

Thesis

THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION OF BRITISH PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES

^(N)
~~TO~~ CHINA'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE 1920s

by

CUI DAN, B.A., M.A. (NANKAI UNIVERSITY OF CHINA)

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY AT THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (L.S.E.),
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

ProQuest Number: 11010404

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 11010404

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346



ABSTRACT:

During the period 1920-1930, British Protestant missionaries engaged in many cultural activities in China. This study is designed to analyze their special role in China's national development and modernization. The opening chapter mainly introduces the significance of the missionary social gospel and describes its theological tenets. It also examines the origins of the movement for cooperation among the Protestant missions and the features of the main British missions. The thesis then turns to the areas in which the missions displayed their leading social concerns, deriving from their policies. Chapters 2 & 3 describe the major contributions of the missionary medical services, analysing both primary medical work (direct medical care) and secondary medical work (education, research, translations and publications, public health). During the 1920s the Protestant missions were the most important force in medicine in China. Chapter 4 assesses the educational activities of British missionaries and their importance in the circumstances of China in the 1920s in triggering and moulding social change. Above all, the missionaries helped China to perfect her modern educational system and to understand Western learning and culture to much higher standards than previously. The following two chapters analyse the missionaries' role as social welfare workers and social reformers. Their work in this field included popular education, moral welfare, industrial welfare, famine relief, and rural reform, and constituted one of the most outstanding episodes in mission cultural activities. Chapter 7 discusses the British missionaries' influence in the movement of Chinese women's emancipation. In the 1920s many ordinary Chinese women, who had been untouched by the Revolution of 1911, were mobilized by missionary women's work. In contradiction to many traditional accounts, especially those of Chinese scholars, the final chapter assesses the positive cultural achievements of the Protestant missionaries and their unique role in promoting China's progress and modernization.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a great debt of gratitude to the people who helped me unearth the facts that are necessary foundation of this study. Various Christian and other organisations as well as many individuals have been generous and kind enough to help me collect materials and read parts of the manuscript. In particular I received great help from the China Department of the Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland, China Group of the Church of Scotland, Overseas Board of the Presbyterian Church of in Ireland, Religious Society of Friends, Overseas Missionary Fellowship, and the Great Britain and China Centre. I would also like to express my personal appreciation to Margaret Allen, Robert A. Bickers, Norman Cliff, Mary Findlay, I. Garven, Margaret E. Garvie, Kay and Tom Hawthorn, George Hood, Alan Hunter, Jill Hughes, J.T.T. McMullan, Francesca Rhys, Carl Smith, Edmond Tang, Philip and Mrs. Wickeri, and Bob Whyte.

CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER 1: THE SOCIAL GOSPEL & BRITISH MISSIONS IN CHINA IN THE 1920S	1
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE EXISTING STATE OF RESEARCH	4
III. THE SOCIAL GOSPEL	7
IV. THE POLICY OF INTER-MISSIONARY COOPERATION	24
V. FEATURES OF THE MAIN BRITISH MISSIONS	31
CHAPTER 2: MEDICAL SERVICES (1)	34
INTRODUCTION	34
I. DIRECT MEDICAL CARE	36
CHAPTER 3: MEDICAL SERVICES (2)	78
II. MEDICAL EDUCATION	78
III. PUBLIC HEALTH	103
IV. CONCLUSION	111
CHAPTER 4: EDUCATION	118
INTRODUCTION	118
I. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION	120
II. SECONDARY EDUCATION	126
III. HIGHER EDUCATION	135
IV. EDUCATIONAL DEVOLUTION	144
V. PROGRESS AND LIMITATIONS	156
CHAPTER 5: SOCIAL REFORM (1) - POPULAR EDUCATION, MORAL & INDUSTRIAL WELFARE	166
INTRODUCTION	166
I. POPULAR EDUCATION	168
II. MORAL REFORM	188
III. INDUSTRIAL WELFARE	199
CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL REFORM (2) - THE PROBLEMS OF FAMINE & RURAL SOCIETY	216
IV. FAMINE RELIEF	216
V. RURAL IMPROVEMENT	228
VI. INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL REFORM	244
CHAPTER 7: THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN	247
INTRODUCTION	247
I. REFORMING SOCIAL CUSTOMS	250
II. FEMALE EDUCATION	259
III. SOCIAL INFLUENCE	268
CHAPTER 8: PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES & CULTURAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN CHINA & THE WEST IN THE 1920S	277
BIBLIOGRAPHY	284
APPENDIX	303

