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## Midwest China Oral History Interviews

Paul G. Hayes

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PAUL G. HAYES  
ORAL HISTORY ABSTRACT

EARLY LIFE: family background; education; accepted as missionary by  
Methodist Board of Missions, 1921.

CHINA EXPERIENCES: language school at Nanking University; work at  
Wuhu, Anhwei, as district superintendent and secretary; work toward  
an indigenous church; emphasis on the social gospel; bandit activity;  
responses to various Chinese political figures; response to extra-  
territoriality; living conditions in Wuhu; fundamentalist and  
liberal approaches to mission work; impact of denominationalism in  
China; Methodist expectations of Chinese Christians; lessons learned  
from mission endeavor; contributions of mission endeavor to  
Christianity in U.S.; response to People's Republic of China; future  
of mission work in China; memorable personalities from China.

INTERVIEWER: Jane Baker Koons

DATES: 3-16-77; 3-25-77

PLACE: Minneapolis, Minnesota

NUMBER OF PAGES: 81

+ Complementary archival and museum material from Paul G. Hayes is also  
housed in the Midwest China Oral History, Archives, and Museum Collection.

## INTERVIEW

INTERVIEWER: Dr. Hayes, would you begin by telling where and when you were born?

HAYES: I was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, September 1, 1890.

I: What is your family background?

HAYES: My father always told me he was Scotch-Irish and my mother is of German background. Her name was originally Gutmann. When they came to America, it became Goodman; so the G in my name is for Goodman, her maiden name.

I: What was your father's profession?

HAYES: My father was a carriage bodymaker. He grew up in a farm family in Lancaster county. Then as a young man he went to Annville, Pennsylvania, where he learned the trade of making carriage bodies--all kinds of vehicle bodies. At that time, there were no automobiles, of course, and he made bodies for carriages, buggies, phaetons, hearses, milk wagons, and any kind they would ask him to make. He would make the drawings first, and the specifications. Then he finished the woodwork, no painting and no metalwork at all; other artisans did that.

He bought our house at the address 558 North Queen Street, Lancaster, in the 1880s. He built a two-story shop at the back end of the property. That is where he did his work. And I remember trying to help him.

I: What was your educational background, Dr. Hayes, up until your ordination?

HAYES: At the age of six I began at the Lemon Street Public School in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and continued through seven grades. My father died in 1901 and my mother kept me

in school two years and then, needing my help for financial reasons, I was taken out of school. There were no laws against it at that time. I went to work as an office-boy in a bending works, where they made wheels, shafts and bows for vehicles out of hickory, oak and ash. I was out of school for seven years. In the meantime, I had received valuable experience in typing, bookkeeping, banking, even taking the place of a shop foreman on occasion.

I: Where did you do your undergraduate work?

HAYES: After I had the call to be a minister or missionary--from 1910, I could leave home and my sister would take over the support of our mother--I went to Brooklyn, New York, and spent a year at the Union Missionary Training Institute. At that time, I had had only one year of high school. I was there one year and I got the idea they were not preparing me for the kind of service that I would like to render. So I conferred with one of my teachers and at his advice, I went back home and entered Franklin and Marshall Academy for two years. I lived at home and helped support my mother. Then after four years at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, I received my A.B. degree.

I: What was it exactly in your childhood or student days that influenced your decision to go into mission work? What created that desire?

HAYES: Well, I think the first thing was the appearance of Dr. Henry Appenzeller in the First Methodist Church in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. My parents were members there and I was baptized there as an infant and was in the Sunday School. When I was just a little boy, they took us all up into the sanctuary one Sunday morning when Dr. Henry Appenzeller, who was from our church and a missionary in

Korea, gave an address. As I looked at this great man, (as I look back on it now) that was the beginning of the lure of missionary service and the beginning of a desire that I be a missionary. Of course, there was a great deal of development after that.

It was in 1907 when I was approaching my 17th birthday and I had been active by that time in the Epworth League of my church. At that time I was already in college, going back and forth as a day student. My church had morning and evening services. The evening services didn't seem to be satisfying to me. Some of us boys would leave the young people's meeting and we would go downtown. We would go to Rocky Springs Park for recreation. We were doing this one evening when we passed an ice cream parlor where there was a sign: "Union Gospel Mission-- Every Sunday Night."

The boys who were with me wouldn't go in with me. So I went alone. I found it crowded. The man in charge, Dr. Ezra Sieber, an optometrist, came through the crowd where I was and asked if I would come up on the platform and help with the singing. I did and sat right next to the speaker of the evening who happened to be a Negro preacher. When he was through preaching, in this mission, it was the custom for anybody and everybody who wished to do so, to take part and give their testimony. So I gave my testimony. That was the beginning of a new life for me. As I tried to give my testimony of what God had done for me, I was growing in grace and learning.

To make a long story short, that became the Water Street Mission of which I became one of its reorganizers because, as a Union Gospel Mission, it had a precarious existence. For a while, it was under the Holiness Church and for a while it was under the Volunteers of America. Finally, I was one of the workers who, with several others, got to-

gether and decided to make it a city mission called the Water Street Mission, located on Water Street, which was our slum street. We drew up the articles of incorporation and I was connected with that mission for 10 years. Those were the 10 most formative years in my Christian life.

I: Why did you become particularly interested in China?

HAYES: At that mission there were three or four women who had been missionaries in China. They belonged to the Christian and Missionary Alliance. I went to the Alliance. I was baptized by immersion in the Little Conestoga Creek. Their testimony led me to feel very much interested in China. As time went on, I studied different missionary fields. When it came to a showdown with the Board of Missions, they asked me where I wanted to go. I said it this way: "Wherever they found that I would be most helpful, there I would go." They first suggested India and then China. And it became China.

I: You seemed to have a special desire initially to go to western China. Why were you so interested in western China?

HAYES: Because I read of great need there.

I: In some of your initial correspondence with the Board, you said you were hopeful that you could go to western China, although you would be willing to stay in Central China, too. But, your first desire was to go to western China?

HAYES: Primarily, I was seeking through the Board, to know God's will.

I: You mention that when you were at the Brooklyn Union Missionary Training Institute, you did not feel that they were preparing you for the kind of mission work that you had hoped to do. What kind of work were they preparing you for?

HAYES: At the Union Missionary Training Institute the preparation was quite varied. We had Biblical studies, studies in physiology, studies in Latin which would prepare us to be linguists in whatever country we would go; the whole curriculum was broadly based. The thing that bothered me was that when their missionaries came back from various countries and spoke to us, they didn't measure up to the standards of Dr. Appenzeller. I said, "I want to be like Dr. Appenzeller. I don't want to be like these people." In other words, I sensed their deep spiritual commitment, but from an educational point of view, something seemed to be lacking. That was the reason that I decided to go to the Methodist Board of Missions and make myself known and follow their advice.

I: After college, then, you went to seminary?

HAYES: Yes. Following the advice of one of the teachers at the Training Institute, I went to our Board of Mission headquarters and told them I believed God had called me to be a missionary. I walked over the Brooklyn Bridge and I got to 150-5th Avenue. I was green as grass and didn't know what to do and stood around.

Finally, a secretary rescued me and asked me what I wanted. I said, "I want to be a missionary." She said, "All right, you come over here to Dr. Fowles." He was treasurer of the Board at that time. They had no personnel secretary, so he was pinch-hitting as the personnel secretary. He talked to me quite a while and wondered how in the world I had ever gotten to the Union Missionary Training Institute. I tried to tell him how I had seen their advertising in a mission magazine and it sounded good: It was coeducational and interdenominational and international. But it seemed to me after a year I needed something more in the way of an education than that. "So I came over here to ask your advice."

"Well," he said, "let me see. One year in missionary training. What did you have before that?" I said I had had one year of high school. He said, "How long will it take you to finish high school?" I said I could do it in two years. So he got a piece of paper and a pencil and he put down a two. Underneath that he put a four. I was smart enough to understand that was college, of course. And then he put a three under that. I said, "What's that?" "Well," he said, "before you can be a missionary of the Board, you better have a theological education, too. That's three years." I said, "That's quite a long time. I am approaching the age of 21. I will soon be a voter. And the heathen are just dying over there and here I am sitting here studying books." And he said, "Mr. Hayes, just a minute, just a minute. Two and four is six and three is nine. You say you're 21 and 9 is 30. You won't have sense enough to be a missionary before you're 30."

That was straightforward talking. I finished that course and added one more year of graduate study to it. Then the Board was ready to send me to China. They had a briefing session at the Drew Theological Seminary in Madison, New Jersey. Dr. Fowles was there. I thanked him. He had forgotten the incident. That was 1921.

I: Dr. Hayes, at the time that you were ready to go out to China, it seems that they were having some financial difficulty within the church. They were afraid you wouldn't be able to go because of reduced appropriations. Do you know why there were reduced appropriations at that time?

HAYES: I do not know.

I: Were there any negative reactions to your going to China when you finally were prepared to go, either from family or a wider circle of friends?



HAYES: None from my family. I came home once from the Water Street Mission, in my late teens, and told my widowed mother that God had called me to be a missionary. She said, "I didn't tell you earlier, but this is along the very line that your father and I had often hoped that you would proceed." There was prayerful agreement on the part of my mother.

