone back at that time. So some missionaries and I began to discuss whether it would be wise for me to return. And we decided against it.

I: What happened to all your brothers and sisters? Some came to this country and some were left in China?

CHU: My three younger brothers, David, Paul and John, are all in this country. David and Paul own and operate a Chinese restaurant in Springfield, Ohio. John is a research engineer in NCR in Ohio. My eldest sister Sheila, an M.D., is married to L.H. Kiang, also M.D., and they are in Oxford, Alabama.

My second sister was a nurse (RN) and died in Shanghai in 1961. My third sister is an M.D. and married Dr. Young Shu. They are presently in Shanghai waiting for visas to immigrate to the USA. The fourth sister is a school teacher and married a banker Tan. They too are in Shanghai also waiting for their visas to come over. My fifth sister is an accountant and she married a teacher Go. They are now in Hong Kong.

They were permitted to leave Shanghai on December 13, 1978 just prior to the announcement of Sino-USA normalization. They are also waiting for visas to come over. By the mercy of the Lord, we, the Chu family, may be re-united in this God-blessed country.

I: How do you think the Lutheran Church in China was prepared for the revolutionary changes that occurred in China?

CHU: The Lutheran Church in China was not prepared for so drastic a change, nor were any other missions able to foresee the coming changes. Certainly we weren't prepared. All these years have gone by and in case China does open up again, I don't think any Lutheran church in the world is prepared to meet the new challenge either.

I: When called to be a pioneer Chinese missionary to Malaysia by the ULCA, did you have the same status as the other ULCA missionaries?

CHU: This is a very good question. I was given to understand that my status would be the full missionary status. After arriving on the field in Malaysia, then we began to see it was not possible to treat me as a full-fledged missionary of ULCA. So I was put into the status of neither fish nor fowl. I was not granted the full missionary status, nor was I treated as a native pastor, which was one of the unfortunate experiences we had to endure.

I: Why was it not possible to treat you as a full-fledged missionary of the ULCA?

CHU: At that time, a missionary was only considered as a person sent by the church to leave his or her homeland to a foreign country to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A Chinese, though he had left his homeland but was working in environments predominantly Chinese, was not considered a missionary as such. Besides, how about the rest of his Chinese co-workers?

However, this concept was corrected in 1957 at a conference in Pennsylvania where "missionary" was re-defined as one who was sent away from his or her homeland to a foreign place.

I: What do you believe has been the impact of your serving predominantly non-Chinese congregations in this country?

CHU: My experience of serving non-Chinese congregations in the country simply has been a very wonderful experience. I have served four pastorates: St. Luke, Springfield, Ohio; then Bethlehem in Mt. Clemens; Transfiguration in Taylor, Michigan; and Resurrection here in Tacoma, Washington. I have learned one thing which is very important-- that my parishoners accept me as a pastor, a Christian pastor first and foremost. Nobody has ever even questioned my Chinese status, except every now and then, I tease about it. In the laity's mind, Christianity is universal. It is inclusive and somehow I feel that the racial questions mostly are imagined in the minds of the leaders of the church.

They may be overly protective against introducing any new adventure or new experiment. When I first served in St. Luke's, after one month the congregation unanimously voted to call me to be their pastor, which shows the big-heartedness of the people. I was completely green in ministry, yet they were able to struggle with me to help me to grow. Naturally, in the years I continued to grow in my relationships with my parishioners, and they are getting to be far closer and meaningful than I ever could have imagined. Now the impact of my experience offers some break-through experience to the church at large. Since then, there are not only Chinese pastors, but Japanese, Korean and all the others, even in other denominations.

Tape Three-Side One

I: Pastor Chu, our time is running out. Is there anything that you would like to add to the record at this point?

CHU: Now I'd like to mention a few concerns I have in my mind for the future because you have asked the question about the church's plans for the future, about what did they plan. We have found out now from hindsight, there was lack of planning. As church leaders and as individual Christians, we really don't get around to plan very meaningfully as to what is going to happen in the future.

Now since the normalization of relationships between the United States and the People's Republic of China, what are we planning for the future? Do we expect to send missionaries back like we used to do in the past?

The answer certainly is "NO!" It isn't going to be the same. Whatever can be developed is in the hands of God, but are we prepared to deal with the new opportunities coming? No, I don't think the church is making any plans in that way either. Unfortunately, in recent years, I have felt the church has missed a lot of opportunities and has merely reacted whenever something has happened. Then we hurry off and rush to salvage something and don't have any real plans. Unfortunately, as far as dealing with China, many of our leaders are worried about the future of Taiwan. Certainly Taiwan is very important in my mind as well as in many other leaders' minds, but we already have established church work in Taiwan and Hong Kong. You know the mentality of the people in a few areas is formed by their alignment and situation, so we cannot change that very much. We Christians in the United States will have to look beyond the current problem and see what we can accomplish in the future in case wider opportunities open. I feel that personally the most important thing we should do is to place key persons such as student pastors in large universities where there will be a greater concentration of students from the PRC.

In that way they can get in touch with some change of style of life, such as the Christian style of life--love and concern and sharing.

We need to have some opportunity to expose some of our better qualities to their attention. Who knows 30 years from now who will become the formative leaders of the future China? Once they truly understand the real nature of Christianity and the genuine, sincere concern and the loving, sharing spirit of Christianity, there may still be wonderful opportunities opening up. As I have mentioned in many other places, historically when Karl Marx was starting writing his thesis, if there were some far-sighted persons to come to his aid and offer him scholarships so that he didn't have to suffer and practically starve in winters, what would have been the consequence? If he had had enough food supply and did not have to eat stale bread and did not have to drink cold water, then his theory might not have been so hostile. Unfortunately, it is too late for us to do anything for him. We cannot recapture anything that happened over 100 years ago.

Looking back, then, when Chou En-lai was in Paris as labor-student and so was Teng Hsia_o-ping, when they were lacking means and there was nobody around to give them a hand, what could they do? Join the Communist Party. So learning from the past experiences and also looking into more current experiences after the war was over,

many Chinese came over to this country to study and a great number of them returned to China. They returned accusing American of imperialism, accusing Americans of capitalism and very fanatically carried on this revolutionary force in China with anti-American feelings.

Why did they do so? Possibly some of them, the new leaders, harbored some anti-American or anti-foreign elements in their minds for all those years. They didn't dare to express themselves. When opportunities opened up, they accepted and they joined the band and enjoyed beating the dead dog. Or maybe because their experiences in the United States were not as desirable as possible, or maybe they were impressed by the slums of a New York City and the crowded southern area of Chicago, where what they had seen or learned was contrary to what Christian missionaries had been teaching them. They found there were differences in practices and the racial problems were not anything to be bragged about. They began to wonder if the teachings were of eternal value or some window dressing, so they themselves changed.

My experiences were totally different. I have seen the kind of Christian people in the United States at work, so my feeling is that I have never become so thoroughly anti-American, even though I do not dismiss that there are problems in this country. Certainly there are problems in all places in the world--even in the People's Republic of China.

They have problems too. The way they cope with their problems may be different than the way we hope they will cope with them. I have felt that to initiate some kind of improvement, we have to become far more open-minded and prepare to meet what opportunity brings to our door. Now this great opportunity of thousands of Chinese students coming over for short-term technological studies makes wonderful open-door chances for us to work with them. I do hope not only the Lutherans will pay attention to this project, but others will too. It would be certainly very meaningful.

I: Pastor Chu, we thank you for this contribution. We appreciate it.