TABLES

Table 2.1 The Statistics of Dispensaries of Major British Missions in 1920	Page 37
Table 2.2 The Hospitals of British Missions in 1920	41
Table 2.3 Medical Staff Allocation of Main British Missions & their Chinese Medical Staff in 1920	42
Table 2.4 The Medical Work of the MMH	58
Table 2.5 The PCI Women's Medical Work	58
Table 2.6 The Self-funded Medical Work of Major British Missions in the 1920s	62
Table 2.7 A Comparison between British & American Missionary Medical Enterprises	74
Table 2.8 The Regional Distribution of the Medical Enterprises Run by Protestant Christian Churches in the World (1935-36)	76
Table 3.1 The Progress & Development of Mission Nursing Work	97
Table 4.1 The Primary Schools & Pupils of Main British Missions in 1920	121
Table 4.2 Primary School Teaching Staff of Main British Missions in 1920	124
Table 4.3 The Secondary Educational Statistics of Main British Missions in 1920	127
Table 4.4 A Comparison between Government & Christian Schools in 1922	157
Table 5.1 The Social Work Departments of the NCC	167

ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM: American Board Commissioners of Foreign Mission
ABM: American Board Mission
ABF: American Baptist Foreign Mission
ACC: Anglo-Chinese College
ACM: American Church Mission
BB&TD: Bible, Book, and Tract Depot
BCMS: Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society
BFBS: British and Foreign Bible Society
BMS: Baptist Missionary Society
CBM: Church of the Brethren Mission
CBMS: Conference of British Missionary Societies
CCC: China Continuation Committee
CCEA: China Christian Educational Association
CEZMS: Church of England Zenana Mission
CHE: Council on Higher Education
C(P)HE: Council on (Public) Health Education
CI: Chefoo Industrial Mission
CIFRC: China International Famine Relief Commission
CIM: China Inland Mission
CLS: Christian Literature Society for China
CM: Christians' Mission
CMA: China Medical Association
CMMA: China Medical Missionary Association
CMML: Christian Missions in Many Lands
CMS: Church Missionary Society
CSFM: Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee
DLS: Danish Lutheran Mission
DUFM: Dublin University Fukien Mission
EMM: Emmanuel Medical Mission
EMMS: Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society
EPM: English Presbyterian Mission
FFMA: Friends Foreign Mission Association (After 1927, FSC: Friends Service Council)
IPTCA: International Postal Telegraph Christian Association
LMMS: London Medical Missionary Society
LMS: London Missionary Society
MEFB: Board of Foreign Missions Methodist Episcopal Church
ME(F)S: Southern Methodist (Foreign) Mission
NAC: Nurses' Association of China
NAOA: National Anti-Opium Association
NBSS: National Bible Society of Scotland
NCC: National Christian Council
NKM: Northwest Kiangsi Mission.
NMA: National Medical Association
PCI: Presbyterian Church in Ireland
PMU: Pentecostal Missionary Union
PN: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
PS: Executive Committee for Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
RCA: Reformed Church in America
RTS: Religious Tract Society in China
SA: Salvation Army
SPG: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
SVM: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions
SYM: South Yunnan Mission
TSM: Tsehchowfu Mission
UCC: United Church of Canada Mission
UFS: United Free Church of Scotland
UMC: United Methodist Missionary Society
WCM: Canadian Methodist Mission
WMMS: Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

CHAPTER 1: THE SOCIAL GOSPEL & BRITISH MISSIONS IN CHINA IN THE 1920S

I. INTRODUCTION

The object of this study is to offer a historical account, tracing the stages by which Protestant missionaries continued to act as mediators of Western culture in China on a large and growing scale during the 1920s. It seeks to assess the relations between their cultural activities and China's national development and modernization and sheds light on the relations between the new cultural contribution of the missions and their developing social gospel.