In the Board of Missions, itself, there was some questioning. You perhaps found a letter from Dr. Ralph Ward, Bishop Ward. Afterward I don't know what was in his mind, but he and I didn't hit it off very well at first. He came to Boston University when I was a student there to interview me. After the interview he said something to the effect that he thought I would be a dangerous sort of fellow to send to the mission field. I thought that closed it as far as my appointment by the Methodist Board was concerned. To my amazement, it didn't. They kept me on the list and wrote me again and again. Finally, they invited me and I signed an application that put me on the list for missionary service.

I: Did he explain to you why he thought you would be a dangerous sort of fellow to send?

HAYES: No, I don't remember that he did. If he did, I don't know what he meant.

I: One issue that you brought up in some of your correspondence was your singleness. I was wondering why that would be an issue since there were so many single women missionaries that were going out at that time?

HAYES: That may have been part of the reasoning. It may also have been the fact that I had grown up in a very conservative religious Pennsylvania German background. That may have been part of the reason. Or it may have been the fact that I was able to question things. I questioned my background to some extent and that may have been it--I don't know what his reasoning was. In all events, he didn't sell it to the Board.

I: After the decision was made that you were to go to China, did you receive any training from the Board?

HAYES: Oh, it's amazing. Practically none. Nothing more than that briefing session where they brought us all together. About 100 were going out that year in 1921. They brought us all together at Drew Theological Seminary at Madison. They had speakers from various countries to tell us about their experiences there and what we might expect if we were going to India or China or if we were going someplace else. All of us listened to all of this. That was all the briefing that we got until each of us arrived in the language school in our area.

I: What did you know of the political and social situation in China before you left?

HAYES: I went directly from the Boston School of Theology-- the four years that I was there I do not remember that I read a single book on China. In fact, I wasn't sure until the last minute where they were going to send me.

I: Do you recall what your vision was of what you were going to do in China before you left?

HAYES: I don't believe I ever formulated that.

I: When did you leave for China?

HAYES: In the summer of 1921.

I: Can you recall initial difficulties that you encountered upon arriving in China?

HAYES: I was assigned to a station that was already 40-years-old. I do not remember any initial difficulties. The first year--1921- 22--was Language School at Nanking University. And Language School was our year of courtship. I met Helen Wolf on the steamer en route to China and we were together at

the Language School for the first year. While we were there, our engagement was announced. We were married at Nanking, after the year was over--June 13, 1922.

We went by rail to Nanking. I was assigned to the home of Dr. Rowe, the Methodist president of Nanking Theological Seminary. Helen, whom I had escorted on that railway trip, was assigned to the home of Dr. Hummel, who was one of the professors at the Nanking University. She went out under the Board of the Reformed Church in the United States. When we announced our wedding to the Board at home, they made arrangements to transfer her from one mission to the other. The Methodists paid for her--the sum of \$1700. That was the amount that she would have earned as her salary for the first year and her outgoing expenses on the steamer.

I: When you were at the Language School in Nanking, did you receive other kinds of training as well? Did you have historical and cultural training at that time?

HAYES: It must have been very incidental. There were no classes in such studies. As Helen says, we soaked it in, but there were no formal courses. It was solely a Language School, a department of Nanking University. We had teachers--there were about 100 teachers in number and about 100 students--and we were one by one in some classes. That was the direct method of learning the language. The teacher says something and you repeat it after him. Then you get the meaning of it by how he acts, etc. But it was all a matter of learning to speak, chiefly, and only incidentally to read, to recognize characters. We only learned to write 500 of them which was not even enough to read a newspaper.

I: When you got on to the field itself, what areas did you find that you were least prepared in and what areas did you feel you were most prepared in?

HAYES: I'd like to have a little time to think about that. I reached my station at Wuhu after we had a wedding trip up to the station, Yochow in Hunan Province, where my wife was supposed to go. We came back from there and went to Wuhu in Anhwei Province and were settled into the second floor apartment in one of the mission residences. I was immediately appointed to be district superintendent because the missionary there, Rev. Lyman Hale, was going home on furlough and would be home for several years. Rev. Hale was superintendent of the Wuhu district which had about 40 churches on both sides of the Yangtze River. A superintendent was necessary. At that time there were no Chinese superintendents, so the missionaries were superintendents.

I was immediately plunged into administrative duties. I had brought with me from Nanking, one of my Chinese teachers to be my secretary. He would receive my letters, read them to me and I would make a reply in Chinese to him. He would write the answers in good Chinese. I would put my seal on the letter and send it off. That was the way I was able to keep in touch with all of the churches. In addition to that, of course, I visited all of these churches, held quarterly conferences, preached occasionally, and conducted weddings and baptisms. But I was not prepared in any definite way for that particular kind of service. I had no idea what I was going to do when I went to Wuhu. So I went on from day to day. The other missionaries who were there assisted me. The Wuhu General Hospital was in the same compound where we were living. Dr. Libby and Dr. Brown went with me on some of the outside trips--my first trips--and helped me to know where the places were and helped me to meet the Chinese pastors and people.

I: It sounds like you were, then, the only missionary in the district that was involved with evangelization and the actual growth of the churches.

HAYES: That's right. I was the only evangelistic missionary for that district.

I: When you arrived in China, what were the issues that the Methodist mission was struggling with?

HAYES: I don't know. My memory isn't as good as it used to be. So much of the latter part of my missionary career there was involved in the financial difficulties caused by the depression in the United States. That stands out so large that it kind of blocks out other possible difficulties.

I: Would you go into detail about how the mission work was effected by the depression in the United States?

HAYES: Yes, indeed. After my first term we found a Chinese who would take over as district superintendent. Then I was appointed to be missionary associate with him. That relieved me from traveling to all the churches; but it added a lot of desk work for me because I was secretary, then, of the mission which meant that I had charge of the correspondence between the mission group--the Central China Mission, it was called-- and the China secretary of the Home Board. The difficulties there were largely connected with an every year decrease in the appropriations they'd present to us due to the depression here. As much as seven to ten percent a year decrease. Now our missionary salaries were not decreased. They were so low as it was they couldn't decrease them because of the cost of living basis. But the appropriations that came for the work, what we call the work budget, and for the salaries of the Chinese pastors and workers in the institutions were constantly being decreased.

We had a very great difficulty in maintaining the work. That was a very difficult situation for us to face; but it was also connected with the program that we had adopted of helping the church become self-supporting, self-propagating and self-administering--three-fold. So we were trying at the same time to help the Chinese to support these churches and institutions. We didn't succeed very well at that.

In addition, I had one personal problem that didn't appear immediately; but at the end of my first term--the first term was five years--I felt that I could serve the mission far better if I would become a teacher in the Nanking Theological Seminary. In my spare time I did a good deal of reading. I had an arrangement with the Chinese Recorder, whose editor was Dr. Frank Rawlinson, in Shanghai, for whom I would review books.

I: Why did you feel that you would be able to serve better as a teacher at the seminary?

HAYES: I came to believe that I was better prepared both by experience and by education to be a teacher than an evangelist. I think I wrote more articles and reviewed more books in the Chinese Recorder in the years I was there, than any other missionary. Dr. Rawlinson was a liberal. He discovered that I was a liberal in my thinking by that time. It was my seminary experience that changed me, of course, without any interruption or difficulty in my personality at all. But this Nanking Theological Seminary was dominated by a missionary from our mission, Dr. James, an Englishman, and by Dr. Price, Frank Price's father, who was a conservative Southern Baptist. There was just no possibility that any person (I didn't realize this at first) in my position in theology could possibly have gotten into the seminary while there.

Nevertheless, when I came home on furlough, I was still hoping conditions at the seminary might change. I was home for two years--the second year due to the fact that Chiang Kai-shek and the revolution had come on. I studied one year at Union Theological Seminary, where I had a fellowship. I studied Philosophy and New Testament at Union and Chinese Language and Culture at Columbia University by working toward a doctorate. The second year my teacher from Columbia, Dr. Louis Hodous, moved over to Hartford, so I moved to Hartford to have the benefit of his work. I was still working along the idea that if I go back to China, the way would open for me to go to the seminary. I had a lot of friends--other missionaries--who felt the same way about me. But when I got back, I found that that was a closed door to me. I resumed my work as secretary of the mission and secretary of the annual conference.

I: Did the heads of the seminary not admit you to the faculty at this time?

HAYES: I never made an application.

I: You mentioned a little earlier that the Methodist mission was very interested in promoting an indigenous church, was interested in promoting the three-fold movement. How would you evaluate at what state the indigenous church was when you arrived. Were you training a lot of Chinese and were these Chinese going, then, to replace the missionaries at this time?

HAYES: Yes, that was a movement that was started at that time. As I said, we found a Chinese pastor who took my place as superintendent. We found a Chinese who became president of Nanking University. We had a Chinese who became the superin-

tendent of nurses in our hospital. We put on several Chinese doctors who had been trained in America in the hospital. So that the movement toward self-administration was on its way. The movement toward self-support was very difficult. Most of the Chinese with whom we had to do, and who became members of the church, were of the very poorest class. There were always in each church a few Chinese doctors, Chinese physicians, who were educated, but for the most part they were not. This meant that support was very difficult.

I: Why were most of the members of the poorest class?

HAYES: Because they were the people to whom we had the easiest access.

I: What were the priorities of the Methodist mission? Were they educational, medical or the realm of evangelism?

HAYES: As a whole, the mission was involved in all those three--evangelism, education and hospital work.

I: Did you feel that you should stress one area more than another? Was there any discussion at this time of your emphasis?