The original incentive to concentrate on such a subject is not only to document a generally neglected area of Sino-Western relations but also to gain insight into the nature of the British missionaries' contribution during this turbulent historical time. Much is known about the history of the anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements as both Chinese and Western historians have been greatly attracted by these political events. But comparatively little is known of the Protestants' distinctive cultural contributions and the Chinese reaction to them. The goal of this thesis is to fill an important gap in the existing literature. Missionary cultural activities were one of the important component parts in modern Chinese cultural history. This new cultural structure directly impacted upon changes in Chinese society.

This chapter begins by indicating the shape and scope of the thesis as well as assessing the existing state of knowledge. By increasing our understanding of how British missions altered their goals and methods, as well as setting forth the principles of their social gospel, I shall consider the nature of missionary organizations and the part they played in interpreting Western civilization to the Chinese people. This chapter mainly deals with the formation and development of the social gospel both in the West and China, examining its historical background and describing its theological tenets. In the 1920s the majority of Protestant missions in China adopted policies deriving from this social gospel. More and more missions recognized the necessity for greater organizational cohesion if the Church was to play a more significant role in modern China. Thus, a movement for cooperation between the Protestant missions was launched in the 1910s, reaching its peak in the 1920s. It provided an important stimulus for the missions' new cultural achievements. Subsequently, I will introduce the features of the main British missions' cultural work.

From Chapters 2 to 7 this thesis introduces the concrete activities of the Church in assuming direct responsibility for moulding Chinese society. In terms of the cultural exchanges between the West and China, this section is a preliminary attempt at a survey of the consequences of the spreading Western culture by Protestants in the 1920s through the

channels of medical services, education, social reform, and women's liberation. However, stress is laid on the historical background at the beginning of each chapter. Previous missionary history helps to reveal the 1920s as a key period in the missionary movement and the history of Sino-British cultural exchange at a higher level and on a larger scale. In this period many qualitative changes in Chinese cultural and social structure had partially or completely taken place. As long as we gain a clear idea of this period's history, we can more easily understand its relations with both its earlier and subsequent decades, and the distinctive missionary cultural contributions in the 1920s. Therefore, one of my ultimate aims is to reveal this turning-point in the history of the missionary movement.

Chapters 2 and 3 examine Western missions' special contributions in providing medical services, for the 1920s was an important stage in the continuing penetration of Western medical science in modern China. As in other developing countries, China's medical enterprise was closely connected with British, American and Canadian missionaries. In the 1920s the Protestant missions had transferred all-round Western medical science into China. Chapter 2 mainly focuses primary (or direct) medical care; Chapter 3 highlights secondary medical care, including medical education, medical research, translations and publications, and public health. The missions were the most important force in the provision of such services in China.

Chapter 4 assesses the educational activities of British missions and their importance in the circumstances of China in the 1920s in triggering and moulding social change. Their educational activities in the 1920s further helped China to perfect her modern educational system and to understand Western learning and culture at much higher levels than previously.

In the following two chapters I focus on the missionaries' roles as social reformers and welfare workers. Missionaries often used Western standards to deal with Chinese problems and their efforts in the 1920s sought to model China increasingly on the well-organized social welfare system in the West. They played a vital role in shaping such a system. As Western missions pondered their goals and methods to respond adequately to the urgent needs of Chinese society, so their commitment extended to an improvement of the socio-economic conditions of China. All their means aimed at overcoming the indifference of the Chinese people and government. Their social reform work (including popular education, moral reform and industrial welfare in Chapter 5 and famine relief and rural reform in Chapter 6) was one of the most outstanding episodes of mission cultural work in China.