HAYES: I got the impression that the department that I was representing was thought of as less important than the other two. At least from a standpoint of numbers involved. There were so many more in education--both missionaries and Chinese--than in evangelism.

I: Did you do anything at this time to bring about a re-ordering of priorities, to suggest that more emphasis should be put on the evangelism?

HAYES: I am afraid I must say that I did not proceed along that line.



I: Because of the development of the indigenous church, the role of the missionary was changing at this time. How would you view this changing role and how did other missionaries in your mission react to this change?

HAYES: We were all for it. There was no hesitation on the part of the mission to check or hinder the development of the Chinese church in any one of these three areas. We were for it. We would do all we could to accomplish it, without any conscious hindrance. What was done was done with the push of the missionaries behind it.

I: When you were speaking earlier about the Nanking Theological School, you were saying that there was a difference in theology between the people who were in charge at that time and yourself. What would these differences be? How did their theology differ from yours?

HAYES: The emphasis of the Seminary, as I understood it in conversation with Dr. Rowe and Dr. James and others, was more completely Biblical-oriented. That is, they would think of the Bible as being inerrant. I couldn't go that way because of my training at Boston University. I learned something about how the books of the Bible were written, composed and put together. I couldn't take that kind of a position, of course. I think whatever differences that appeared in theology were rooted back in that. They would take out of the Biblical passages, meanings that were different from what I would take out of them, because I would look at the passages in light of their historical and literary history. The seminary had not gone to the extreme of a charismatic position; there was no speaking in tongues. But it was very conservative from a standpoint.

For instance, any person who was not able to defend the Virgin Birth and the physical resurrection of Christ and the Second Coming of Christ would find it very difficult to be in that seminary. Those positions are based on a certain way of interpreting scriptures. My position would have been based on the same scriptures but in a different interpretation due to the historical and literary background of the books from which they were taken.

I: What was the Methodist mission perspective on the social gospel?

HAYES: Of course, we regarded the social application of the gospel as a necessary deduction from the gospel itself--a necessary part of the gospel. A great deal of what we were doing in education and in medical work was a social application of the gospel. Not only that, but we were supporting the Nanking University Agricultural Department. One of my best friends was in charge of the agricultural department. Pearl Buck's husband, that was where she got the name Buck, was an outstanding missionary in the agriculture field. That wasn't our mission, but it was a union college. We were part of the Nanking University in the Methodist work.

Silk and cotton culture were also emphasized in the agricultural department. Under Dr. J. Lossing Buck's direction, I think it was, they were able to improve the quality of the cotton. The silkworm culture was greatly improved over what the Chinese had been able to do. This was a part of the gospel application. We all were for it. I never heard among our China missionaries any hint of thinking that that was not an important part of our work.

I: At the theological school in Nanking, were they trying to develop indigenous forms for preaching the gospel; for example, hymns that were based on Chinese music and things of that nature?

HAYES: I do not know just what part the Nanking Theological Seminary had in that. But while I was there, there was a great deal done in this field. For instance, Dr. T. C. Chao at the Peking School of Theology (Yenching School of Religion) published a hymnal. Bliss Wiant published another in which many of our own hymns were translated, but there were also indigenous hymns. Now we didn't do anything in the matter of ritual, except the translation of the rituals we already had for baptism, marriage, funerals and communion. I think there was no change in those rituals while I was there.

I: Were you developing indigenous forms of church architecture?

HAYES: There were indigenous forms of church architecture in some of the school buildings, but very little was done in the way of accomplishing that for the churches. Most of our churches stood up like sore thumbs as I look at it now. Foreign buildings in the midst of Chinese architecture.

I: What connections did the Chinese Christians want with the world-wide Methodist Church and with the American Methodist Church in particular? How did they view the Methodist church on that level?

HAYES: Of course, they regarded the Methodist Church in the United States as their source of income and recommended this continued support of the church and institutions, especially for the institutions. Our later experience proved that we were building institutions beyond their ability to maintain on their own.

I: How did you feel the Chinese Christians were affected by the growth of Nationalism that occurred in the '20s and 30s? Did this change their perspectives at all?

HAYES: About Americans?

I: Yes, and about the Christian church in general.

HAYES: I don't know if I can give you an answer to that careful enough to represent the facts.

I: When you were in Wuhu, what were your various means of evangelizing?

HAYES: My work as an evangelist was so much tied up with my being an administrator of churches that there was very little done besides preaching services. I preached in Chinese, but, of course, we had a Chinese pastor in every church. I was not the pastor of the church ever. I think we had adequate men to fill our pulpits with Chinese who had graduated from one of the mission seminaries. That doesn't mean they had an education that was similar to a seminary graduate here; but it would be more on the level of college, first or second year, I would think. We would occasionally have an evangelist come for evangelistic services in the center cities. We had several of those and usually with less than satisfactory results from a standpoint of the missionaries I represented.

I: In one of your papers, you noted that in the Central China Conference not as many people were brought into the kingdom as in other areas. Was this district a particularly difficult one for evangelism?

HAYES: I don't think it was any more difficult than others. I think we were a typical Chinese community. Perhaps we were not as evangelistic in our methods as they were in some other areas. I find it difficult now as I look back to think of myself as an evangelistic missionary, if you think of evangelism in terms of Billy Graham, for example. That wasn't my idea of evangelism.

I: Did you find that there was a difference in the messages that the Chinese workers were preaching and the foreign missionaries were preaching? It has often been said that there were many gospels preached.

HAYES: No, I wouldn't say that. I sat through a good many Chinese sermons and felt that they were satisfactory from the standpoint that they witnessed for Christ. I did not at that time, nor do I now, recollect any sort of hiatus or gap between their preaching and our own.

I: Were there certain cultural activities that the Methodist mission felt that Chinese had to give up or change before becoming Christian?

TAPE ONE - SIDE TWO

HAYES: I remember very distinctly that we would hear Chinese Christians talking with each other, and sometimes talking with us (it made me tremble when I heard it), and they seemed to be saying that the main thing about being a Christian was no smoking, no gambling and no drinking. This annoyed me because I felt that while this was partly true--these were things we shouldn't do--that wasn't the main thing that we were trying to get across to them.

I: Did you feel that individual conversion at this time was done at the expense of family solidarity? In the Lutheran mission often they were very strong on the individual and they didn't include the family as much.

HAYES: I think we did not review this question as fully as we should have. I don't think I would like to make a categorical answer to it.

I: What was your knowledge of the warlords at this time and how were you affected by their activities?

HAYES: We were living in China during the period of warlords. There was one day in which two different groups of soldiers in Wuhu, representing two different warlords, got to shelling each other. It happened on that day, all the male missionaries of the foreign missions in the city were out for a conference of some kind in Nanking and our wives stood the brunt of that. One of the missionary ladies from the Christian Church came over to Helen. Together they went to the roof of our hospital to see the show. They saw the shells flying through the air. Some landed in the fields not very far from the hospital. They knew it wasn't against them; it was something between Chinese. I do not remember that the warlords ever interefered with our work. Of course, they didn't help it any.

I: Were you affected at all by banditry, roving bands at this time?

HAYES: At the hospital, we were receiving patients who were wounded by bandits. Most of them were from across the Yangtze River. Our hospital was right on the banks of the river. We, personally, were not bothered by bandits. I am reminded of this Stamm family murder which took place while we were there. Do you have any reference to that?

I: No, we don't, not in our narratives.

HAYES: That's in some of my papers. Mr. and Mrs. Stamm, a young American couple from New Jersey, came out to our station under the China Inland Mission, which was a very conservative English mission. Her baby was born in our hospital. Then they went 100 miles south into a community where no missionary, I suppose, had ever lived. (The Methodist mission never sent missionaries where there was not medical help available.) The Stamms went to a place where medical help was at least 100 miles away--our place.

And down there, at that time, there were the Communists who were thought to be just ordinary bandits at the time. I am quite sure they were peasants revolting under the lead of Chu Teh. The "Communist-bandits" got into their town. Pastor and Mrs. Stamm were beheaded. They were going to behead the baby, too. The story is that some Chinese Christian said, "Well, the child hasn't done anything." The leader of the execution squad said, "It's your life or the baby's." And he surrendered his life for the baby.

Somebody else found that baby after the bandits had left. The bandits were the 7th Route Army of the Anti-Japanese group--the Communists. After they had gone, then another Chinese Christian said he would bring the child to the nearest missionary station. So he got a pole and put a basket of rice at one end and a basket with the baby at the other and carried it down to our hospital. My wife, Helen, and others supplied baby clothes for that baby.

Oh, yes, Howard Smith, a missionary from a Christian mission, and his wife appeared at our station as refugees from bandits in their province. They were with us for a number of months. Personally, we never felt ourselves endangered by bandits.

I: What did you know of the "Christian general," Feng Yu-hsiang, at the time? Did you hear reports of him at this time?

HAYES: I never met him. We didn't come in contact with him at the time. We heard plenty about him and felt that he was evidently trying sincerely to be a Christian and help his men to become Christians, but he did it in a very non-orthodox way.

I: What did you know of Chiang Kai-shek at this time and the emerging Kuomintang?

HAYES: Chiang Kai-shek received baptism in one of the Methodist churches in Shanghai at a time when there was no glory in it for him and considerable danger, it seemed to me. That's the way we felt about it. He was taking a step which a great many of his supporters would question. He visited our hospital at one time, but I had no personal contact with him on that visit. He was also present at Kuling, where we had our summer home and the missionaries gathered for conferences. But I didn't meet him there personally.

I did meet Madame Chiang Kai-shek, a very interesting person. This was in connection with a seminar in the home of Bishop Logan Roots of the Episcopal Church mission. The subject was, "What are we going to do about these Communists?" At that time they were very strong in the next province, Kiangsi. This is where the Long March started later on. We had the American Consul from Hankow there and Madame Chiang Kai-shek came for this discussion.

In the midst of our conversations, one of the questions asked was, "Why is it that our church in China, and we missionaries in China, seem to be so unable to accomplish great things like they did in New Testament times?" There was quite a bit of silence for a time. Finally, Madame Chiang said, "I would like to speak to that." This was her answer: "I think the reason is that too many Christians think of Christianity as a social amenity." I think that answer represented her opinion of Christians in America, rather than in China.

I: Can you recall more of the discussion at that time--her views on Communism and some of the things that were said?



HAYES: I don't remember. I don't think there was a consensus there. I suspect that we thought this was a temporary thing that would blow away.

I: You mentioned the name of Chu Teh a few minutes ago. Did you know of other people in the Communist leadership at that time? Did you hear other names circulating?

HAYES: No. I think I must have, but I don't recall.

I: What were your responses to Sun Yat-sen?

HAYES: I never met Sun Yat-sen, but knew about him. During our first term our schools were supposed to have his picture in every school room. At the beginning of the day the pupils were supposed to stand and bow. Some missionaries, especially in the most conservative missions like Southern Baptists, viewed this as idolatry and fought it. The Methodist schools viewed it as a recognition of worthwhile greatness--the same as we would revere Lincoln--so we didn't fight it. We went along with it which made us look like heretics in the sight of conservative missionaries.

I think that Sun Yat-sen was a man who very sincerely and with a considerable amount of ability tried to make a better country out of China. He didn't have enough understanding and learning and ability to carry it out. I think that is true also of Chiang Kai-shek. I think he was very well-meaning. I never could accept, I never saw any evidences that would compel me to accept, the idea that Chiang Kai-shek himself partook of any corruption in the use of the funds from America, for example. But I think his family, his wife's family, did. But he was not able to administer the country. He didn't have that ability.

For example, he asked our National Christian Council in Shanghai, which represented all the missionaries, after the Communists were routed from Kiangsi Province and left the country down there in shambles (chiefly because of his five military operations against them), whether we could take over the administration of the southern part of that province. Think of that! Asking a foreign group like us missionaries and the Christian church, which was Chinese, as a group to take this over because he felt we people who could manage reconstruction. We turned him down, but we said this: "We will send out a plea throughout our churches. If any of our people know of pastors or doctors capable of doing it, if they wished to respond personally as individuals to the General's request, they were free to do so." We would release them from their church obligations. One of our men did this. But that again shows a limitation on Chiang's ability to see a problem clearly and find a solution.

I: What happened in your area when Sun died in 1925?

HAYES: We heard about his funeral services, but I don't believe there was any kind of celebration in our community. At Nanking, of course, they had a great funeral service. You see, we couldn't read the Chinese newspapers. We didn't have enough training to read what was going on. And our conversations with our Chinese people were church-centered and not community-centered, so we were really more or less isolated from a lot of things that were going on in China.

I: What were your responses your first term to the unequal treaties and all that they brought to China?

HAYES: We took a position, officially, as a mission against the unequal treaties and for their elimination. Under the unequal treaties, you see, we were given special privileges. I didn't know that very well before I went to China; but we weren't there very long before we heard that if there was any illegal thing done by a missionary that he wouldn't be tried in a Chinese court. He would be tried by Americans under American jurisdiction. This, we felt, was entirely unfair and we did not like it at all.

There came a time when there was a great deal of tension. We were at the Kuling mountain resort at the time. All our missionaries were there--27 families--in a group of houses we missionaries had built. And word came from the Consular General in Shanghai that the missionaries were to evacuate. That was right after the Panay incident, when that American ship was sunk in the Yangtze River by the Chinese. Things were getting very serious and we were advised to get out.

Our Bishop, Laress Birney, felt we ought to do it, too, but he didn't press it. We replied that we were going to stay. There were some missionaries who went right away. Some of them went as far as the gunboats on the river. There was a British gunboat at our station at Wuhu constantly. Before one would leave, another one would come for protection of British interests and for the protection of other foreign businesses. We wrote to the Secretary of State, and I was secretary for the group (and you will find somewhere in my journal a copy of the letter which we wrote), stating that we wished to disconnect ourselves from the operation of these unequal treaties. We intended to take our lot with our Chinese friends whom we had come to serve in the name of Jesus Christ.

I: Did you get a response from the Secretary of State at that time?

HAYES: If we did, it must have been a very noncommittal thing. I don't remember just what the nature of it would have been.

I: Did you experience any anti-foreign feelings at Wuhu at this time before you left on your furlough?

HAYES: No, we never felt any anti-foreign feelings. My wife had one experience. She was riding a ricksha and somebody shouted, "Kill the foreigner! Kill the foreigner!" A Chinese woman came close enough to spit in her face. That was the extent of anti-foreign experiences that we had at Wuhu.

When we came back from furlough, we spent one year in Chinkiang, Kiangsu Province because in the Chiang Kai-shek rebellion, the two mission houses there had been badly damaged. People had come in and taken out electrical fixtures, window frames and door frames. They were just ready to fall down. I was supposed to live there long enough to reconstruct those houses, which I did.

While we were there, there was a certain festival day when we were told there might be an anti-foreign demonstration. We were not too far from where such a demonstration was to be held. My response immediately was to pack my library in wooden boxes which they always traveled in--several wheelbarrow loads of them--and ship them to Shanghai. Then we packed our suitcases and stayed in our house. We heard the noise of the crowds at this meeting place. But there was never the slightest indication that they made any move toward us or any other foreigner in the area. It was just a rumor, an affair, that we had temporarily. It was the only thing of that kind we had during 14 years as missionaries in China.

I: When you were on furlough, how did you keep informed on what was happening in China at that time? That was when the Nanking Incident and other occurrences happened?

HAYES: I was on the mailing list for the mimeographed experiences of those Nanking people. They were sent to me. I suppose I subscribed for them. I've forgotten who published them, probably the National Council of Churches.

I: When you were home on furlough, did your feelings intensify about the experience of the unequal treaties?

HAYES: They were intensive enough to begin with. I don't think they became more intense, but we certainly spoke along those lines every time we had an opportunity. We had a good many opportunities to speak about China the two years we were at home. One of the things we would say would be that these treaties should be eliminated.

I: How did you find the Americans reacted to what you were saying about the treaties?

HAYES: I don't remember any severe criticism.

I: Did you think your feelings would have changed at all had you been in or near Nanking at the time of the Nanking Incident?

HAYES: I remember the very difficult situation indeed. One of the professors there was shot and killed; we do not know that any of our women mission friends were among those raped. There were some, they say. The closest friends we had who went through it and who told us about it personally were the Trimmers, Dr. and Mrs. Clifford Trimmer. The thing I remember most was that he went to the door--he had glass in the door, I believe--and he had painted his face to make him

look like a devil. He grimaced and scared the soldiers away. They thought he was a devil or crazy or something. So I do not know how it would have affected me. (I was more concerned about what the Japanese did when they came to Nanking. They killed a lot of people there.)

When Chiang Kai-shek's troops came into Nanking, we were in the U.S.A. We got it by mail. Of course, we reacted very strongly against that kind of violence, but then we felt that General Chiang Kai-shek was perhaps not personally responsible for it. There was one group of the soldiers who were following him who had been trained by Communists in Hankow, we were told. And we thought they were responsible.

I: Did you have second thoughts about returning to China when your furlough was up? Did you feel that you were compromising yourselves if you returned even though you still might be protected by gunboats?

HAYES: No, that didn't enter into our consideration at all. I felt that God had called us for this work in China. I was hoping that things would quiet down, so we could continue and I would be able to help train Chinese pastors in the seminary. I wanted to get back. In fact, I went back under circumstances that perhaps I should have given more consideration to. If I had stayed longer in this country, I would have been able to complete my doctorate--the work I was doing at Columbia, Union and Hartford. I was working toward the doctorate, but it would take at least another year. And my thesis was in just the beginning stages. If I had stayed in the United States and finished that, I could have gone back with my degree and perhaps would have found a place as a teacher in China, if not in Nanking, perhaps in one of the others. But the Board wanted us to go back. They said they needed us to go back. So I went back with the result that I was never able to finish that thesis.

After I was away from the schools 10 years, they took me off the list and said that if I would ever come back there to Union or Hartford I would have to do residence work again. So I had three wooden boxes full of materials that I had accumulated over the years toward that thesis. I didn't know what to do with them. I asked Dr. Francis Jones, who was then at Drew Theological Seminary, what to do. He said, "Ship them to me and I will see what I can do." I shipped them without even opening them. Mind you, that was a good many years afterwards. He kept some of them there for their library. Part of them were shipped up to the Missions Library at Union Theological Seminary. I later visited there while Frank Price was in charge of the library. He asked the librarian: "Bring me those things from the Hayes seminar--those notebooks that he wrote." This girl came out with books I hadn't seen in 20 to 30 years. I said, "What are you going to do with them?" He said, "Someday some Chinese scholar might be able to continue with what you did."