Chapter 7 pays special attention to the women's work of the missions. The programmes through which the Church helped China liberate women moved in two areas: First, engaging in philanthropic work among girls and women and doing away with the "evil" customs; and second, giving them both a

religious and secular education. Both types of work aimed to raise women's social status. The most essential task of this chapter is to summarize the vital role of Western missionaries in the movement of Chinese women's liberation in the 1920s. They had made extraordinary contributions in the course of their struggle for the establishment of Chinese women's rights. In these mass movements, many ordinary Chinese women, who had been untouched by the first revolution in 1911, were mobilized by mission women's work. Their work erected a new landmark in the development of Chinese women's liberation.

In Chapter 8, I shall conclude that in the processes of bilateral cultural exchange between China and the West in the 1920s, the Protestant missionaries remained the main mediators. They had opened new working areas and still played pioneering roles in many respects. Missionary activities in China had caused Chinese and Western culture to come face to face in these fields and had a great effect on both the rise and development of modern Chinese culture. Their social influence also gave an unusual impetus to China's national development and modernization. By spreading Western culture the missions conformed to the historical trend of the times, expressed in the motto "China catches up with the world."

The method of this thesis first consists of liberal research on historical and conceptual matters and case studies of particular movements and incidents through the study of published literature, archives and interviews. These interviews were helpful in assessing the meaning given to missionaries' role in China's national development. Secondly, the methodology employed in this study is critically descriptive; that is, it not only attempts to describe Western missionaries' views and actions, but it also seeks to discover the reasons why they held these viewpoints and engaged in particular actions and how Chinese reactions influenced their enterprises and position in China. It will examine both the negative and constructive aspects of their activities.

Admittedly, the relevant Chinese data in the 1920s basically reflect Chinese viewpoints about missionaries' work and Chinese cultural environment, historical background and political climate. By surveying these Chinese reactions, I can more objectively demonstrate the values and profoundly historical and realistic significance of missionaries' cultural enterprises in China and hopefully make this research more convincing, avoiding traditional political prejudices and misunderstanding. It is necessary to gain insight into the Chinese people's perception of missionary work and the "Chinese reality", so as to better understand the Chinese attitudes and behaviour in the missionary delivery of Western civilization. Understandably, findings in this study will be suggestive rather than affirmative. By the above methods, I am able better to test, analyze and summarize the historical place of British missionaries as mediators of Western civilization in the 1920s.

II. THE EXISTING STATE OF RESEARCH

Christianity constituted one of the oldest agencies of cultural change in China dating from Robert Morrison's time (1807). However, it has remained a neglected subject of study. Studies of Christianization have been sporadic, often in the form of casual references, short articles, brief descriptive studies. There remains a lack of detailed, systematic and theoretically-oriented studies of the Protestant missions as an agency of cultural change in Chinese society. It is relevant to note that when many people talk about Christian missionaries or the various Christian communities and their activities, they have a tendency to treat them as one purely religious body in general. But in a broader sense, Christianity had a much wider implication. Probably many Chinese people are not fully aware of the missionaries' role as philanthropists, professional medical workers and educators, planners, social workers, women's workers and enlightened laymen. Again, there are less informed people who are highly critical of Christian missionaries on the point of religious conversion, but are not properly informed about their many positive contributions on socio-economic fronts.

Since the early 1950s, Chinese historians have closely associated this theme with imperialist invasion, with a large number of research papers and works on the Protestant missions as cultural invasion agencies. Conventionally, in Chinese historical circles, views on Western missionaries are expressed with a marked political bias which stigmatizes them as "the pioneers of Western imperialism" or "cultural imperialists," "the imperialist under the cloak of religion," or "the means that imperialists invaded China." In other assessments they are regarded as "daring vanguard" of imperialist aggression in China, imperialist "spies," while Christianity was "spiritual opium," "an anaesthetic" which poisoned the Chinese people. Missionary welfare work constituted merely "crocodile tears."¹ These political historical conclusions derived from some authoritative personal viewpoints have prevailed for a long time. Research workers have not dared challenge them for several decades. But these