What I was doing was researching what Chinese Christians believed concerning Christ. I got it from books and magazines. In my notebooks I had the names of these writers and the Chinese and English titles, etc. So that never got done. I never got my doctorate until I was a pastor in Bismark, North Dakota. The people in the church in Bismark recommended me to the North Dakota University through the Wesley College, which was part of the university, for the honorary degree. So I have an honorary doctorate.

I: I was going to ask you for a copy of your dissertation because I saw the outline in your papers. I am glad that your notes and material were preserved because it looked like that was an excellent topic. Why did the Board want you to go back at that time? Did they say specifically what they wanted you to do?

HAYES: I think, outside of rebuilding those houses and to carry on whatever work was to be done in that district, that I was to see to it that it was done. I was secretary of the mission before I went out and they wanted me to continue that. They didn't stress the evangelistic end of it at all.

I: Were you due for another furlough, then, when you left in 1935?

HAYES: Yes, we were to come home in '35. The Board had arranged to have a certain amount of money for us to come home by way of the Pacific on a certain kind of steamer to the United States to home. But we wrote and told the Board we would like to use that money, plus a hundred dollars we had saved during our missionary tenure, to come by way of the Holy Land. We actually did it. They advised us not to do it. They said, "You should get home as quickly as you can and with as much money as you have because it will be awfully hard to get a job in America during the depression." We felt this was the one and only opportunity perhaps that life would ever give us to visit the Holy Land, so that is what we did.

We visited the Holy Land at a time when prices were five dollars a day for hotel and travel and everything else for a family.

I: That seems unbelievable now. Were you planning on returning to China, then, after your second furlough?

HAYES: Oh, yes, we did our level best. I went to the General Conference which was meeting in Denver in 1936. Bishop Welch was there. He resided at a number of con-



ferences when I was in China. I was his English secretary. We had an English secretary and a Chinese secretary. When they published the minutes of the conference, we had to both have the same facts. Bishop Welch was very anxious for us to go back. He interceded with members of the Board of Missions who were there at the conference. He came to me and said, "Paul, it just isn't possible. We just don't have the funds to send you back."

I: And so then you got involved in other things?

HAYES: Yes, we took that as an indication of the will of God. By that time, we were in Minneapolis and had taken the position all along that when I gave myself to Christ for His service that He would then direct me through the Church. We had taken the position that my first appointment at Ross Street Church in Lancaster, before I ever became an ordained minister, was the voice of God through the Church for me. When I went to the seminary, I thought I was guided by the Spirit of God in going to that particular seminary. When I went to China, I felt I was guided by the Spirit of God to go to China. When the door to China closed and I was here in Minneapolis, I regarded that as the voice of God to find my mission here in Minneapolis. Of course, it opened up for me as a preaching opportunity. Then just one after another. Here in Minneapolis, then Bismark, Albert Lea, Rochester, and back to Minneapolis.

I: Was the work of the Methodist mission seriously curtailed at this time because of the lack of funds?

HAYES: Well, I think that would be a true statement.

I: If they weren't able to send you back, were there many others who either had to come home or could not go back?

HAYES: It was quite a while before they began sending them back again. The number of missionaries dropped very greatly. Then, of course, there was a time when the Communists came in and the missionaries had to leave.

I: When you returned after your first furlough, did you attempt to do anything because of your feelings about the unequal treaties, to put yourself outside the protection of the treaties? For example, some Westerners moved outside of their compounds and things like that so they wouldn't have as much protection.

HAYES: No, we were not activists in that sense.

I: What were your living conditions in Wuhu?

HAYES: They were very nice. We were in a hospital compound-- a walled-area of seven acres. I helped to construct the new compound wall one year. The hospital was the main thing. It was a hospital that was built on plans that were developed in New York by McKim, Mead and White and revamped in China by our own missionary architect, so it was a very efficient hospital. If you could have moved it into any town in the United States, it would have been adequate, too. It had its own electric, heating, and ice plants. Everything that a hospital needed was there: terrazzo floors, brick building, and an elevator. It was very nice. What were we talking about?

I: You were talking about your living conditions.

HAYES: Oh, yes. We lived in a house that was quite old, 40-years-old. A rather large house, I think, five rooms with balconies around and porches on two sides of the first floor and a balcony around two sides of the second floor. Of course, some things might sound quite primitive to you.

For instance, when we went there, there was no running water. But while we were there, the hospital was built. They had pumps put in and large tanks up on top of the building, so water was filtered at the edge of the Yangtze River. That water, which was as yellow as coffee with cream in it, was pumped to the tanks and came down by gravity to the hospital. While they were sending it down that way, they sent it to the missionary houses, too. But to heat the water, we had stoves and we had a drum around the pipe that went through the bathroom. In the drum was a container in which water was heated, so we had hot water. There was just one bathroom.

We had three and a half servants and paid them more than what they would earn anywhere else, so it was very nice--the sums they got from us. Very efficient people, indeed, and very nice people to have around us. Cook, amah and boy. We shared a gardener with another missionary, so that was the half. In the kitchen we burned charcoal. What did we have after that? Oh, yes, I remember the squeeking wheelbarrows bringing coal--a whole string of wheelbarrows. Yes, we heated our homes with stoves. The rooms were very large. We had to arrange for our own furnishings. After temporary living quarters with another missionary, that missionary moved out of the house and we got the whole house. We were on the second floor for just a time.

I had a Montgomery Ward catalog. In the catalog I cut out the pictures of what we needed: library furnishings, desk, chair, and bookcases--sectioned bookcases--for our kitchen and dining room; kitchen table, buffet, chairs. For our bedrooms: chairs, beds, bureaus, and vanity. I took all these pictures and had my Chinese teacher mark on the

sizes in Chinese for everything. I took it to a Chinese carpenter who was there in town. He showed me a log which he just got from the Philippines--a very big, long log--and saw him begin sawing it into boards. He made our furniture. That was very heavy furniture.

When I look back at it now, this is one of the ways in which we missionaries shut ourselves off from very fine Chinese. Most of the Chinese Christians were of the poorer class. Some of them lived in mud and straw huts; some lived in brick houses; but there were very few of them who were living in anything which would approach the kind of home we were living in. There were missionaries in other denominations who tried to bridge that gap by dressing in Chinese clothes. I don't think we had any in our mission. Some tried living in the same kinds of houses in which their people lived. We always wondered how effective those missionaries were, but we couldn't get the idea that they were more effective than we were. But as we look back at it now, I feel that we were not able on account of these differences, to identify ourselves as fully with the Chinese people as we should have been.

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TAPE TWO-SIDE ONE

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I: Dr. Hayes, in the first interview, you stated that your perception of evangelism was not the Billy Graham type of evangelism. Would you explain how you viewed evangelism?

HAYES: My idea of evangelism does not differ from Dr. Graham's as to the object we are seeking; that is, to bring people into relationship with God through Christ as the supreme factor by which their lives are changed and transformed into his life as far as possible. I differ from Billy Graham and other evangelists in the sense that I do not think that

their methods are the methods I could use. There is too much emotional emphasis in their presentation and there is too much group pressure brought to bear upon the people who are listening to the message. I think that would be the greatest difference that I could say. In fact, sometimes I have thought that if the only meaning of evangelism is the Billy Graham type, then I ought not to be classified as an evangelist. But this title evangelism is given in our Methodist missionary work, or was at the time I was a missionary, in differentiation from that which was educational and that which was medical or social action, so it covered the general work of the church. Most of my work was administrative so that I look at evangelism from the standpoint of what a pastor accomplishes through his preaching and pastoral ministry.

I: How did you view non-Christian religions in your work in China?

HAYES: I think there was a growth in development of my understanding of non-Christian religions. Unfortunately, I did not have, before going to China, an adequate preparation in the study of other religions. That was not being done at that time. I understand they are doing better in more recent years. But I never held a position of extreme negativism that was characteristic of some commentators. I have always felt there was something in these religions that was of extreme value or they would not have taken hold of the lives of people in the way that they did. The developing of my own perspective has been in the direction of believing God is doubtless working through other peoples as he was working through the Jews to get across His message of love. He did better by the Jews because they were more receptive.

And He did still better through Christ, of course, extremely well through Christ. It was His life and teaching that made Christianity the more adequate representation of God's purpose in our lives and the meaning of life for us.

I have no hesitation from what I know of these other religions in saying I believe that Christ and Christianity give a better answer to the meaning of life than any of the others that I know anything about. I didn't go to China with that idea. I think that is a growth in my thinking. I perhaps hadn't formulated a very clear idea of these other religions before I went to China. I thought a great deal about it while I was in China and afterwards.

I: When one is reading about China missions, one often reads about the distinction between the liberal, or perhaps modernist, and the fundamentalist. Would you be able to speak on the issues that separated these two?

HAYES: The main issue between the conservative and liberal Christian among our missionaries in China was our attitude toward the understanding of the Biblical message. Our fundamentalist friends believed that the Bible was an inerrant book that brought to us in every page and in every part of it the word from God directly. The liberal position, such as I accepted, and which I held before I went to China and has been with me all my life, was that every book in the Bible needs to be understood in terms of its historical and literary characteristics. Where does it stand in history? Who wrote it? To whom did he write it? What is he saying to them? Only as we answer those questions does the meaning become apparent for us.