¹Mao Tse-tung, Yu-i hai-shih ch'ing-lueh (Friendship or Invasion?) (30 August 1949); Liu Ta-nien, Chung-kuo chin-tai shih wen-t'i (Issues of Modern Chinese History) (Peking, 1978), pp.81, 82; Hu Sheng, Ti-kuo chu-i ho Chung-kuo cheng-chih (Imperialism and Chinese Politics) (Peking, 1977), p.83; The Institute of Ch'ing Historical Research of People's University ed., Chung-kuo chin-tai shih lun-wen chi (The Collected Articles of Modern Chinese History) (Peking, 1979), p.693, see Chin Ch'ung-chi's and Hu Sheng-wu's paper; Ting Ming-nan, Ti-kuo-chu-i ch'in-hua shih (History of Imperialist Aggression in China) (Peking, 1985), p.107; Chin Ch'eng-hua, Mei-kuo chin-hua shih (History of American Aggression against Korea), p.107; Wang Chi-min, Mei-kuo ch'in-hua hsiao-shih (Brief History of American Aggression in China) (Peking, 1950), p.72; Nan Hui, Mei-ti ch'in-hua shih-lu (Historical Records of American Imperialist Aggression in China) (Hongkong, 1970), pp.55, 56; The Section of Compiling Modern Chinese History of Chunghua Book Bureau ed., Chung-kuo chin-tai shih (Modern Chinese History) (Peking, 1977), p.327; Ch'ing Ju-chi, Mei-kuo ch'in-hua shih (History of American Aggression in China) (Peking, 1956), pp.232, 249, 250, 270, 277, 288; Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, Ti-kuo-chu-i tsen-yang li-yung tsung-chiao ch'in-lueh Chung-kuo (Collection of Articles of Criticising the Role of Missionaries in China) (Peking, 1973), pp.8, 45, 56; Social Scientific United Association of Szechwan and Historical Institute of Modern Chinese Anti-Christian Movements in Szechwan ed., Chin-tai Chung-kuo chiao-an yen-chiu (Studies on Modern Chinese Anti-Christian Movements) (Chengtu, 1987), pp.35, 140, 170, 499; and Ku Ch'ang-sheng, Ch'uan-chiao-shih yu chin-tai Chung-kuo (Missionaries and Modern China) (Shanghai, 1981), see "Preface" by Ch'en Hsu-lu, p.2.

Chinese critics have little firsthand knowledge of the missionary movement itself and many partisan historical conclusions may be corrected through serious research work. In more recent years a few papers and books relating to Christianity have affirmed the cultural achievements of the missions in some aspects in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but they have generally taken a negative view of the cultural role of missionaries in the 1920s, or ignored it completely.² Some Chinese historians think that Christianity did not impact China to the same extent as Buddhism and Islam. Even today, Chinese historians still think that the Chinese people themselves had taken the place of missionaries as the mediators of Western culture after 1919; and they have wrongly concluded that missionaries played more negative roles in China after the May 4th Movement in 1919.³

In addition, orthodox Chinese opinion has generally compared the cultural activities of British missions negatively with those of the American societies. Firstly, Chinese people understand more readily the historical activities of American missions in China. For American historians have done a lot of systematic and concrete research work, which has clearly demonstrated American missionaries' cultural contributions to China.⁴ Secondly, before 1910, more American missionary individuals and bodies favoured the social gospel and devoted themselves to broader working fields in order to influence the whole of Chinese society. By contrast, British missionaries appeared more conservative and more rigid in their working methods. Naturally, in many discussions of the social contributions of missionaries to China, American missionaries have been thought to have a much higher profile than British ones by both Western and Chinese historians. British missionaries have been usually labelled typically conservative - with hardly any impact on Chinese social transformations, individual missionaries apart. The conservative images of British missionaries in the last century seem to have become so deeply-rooted in Chinese people's minds that more researchers move their attention to American missionaries. It often seems that American Protestants in China were the sole mediators of Western civilization and Chinese people's knowledge of the 20th Century's British missions is practically nil. The real historical place of British missions in the 1920s has been