I should say, too, that we were in China during the period the conservatives organized the Bible Union. Somebody came out from the States and organized the fundamentalist

missionaries into a Bible Union in which they promoted throughout the whole country, not only among the missionaries, but among the Chinese also, these fundamentalist ideas about religion and the damage which they believed scientific and historical research had been doing to the Christian faith.

I: As you view the work of the China mission, what do you feel was the role of denominationalism in China? And what impact did it have on the work of the church as a whole?

HAYES: Now, this question is concerning denominations. Well, in one respect the denominations were a hindrance to the development of the Christian Church in China. In other words, we had different emphases and this difference between fundamentalists and liberals was part of the matter--some whole denominations took one position or the other. It was very disconcerting to the most thoughtful of our Chinese. There were many Chinese who were not bothered by it at all. At least that is the way it appears to me. But thoughtful Chinese, university graduates, were oftentimes very much upset by it because it looked as if the Christian Church was not sure of itself as to what the real interpretation was and where the truth lay. So from that point of view, the denomination was a difficulty. Then again, the denominations stood in the way of a unified presentation of Christ to the whole country which is much the same position.

It was in China, however, that large numbers, a goodly number, of what was often called the "mainline churches"--their missionaries--developed a wonderful spirit of cooperation and union, overcoming, and trying to overcome, at least, those differences, by working together and cooperating at every possible point. For instance, many of our hospitals and

universities were jointly administered by churches such as the Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational. I think, too, it was inevitable that each missionary would promote his own denominational points of view because that was how he was brought up and that was how he learned Christianity and the only way he knew it. It was necessary, then, for him to adjust himself, so he could cooperate with missionaries of other emphases.

I: Did you have any cooperation with the Catholics?

HAYES: Unfortunately, no. In our city, there was only one Catholic mission. That was a Spanish mission, and except for sending one of our daughters there for a course in French, we had absolutely no contact with them. I had no contact with the Chinese Catholic Christians, so I cannot evaluate their work.

I: What factors in Christianity did you find in your experience that particularly appealed to the Chinese?

HAYES: What particularly appealed to the Chinese in our presentation of the Christian message? I think that the application of the gospel to meeting felt-needs like the needs for education, the needs for healing, the needs for understanding the meaning and purposes of life. I cannot point to any doctrinal ideas that would come into that category. Most of the Chinese Christians whom I knew, as far as I understood them, didn't seem to be very deeply interested in the theological formulations of the faith. It was what it was able to do for them in the development of life and personality.

I: What were peculiar Christian values, as distinct from secular values inherent in technology and modern science, which missionaries helped to introduce to China?



HAYES: I think the thing that we did in China of the most value over against anything that scientists were able to provide, would be the meaning and value of life, faith in God and His purposes, and the moral strength that would develop from that kind of inner experience.

I: Did you ever feel that missionaries expected such high standards from the Chinese that the work of the church was affected?

HAYES: Yes, in one respect. And that is that we expected the Chinese--our Chinese Christians--to develop more rapidly than was possible for them to develop in matters of self-support, self-government, self-promotion, the promotion of the gospel. That can be visualized and made concrete in the institutions we established, the buildings which we built and sought to administer, like the hospitals. The hospital that was on the same grounds where we lived was a 100-bed hospital which was self-contained and was able to handle everything on its own--electricity, ice, and everything that was needed. It would have been a commendable hospital to set down in any county or town in the United States. The Chinese were not in a position to maintain an institution like that.

Similarly, Ginling College and Nanking University in Nanking (one of the universities I knew the most about) were too foreign. It was true there were some decorations that were Chinese, but we were expecting these Chinese to support these foreign buildings--these very foreign institutions. This was beyond their capacity and also beyond their aesthetic appreciation--different, too different. In other words, I am saying that all we did, not intentionally but because we didn't seem to know any other way of doing it, was too foreign for easy acceptance on the part of our Chinese people.

I: Did you have any experiences where the missionaries expected too high a moral standard or something like that with the Chinese co-workers and this created some difficulty?

HAYES: No, I don't remember that I personally had any experiences of that kind. I sometimes felt that in the area where I was at work, too many times our Christian friends in speaking of the meaning of the Christian faith to others would say, "Don't smoke, don't drink, don't gamble," as if that was the meaning of the Christian faith. That was just very disheartening to me because that is so peripheral--it's part of it, but it is peripheral to the main thrust of the Christian faith. In other words, the danger to me was not in that they were making the standards too high, but that they were being interpreted too low. Now, I don't know whose fault that was, but it was certainly in existence in our time in the mission in China.

I: When you were connected with the hospital at Wuhu, did you feel the interest in the physical well-being was there only to the degree that it opened ways of ministry to the soul?

HAYES: No, not at all. Not on the part of any of my colleagues. Not on the part of any missionary that I knew anything about was this true. We had a history of 40 years of Christian teaching and Christian medical help in the Wuhu station before I got there. As I understood it, it was based on the need of the Chinese for medical help, for healing and not for the purpose of preaching the gospel to these people who became an imprisoned group, an audience that couldn't get away. That was certainly not involved.

I must say that when I went to Wuhu, the first opportunity I had after a year of language study to give my witness and to preach a sermon and to conduct a service was in the hospital chapel because it was just a few steps from my house. We

had a common relationship there; the school, the church and the hospital. I was the evangelist missionary. It was up to me to see to it that the Chinese pastor who was in charge of the chapel was conducting himself properly and that the services were continuing and that there were opportunities given to people in the wards and in the hospital to hear about the Christian faith. But that was certainly secondary in the thought of the hospital administrators, doctors and nurses and evangelists in charge. It was a part, an opportunity which we had to witness to a captive audience, that's it. And we felt we had a responsibility to do it. But that wasn't the reason for establishing the hospital. The hospital and the whole medical service as the Methodist mission had carried on for all those years, as I understand, was to provide a need for the Chinese people that wasn't otherwise being met.

I: The years that you spent in China were certainly a time of ferment and change. How would you react to the statement that the Americans did not realize that the Chinese had such a deep-rooted desire for change?

HAYES: If there were Chinese pastors or Chinese superintendents or Chinese people (we had Chinese doctors and nurses and staff there that we met quite frequently as well as members of the church down in the city), if there were those who felt that the country was in very great and desperate need for tremendous changes, they weren't making it known anywhere in a very clear way. I don't think they thought very seriously about the matter. Now from our reading, we learned that there were Christian leaders in the country among the Christian Chinese in the Chinese Church, both Catholic and Protestant, who were thinking along these lines. But the average Chinese Christian, as I knew him in my time there, had not moved in that direction very far.

I: Do you think if it had not been for the Japanese invasion that the Kuomintang under the leadership of Chiang would have been capable of responding to the urgent needs of the country?

HAYES: Oh, I don't think so. No. No. Chiang Kai-shek was a man for whom I had a great deal of respect, chiefly for one reason. He became a Christian at a time when there was really nothing for him to gain and there was a possibility of a great deal of difficulty for him by doing so. He sometimes is described as an Old Testament Christian, that is, the type of Joshua--the fighting to overcome the people of Canaan and to occupy the land, etc. Well, that's hardly the right term to use, but he did not have the capacity. He did not have the philosophy. He did not have the understanding of economics, of sociology. He didn't have the knowledge of the people's need to administer that great country in a way that would solve its problems.

I: I have read that some people believed before 1949, that there was a choice between Christianity and Communism to save China. Was there a choice?

HAYES: Oh, no. I don't see that at all. A choice between Christianity and Communism to save China? Well, Chiang Kai-shek might have felt so when the province of Kiangsi was so terribly decimated by his five campaigns against the Communists who were lodged in that province which was next to our province. He found it difficult to find people who would be able to handle the situation of reconstruction. He came to the National Council of Churches in Shanghai and asked them to provide Christians to do it. That might suggest that he felt there was such a possibility that Christians could accomplish something that Communists couldn't, but I don't think that was widely accepted by the people of China. Certainly, I never heard any missionary give that point of view. I never heard any Chinese give it, either.

I: I was reading a book that was written by a female missionary and she made that statement. It was quite a broad statement and it is interesting to see if others had gotten any feedback on that.

HAYES: Even today, there are people who think that Christianity is anti-Communist. You can draw a lot of conclusions from that if you go far enough.

I: This next question is quite a large one: what do you feel were the lessons that were learned in the China mission field?

HAYES: As I think back over the situation of our missionary life in Wuhu, I come to the conclusion that missionaries should identify themselves more closely with the Chinese than we were able to do or even thought about doing. That is, we should learn to speak better Chinese so that we could communicate more fully, read more fluently and know what they were thinking about--especially their leaders--and adopt a lifestyle that is comparable to the better lifestyle in the community served. In other words, we should promote the indigenization of our faith in a way in which we were not doing it.

Now, we lived in a compound that was seven acres. It was walled-off from the rest of the community on a hilltop. It was a very conspicuous set of buildings right on the Yangtze River. Every steamer that passed on the Yangtze River saw this great institution. Anybody could see it was foreign. It wasn't Chinese. We lived in a house that was two-story brick and in a community where there were some brick houses but a lot of them were mud houses with straw roofs. My point is this: there was a large gap between the standards of our living and the life of the Chinese about us. It was greater than it ought to have been.

Now we had three and a half servants and paid them more than they could have earned in any other capacity. That is why they chose to work with us. But we did that within our very limited income. Our income was \$1200 a year and rising to \$1800 while we were there. Yet we were able to employ servants. There were some missionaries who adopted Chinese dress--very few in our time. The generation ahead of us did more of that in an effort to make our faith look more Chinese.