²"W.A.P. Martin he ching-shih T'ung wen kuan" (W.A.P. Martin and Peking Foreign Language School), by Wang Wei-chien, Chung-shan ta-hsueh hsueh-pao (Chung-shan University Journal) (Canton), Feb.1984; "Y.J. Allen he chien-chie ch'ua-chiao" (Y.J. Allen and Indirect Preaching Methods), by Chu Lin-lin, Shih-chie tsung-chiao tsi-liao (World Religious Materials) (Peking), March 1985; Ku Chang-sheng, Chuan-chiao-shih and Tsung Ma Li Hsun tao Si Tu Lei Teng; Lai-hua hsien-chiao chuan-chiao-shih ping-chuan (From Robert Morrison to J. Leighton Stuart) (Shanghai, 1985); Chen Hsiu-p'ing, Ch'en-fu lu - Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien yun-tung yu chi-tu-chiao nan-nu ch'ing-nien-hui (History of the Movement of Chinese Youth and the YMCA and YWCA) (Shanghai, 1989).

³See the textbooks of modern Chinese history published after 1980.

⁴Such as Peter Buck, American Science and Modern China 1876-1936 (Cambridge, 1980); J.K. Fairbank, The Missionary Enterprise in China and America (Cambridge, 1974); P. Neills & J.C. Brewer, United States Attitudes and Policies Toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries (New York, 1990); and P.A. Varg, Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952 (New Jersey, 1958).

indifferently treated and nearly forgotten both by Chinese and foreign research scholars.

On the other hand, Western research workers and even missionaries themselves unanimously insist on the fact that the missions had passed their peak and entered a "sunset" period, and that the Christian movement suffered a "setback" after the mid-1920s due to the radical anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements and the campaign of restoring educational rights. The privileges and prestige which foreigners had for so long enjoyed in China were rapidly disappearing.⁵ At the International Missionary Council Meeting in Jerusalem during April 1928 there was a fairly widespread opinion that the day of the foreign missionaries in China was over, and some mission boards and societies began to alter their plans for their missions in the Far East on this assumption.⁶ It seemed that there were no missionary cultural achievements worth mentioning, as a result of the extremely chaotic political situation in China. This view has prevailed for a long time. Naturally, most historians' attention has been greatly diverted by the political situation and events in the 1920s,⁷ but as a result they have ignored the continuing cultural achievements of Protestant missions.

Meanwhile, there are very few first-hand translated materials in Chinese coming from the British missionary side. The obstacles of language have limited most Chinese researchers, in particular the historians of older generation from touching on this field. Both these factors have led to the limited Chinese understanding of British societies. However, even British researchers have made few inquiries into this subject, with missionary cultural achievements known only by some Western historians or those inside each mission board. It would be true to say that their cultural work, especially in the 1920s, is one of the most neglected research areas among the various fields of modern Sino-British relations, and even the history of Christian movement in China.

Both Chinese and Western historians' conclusions have left a large

⁵Varg, Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats, see Chapter 18 "Undo the Chinese Foolishness;" G. Hood, Mission Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China: A Study of the Interplay between Mission Methods and Their Historical Context (Frankfurt & New York, 1986); Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, pp.821, 822; J.G. Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions - The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-28 (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1988); A. Fulton, Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria 1867-1950 (Edinburgh, 1967); E. Band, Working His Purpose Out: The History of the English Presbyterian Mission 1847-1947, Part IV: China from the Revolution to the Present-time 1947 (London, 1948); N. Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society - 1895-1945 (London, New York & Toronto, 1954); J.M. Roe, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1905-1954 (London, 1965); H.P. Thompson, Into All Lands: The History of the SPGFP (London, 1951). Similar opinions can be seen in many places of British missionary archives.

⁶G. Hewitt, The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942 (London, 1977), p.207.