Then, occasionally, while we were there, they began to change the architecture of the church buildings, a few of them. Ginling College did a pretty good job in putting an exterior on their building which was Chinese, but the interior, of course, was a modern American-style university. What I am saying is that I don't know how to do it. I wouldn't want to go back to China to try to do it. I wouldn't know how to live more closely to the way the people lived that we were trying to reach for Christ, to be more a part of their community life, which we were not. We were a community unto ourselves. That's the main lesson I think I learned. I appreciate the life of any missionary who is able to proceed along those lines and accomplish something better than we did.

I: As you have kept abreast of modern mission endeavor in the last few decades, do you feel that some of these lessons have been learned by this current generation of missionaries?

HAYES: I get that impression, yes, that there are missionaries who are able to bridge that gap much more successfully than we did. I do not know how fully. I have not studied any particular concrete illustrations of that angle.

I: What do you feel was the role of foreign missions in the growth of Christianity within the United States?

HAYES: I had a couple of comments on that. I think the missionary enterprise throughout the world assisted the American churches to develop a much greater concern to make the commandment "Love your neighbor as yourself" a reality. You see, there is a certain amount of glamor about things that are different, about things that are oriental. The fact that the mission churches were doing things and the church at home was reading about them led to an acceptance of missions and to the idea to have a real concern for people in the undeveloped world. I think that was a very great contribution to the church at home. And then another, and I think an equally important one, was the discovery that on the mission field missionaries and Chinese working together had been able to develop a degree of cooperative action, especially in education and medical services, that put us to shame in this country. And we must attempt to emulate the successes those cooperative efforts had shown were possible. And that was true. A lot of enterprises in this country on a union and cooperative basis were animated by and prodded along by the success in the missionary field along that line.

I: Somewhat along this same line, do you feel that the missionary endeavor made contributions to American life in general? One often thinks of what the Americans did for China, but in a similar vein, were there things that this endeavor did for American life?

HAYES: I think there is a certain amount of influence on American life from the missionary enterprise. But it is to my mind rather indirect. For example, I discovered that we missionaries living abroad were able to more realistically examine and criticize our American culture than we were able while living in America. We were freer--perhaps that was it--we were freer to criticize and look at it objectively.

I think that had an important bearing on some of the developments that have taken place here in the United States, especially what we might call the seamy side of American life and politics. We could see it more objectively because we were not immediately involved in it. And as missionaries came visiting on furlough and others came back to live the rest of their lives here, their influence in helping America to be realistic, I think, was very helpful. Helping to break down the walls that partitioned between our culture and their culture, too, was an important aspect of that.

I: In your years since you left China, what do you feel has been the impact on your life because you did spend time in China?

HAYES: Since returning from China, I have been pastor of three different churches with approximately 1,000 members each. I have been district superintendent having the responsibilities of 66 Methodist churches. I have also been associate pastor for visitation in two churches over this period of 40 years or more. I think because of my missionary experience, I have been able to help all these churches to see more clearly what their responsibility is for meeting the needs of the mission field and for enlarging their own ideas as to what the gospel itself means when we are told to "Love our neighbors as ourselves." In that area, I think, I have been able to do something better than I would have been able to do if I hadn't been on the field.

I: Since 1949, how have you kept informed about what has been happening on the Mainland of China?



HAYES: After I returned, things were so very confused in China I had to depend on letters from fellow missionaries and especially from China Notes that were first edited by Francis Jones from the National Council of Churches. Then I have depended on wide reading in books and hearing people who returned from China: what they had to say, their testimony and reading their articles. And then more recently I have been trying to keep in touch on the national point of view through the China Pictorial, China Reconstructs and reading lots of books on China. I think that I have a fairly good understanding of what is going on in China at the present time.

I: What has been your response to the new China?

HAYES: At least two-fold: One is that I cannot feel that they have done a good job when they continue to repress the personal and individual objectives of their citizens. Their young people are taken out of the schools whether they want to go or not and they have to go and live in the communes way off in some other part of the country for the sake of something the country or the government wants to accomplish at that point. In other words, the denial of freedom is very severe, and in my point of view, very negative.

On the other hand, I think that the positive values that have been developed by this government in China are a tremendous counter-balance. If I understand what I read and what I see in pictures, Chinese people, as a whole, discounting for a moment the few who were at the top at the time we lived there, are living better, they are being better fed, better clothed and housed, have better health, better transportation and better communication. There has been a tremendous advance under this government in China that we must not discount. It has been an eye-opener.

On the other hand, also what they have done in the repression of some evils, like prostitution, for example, and opium smoking, as I understand it. There are some other things they haven't attempted to eliminate, like ordinary tobacco use. But what they have attempted to do, they have done very well. It seems to be accepted by the people. And because their condition has been so greatly improved and on such a wide scale, the Chinese are not going to object in any revolutionary sense to their lack of freedom in other respects. They have too many advantages, at the present time, that they do not want to sacrifice. That is a very brief answer to a big question.

I: What do you think will be the future of U.S.-China relations?

HAYES: It is hard to separate from what I think and what I hope. But I think we are on the way to a recognition of China as an equal nation in the family of nations. I think we will be able to get on a proper diplomatic basis with exchange of ambassadors. I think we will also be able to get China recognized in the United Nations. I think we are moving in these directions and that it is inevitable that these things will happen. Of course, there are some very thorny questions like the disposition of Taiwan. But I think we are on safe ground in saying that this is a question for Taiwan and Peking to work out on their own. That is the position our government has taken and I applaud it.

I: What do you see as the future role of missionaries and the church in China?

HAYES: That depends on when and to what extent the Chinese government will permit the church to be a bit unbridled. If they do not allow the church to come out from its present situation of being semi-hidden--meeting in their own homes,

for example, and not being able to promote the faith publicly--there is no place for a missionary enterprise at all. If the Chinese church is able to come out from its present subliminal position and become a recognized part of the social fabric of China, then there is a possibility that missionaries may again have a function. But that function, then, must be determined in its type and extent by the Chinese church and not by any agencies in New York, as I see it.

We were doing more in that direction all the time when we were in China--moving in that direction--but, oh, so slowly. I was the correspondent for a number of years representing the mission to the Board in New York and receiving their letters to the mission, so I know that at that time missionaries were moving faster in that direction than the Board was. In fact, we often thought of our board as being quite wooden and not willing to listen to their missionaries, as if they had the total wisdom of what the situation can be and ought to be.

At the present time, that is all changed. At the present time, every year in New York at the Board offices, we have a missionary-in-residence who partakes in all decisions that are being made in regard to the program of the missionary enterprise as far as the Methodists are concerned. And their input is not only their own, but the missionaries-in-residence, usually husband and wife, have lines of communication with all the fields. They bring the questions that are uppermost for discussion and would be presented to all the fields, with propositions coming back and being digested by the missionary-in-residence and presented to the board. So this is a great advance--a great advance.

But what I am saying now is that in face of all the discussion among the missionaries at the Board level, while being important, it is not the final answer as to what the missionary is going to do when he goes to China or any other country under the present circumstances of the awakening world. There is a Church in China. It is a very lame Church at the present time. But there is a Church there. And there is in these other fields, too. And as the Church gets the strength, that Church must be permitted to be able to figure out its own needs and express those needs and request missionaries to come to fulfill those needs as they see them. No Chinese had any say with regard to my going to China or what I would have to do when I got there. I was an entirely foreign enterprise. That is not the way it is going to be in the future. If there is going to be any missionary work in China at all, it won't be that way.

I: When you have these missionaries-in-residence, does the field rotate each year, so you are always getting input from different parts of the world?

HAYES: Yes, last year it was a missionary couple from Bolivia. The year before, I think, from Japan. So that it will change from year to year. Now they may find it is even better to have the same missionary-in-residence on for a longer period than one year. It seems to me it would take a year to get one's bearings in a situation like that.

I: Can you recall some of the reasons when you were acting as the mission secretary in China, why the Board was so hesitant to turn things more over to the Chinese, even when you missionaries did try to give them feedback?

HAYES: I didn't make that perfectly clear. I think the Board did not object to that particular item of turning work over to Chinese. I was a district superintendent five years. Then we had an American Bishop who came out to preside over our annual conferences where the appointments of missionaries and pastors were made. When we recommended to him that Pastor Dong should be the district superintendent of my district, a Chinese gentleman who was somewhat older than I was, but a man of great experience and a man of very balanced character and disposition, that appointment was made. This transfer of power and position to nationals was taking place in all our China conference.

If the revolution had not come on to so thoroughly disrupt everything in missionary life in China, I am sure there would have been a continuous movement in the direction of Chinese leadership. While we were there, a Chinese became president of Nanking University; a Chinese woman, Wu Yi-fang, at Ginling College; we had a head nurse in the hospital who was a Chinese nurse; Chinese superintendents; within a few years also Chinese bishops. So the movement was going right ahead. Afterward it became the Three-Self Movement under the Communists. This was started by the missionaries doing their level best to get the churches to support themselves. The Board at home didn't object to our promoting of that, of course, because during the depression years of the '30s almost every year I would get a letter saying that the budget for the next year would be cut 10 or 15 percent. We had to find some way of continuing the same amount of work with a lesser budget or else discontinue some work.

I: We were talking about how sometimes the Board was a little slower in their actions than the missionaries out in the field.