⁷The representative works include J.K. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985 (London, 1988); Wolfgang Franke, A Century of Chinese Revolution (1851-1949) (Oxford, 1970); D.S.G. Goodman, China and the West: Ideas and Activists (Manchester & New York, 1990); E.R. Hughes, The Invasion of China by the Western World (London, 1968); H.R. Isaac, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (Stanford, 1966); and J. Israel, Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937 (Stanford, 1966).

space to reconsider and re-estimate the cultural role of the Christian missions in the 1920s. However, the extensive missionary archives and Chinese materials on this study serve to answer some very important questions, while eliminating some political prejudices. These sources record in detail the new cultural adventures of missions. By means of a survey of these sources some of the strains and stresses of China's national development may be better understood.

All of the above-mentioned shows the sheer necessity of this research. In view of these facts the present study aims to provide a detailed account of these aspects of missionary cultural activities, hopefully dispelling many myths and misunderstandings and demonstrating more accurately the place of missions in China's national development. I shall try to approach Western missionary questions in China from a historical and cultural-exchange angle.

III. THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

The formation and development of the social gospel in the West directly led to its origin in China. Thus, it is very necessary for me to introduce the historical background of its birth in the West, its formation and influence on foreign missions' work in China. Of course, there were some other special historical elements in China which also prompted and accelerated more and more missions to employ this social gospel policy.

1. Its Formation in the West

The social gospel, i.e. a liberal (or progressive) theology, was to build an optimistic social Christianity. Its emphasis was to intensify the interest of churches in the problems of society. The social gospel movement was a reaction against the exaggerated spiritualism and the pietistic individualism that had been so largely responsible for the churches' removal from the field of social action. Its aim was to reawaken the churches to their responsibility for the social order. Social gospel groups emphasized the idea of Jesus as a social reformer and a compassionate figure who provided the inspiration for social reform.⁸ The increasing inadequacy of the human and material resources of the Church in an expanding and industrializing society influenced the religious history.⁹ The social gospel was an indigenous Western movement deriving its dynamics and its ideology from the social context in which it grew. Its practical basis aimed to tackle relevant social problems to which the Industrial

⁸Boyd Hilton, The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865 (Oxford, 1988), see Chapter 7, pp.254-297; K.S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London & Toronto, 1964), see Chapter 7, pp.250-321; Bernard M.G. Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore: A Century of Religious Thought in Britain (London, 1971), pp.264, 339, 383; D.W. Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s (London & Boston, 1989), see pp.99,, 100, 104, 181-228, 250, 251, 252-3.

⁹Alan D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914 (London & New York, 1976), p.69.

Revolution gave rise. Thus, "the social gospel was an evangelistic strategy for reaching the working classes."¹⁰ Its theologians wanted to do their utmost to promote the social welfare of the people. The social gospel incorporated a broad spectrum of social concerns, such as family cohesiveness, the meaning of work, the relationship between social classes in a democracy, and the appropriate role for the state in an industrialized society.¹¹ The birth of social Christianity may be traced to the cradle of Industrial Revolution - Britain - in the 18th century, but in its modern form the development of the social gospel in America was in the period 1868-1880.¹² But while in the West, the social gospel was directed towards the proper response towards industrialization, in its missionary context it led a growing involvement in a vast range of education, medical and reforming activities which all sought to adjust the social context in which individual salvation might take place.

This "liberal" creed therefore differing strongly from the more conservative evangelical emphasis upon the need for conversion, the latter had a particularly powerful desire to share the Gospel message and experience with others.¹³ Its theological theory was unrealistic, finding faith beyond humanity and beyond history. It was pessimistic, holding man a sinner in the grip of tenacious evil and placing the Cross at the heart of Christianity. It was God-Centred, believing redemption came not through man's efforts but through God's grace. It was apocalyptic, knowing the Kingdom would never be achieved on earth but only at the end of history.¹⁴ The well-known Evangelical Revival took place in the late 1730s. Its emergence was therefore a cornerstone of the pattern of British religion. In the opening decades of Victoria's reign the evangelical movement still

¹⁰Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p.212.