HAYES: I think I should have qualified that by saying it was chiefly in regard to what we had to say about the relations of the missionaries to the Board--not to the Chinese church and the Board, but the missionaries and the Board. Whether a missionary should go home or whether he should come back and under what conditions he should carry on his work. The appointments were made on the field by the Bishops at the annual conferences, not by the Board in New York. The Board in New York, if it had an opinion, they could state it, of course. But they left that very largely to us.

I: Did you ever face a situation where a missionary in your field was not suited for work in mission field or for work in China and then you had to extricate him or her from that situation?

HAYES: Yes. We were all human and we had situations like that. I was cognizant of one, a senior missionary in Nanking, while I was in Language School there. We were later fellow evangelists, and he had to go home. His fellow missionaries who interrogated him and found out what the indiscretion was and why he was no longer able to be an effective missionary. At their request the Board recalled him. Now we also had an American Bishop who was called into question. I don't know very much about his difficulties, but he accepted the Board's suggestion that he come to our community for readjustment. He and his wife lived in our missionary community and he was being ministered to in our hospital; but there was nothing else for him to do but to cease his ministerial work in China and come back to this country.

I: Did the missionaries on the field elect the Bishops who served on the field?

HAYES: No, while we were there, and all the years previous and a good many years after, the Bishops were elected by the General Conference in the United States to which the Chinese church sent its delegates who sat with the other delegates who helped elect the Bishops. Of course, they were a minority. They were not able to elect their own Bishop. But there was a gradual change in that because the Church set up a series of missionary conferences. The missionary conferences then began to elect the Bishops. And so we had several Chinese bishops who were elected at field conferences of Chinese delegates and missionaries.

I: When you think of all the missionaries that you know, which ones are the most memorable in your mind and why? I know this is a difficult question.

HAYES: Missionaries? First of all, Olin Stockwell because he exhibited the Christian faith under fire in a very remarkable way. He demonstrated what we were teaching and preaching about and why we were healing, because of a relationship with Christ which dominated his life. Falsely accused and imprisoned, Stockwell demonstrated love for his enemies. That was a monumental contribution.

Second, I would name M. Earle Bates because of his knowledge of the Church and his very capable efforts to communicate the facts of the Christian church--the Chinese Christian--and missionary life to church work here at home. The third was Francis Jones. I was thinking not only of his work in Nanking Theological Seminary, and of his book that I have here on missionary enterprise under the Communists, but I think especially of his translation of the Christian classics across all the years of Christian history. He has done a monumental piece of work. The value of it is now very much circumscribed because the Church is not operating openly in China. But if and

when the time comes when the Church in China will again be able to operate and its seminaries will be real seminaries for teaching theology and helping pastors to know what it is all about, they will have access in good Chinese translation to all the classics of Christianity that have ever appeared. What is it--30 or 40 volumes of them--I have forgotten the number. Tremendous. Francis Jones worked for years at Drew Theological Seminary with two Chinese scholars.

He had a committee that represented the most prestigious theological seminaries in the United States to make the selection of what they would call the classics of Christianity. These wonderful books that were in all kinds of languages--Greek, Latin and down through modern languages--were translated over a period of 15 or 20 years and printed in Hong Kong. I don't know if they all got printed or not. But they were printing them before Francis passed away. That was tremendous.

And I think John Leighton Stuart and A.J. Bowen as educational leaders had a great deal to do with setting the tone for Chinese Christian leadership in China. But that is as far as I got. Again, I said when you first came in, it is surprising how few missionaries appear in volumes that endeavor to assess the life of the Christian mission in China over all those long years. It is amazing how few are the names of missionaries who appear there. Also, how few are the names of Chinese leaders who appear there, too. I like these particular ones. Like Timothy Lew, of Peking Seminary, who was a guest in our home and who gave a course



of instruction at Hartford while I was there. He was especially helpful with Bliss Wiant in developing the musical life of the churches in China and helping them find and bring into the hymnals works by Chinese. In the first hymnals we had only translations from our western hymnals.

I: Are there other Chinese that stand out in your mind that you would like to put on the record here? Anything that you can tell us of their background, too, would be appreciated.

HAYES: Well, there weren't many of these that I knew as personally as I knew Timothy Lew. But I do wish to mention two names: Y.T. Wu (Wu Yao-tsung) worked to save the Church through the Three-Self Movement when the present Chinese government took over and Wang Ming-tao, who critically assessed that Movement. Again, it is an illustration of the difference between the fundamentalist and the liberal approach to the questions of great concern. But I think both of them are important because the Movement needed to be criticized and it needed also to be moved forward in whatever respect it would be of help to the church.

Then Dr. T. C. Chao of Yenching School of Religion, I think, made a real contribution. He raised the intellectual standards of the pastoral ministry in China. Also, W. Y. Chen as Methodist Bishop and Robin Chen, who was an Episcopal Bishop. I had a very small contact with Robin Chen and none at all with the Methodist Bishop, but their administration of their respective denominations was creditable. The Episcopal mission had American Bishops stationed in the field before they had Chinese Bishops. Until we elected Chinese Bishops, our American Methodist Bishops were not permanently in the field. They came for longer

or shorter stays and then returned to America. But these two bishops, I thought, had very creditable administrations of their churches and I would like to honor them in that way.

I: Do you think today that being a missionary can still be a joyful experience?

HAYES: Oh, we found it so. We were so surprised when we came home to America and have people introduce us and say how much we had sacrificed for Christ as being missionaries in China. We hadn't felt that our sacrifice was anything compared to what was the sacrifice of so many because we didn't live through any turbulent times at all personally. And we had a very lovely fellowship with missionaries of all the Protestant denominations no matter how much they differed from us. We were for one year at Chingkiang, where the nearest missionaries were Southern Baptists. That's where Pearl Buck came from. Our fellowship with them was genuine and helpful even though as Southern Baptists their theology was very different from ours, but we met together. We had church services together. They would preach and I would preach. We didn't have the same emphases, but we were trying to portray the same great gospel.

Then at Wuhu we had about five different missionary groups. The Methodists, the Episcopalians, China Inland Mission, the Christian Church (that is, Church of Christ denomination) and then we had the Advent Christian Mission. (They have one church in Minneapolis, on Lyndale Avenue North--a very small church.) And then we had the Christian and Missionary Alliance. Now the representatives of each of these missions preached in turn on Sunday afternoons in English. That gave us an opportunity to know and understand each other--to love each other and respect each other for the most part, with some exceptions. This was enjoyable.

Then we also had established a Wuhu University Club of which missionaries who were graduate of universities became members. Some local doctors and businessmen who were Chinese also became a part of our fellowship. It was a delightful fellowship. And then the steamers that came up the Yangtze River always stopped at our port. We would have travelers to China. Sometimes people high in educational circles and medical circles, etc., would stop off and be our guests in our homes. Charles Lindberg and his wife were our guests for several days. The book she wrote, North to the Orient, includes their visit to our mission. We had a dinner party for them at the next missionary house to ours. Helen, at that time, was pregnant with our second daughter, so Anne Lindberg's name appeared in our daughter's name, too. She was Lois Anne Hayes. These were very enjoyable parts of missionary life.

I: I am afraid that our time is coming to a close. Is there anything else that you would like to add to the record?

HAYES: Along the lines I have just been saying, I might give you a new illustration of how fundamentalist theology and the liberal theology can come to clash--even in missionaries' lives. This has reference to that Sunday afternoon missionary service held in English at which we took turns in preaching. All of us would be in the Chinese churches in the morning, taking whatever part was assigned to us. In our Chinese services, the preaching was practically always by the Chinese pastor--very seldom by the missionary.

But in this service, when Christmas time came, I had the privilege of preaching the Christmas sermon. I used the passage in scripture about the Wise Men. I had a scripture

passage and I also had another passage that I read from some Apocryphal book. I've forgotten which it was. The missionary from the China Inland Mission was on the program that day and he sang a solo. The organist was a woman from the Christian mission. As we separated, I came to our brother from the China Inland Mission and shook hands with him and thanked him for his help in the service--singing the solo. And we all went to our respective homes.

To my amazement the next day this man appeared on our porch. He had never visited with us before and I wondered what it was all about. I brought him into my study and hadn't sat down more than a minute or two when he said he came to apologize. I said, "Apologize? I don't know what you mean, brother." He said, "Yesterday, at the close of the service, when you thanked me for my song, I said I thanked you for your sermon. I didn't mean that. That was just pro forma." I said, "Oh, you didn't mean what you said? What was the matter with the sermon?" He said, "There was a good bit the matter with it. You quoted from an Apocryphal book. You said things about Christ and I don't think they are true." I said, "Well, brother, we all have different traditions about how we interpret the Bible. You have yours and I respect you for your own position. I hope that you will respect me for mine."

The conversation lengthened out; but our backgrounds of understanding the Christian faith were so different that we couldn't come together on these theological niceties. So he rose to leave. I held out my hand and said, "Brother, we can agree to differ, but we don't need to be disagreeable about it. I recognize you as my brother in Christ." He couldn't take my hand. He was just as sincere as I was, and I was as sincere as he was. You see what I mean by the possibility that our Chinese friends sometimes had a difficult time understanding what it was all about when we missionaries differed so fundamentally on some very important aspects of our gospel.

I: Dr. Hayes, thank you for the time that you have given us and your willingness to share your China experiences.