¹¹John Wolfe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London, 1994), pp.20, 21; E.P.Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1968).

¹²Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church Part I* (London, 1966), see Chapter V; E.J. Poole-Connor, *Evangelicalism in England* (London, 1966), see Chapters 5-8; W. Charlton, T. Mallinson, & R. Oakeshott, *The Christian Response to Industrial Capitalism* (London, 1986), p.6, 7, 15, 20, 21, 61; Roland N. Stromberg, *Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1954), pp.x, Chapter II; C.H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915* (New Haven & London, 1991), pp.11, 53, 121, 203; Werner Stark, *The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom* (London, 1967), pp.15-29; Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1964), pp.251-2, 325; R. Pierce Beaver, "Missionary Motivation through Three Centuries," in Jerald C. Brauer, ed., *Reinterpretations in American Church History* (Chicago, 1968), pp.126-7; Geoffrey Moorhouse, *The Missionaries* (London, 1973), chs 7 & 8. For Moody, see James F. Findlay, Jr., Dwight L. Moody: *American Evangelist, 1837-1899* (Chicago, 1969), pp.32-6 & ch.10. In speaking of theological liberals and conservatives, see William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, Mass, 1976).

¹³British historians divide British evangelicals into two groups, namely moderate evangelicals and extremist evangelicals; comparatively, in the United States such two groups are called as conservatives and fundamentalists respectively.

¹⁴Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, Chapter 1, pp.181-228, 250, 251-2, 253-5, 256, 257,-70, 275; John Wolfe, pp.21, 24, 26; B. Hilton, pp.8, 9, 15, 16, 25; Owen Chadwick, Part I, p.5; M.E. Marty & R.S. Appleby, *Fundamentalism Observed, The Fundamentalism Project, Vol.1* (Chicago & London, 1991), see pp.viii, ix, x, xi, xiii; J.S. Hawley ed., *Fundamentalism and Gender* (Oxford, 1994), p.3; Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*, p.44; A.D. Gilbert, pp.22, 51-3; B.M.G. Reardon, pp.23, 26, 27, 29f.

remained a dynamic and broadly based religious force, combining spiritual energy, institutional diversity and cultural sensitivity. However, after the mid-19th century, it passed the peak of its influence. It was rapidly losing ground to the more optimistic and expansionist, industrializing, and cosmopolitan practitioners of the social gospel.¹⁵ Anglican theologians found that the need for a "true" Atonement was necessary, not only to the redemption of sin, but also to give meaning to the Resurrection. Sacrifice was indeed "vicarious." For them a "large truth" was Incarnation(, which older evangelicals had seen as "a kind of after-thought in the mind of God, ...contingent on human sin," but which for the younger generation "lies deeper than the Atonement": "it was God's eternal thought and purpose that the race should be one with Christ," and sin merely gave people an extra opportunity to demonstrate how much God loves people). By this time the Atonement was very widely seen as a supremely noble but essentially symbolic gesture by the son of God (a case of willing self-sacrifice so as to show his love for us, but not a literal redemption in the sight of God for the sins of man).¹⁶ The liberal theologians were prone to modify the traditional doctrine of hell, considering that the fate of the unrepentant would be annihilation or conditional immortality rather than eternal punishment, or even that God might ultimately save all humankind.¹⁷

In parallel, the Incarnational social thought was seen in the new intellectual context. New theological theories rested upon a few dominant ideas that characterized the intellectual climate of opinion in which they grew. Its primary assumption was the immanence of God, a conception derived from the influence of science - Darwinian evolution in particular - upon Protestant theology, because Darwinism was perhaps the most telling indication of the advance across the Protestant churches of a softer and less dogmatic theology. Some theologians hailed Darwinian ideas as testimony to the continual creative intervention of God in the world, through the ongoing process of evolution. For example, Incarnationalist economists formed a link between idealist or Social Darwinist philosophies, and the practical work of the Christian Socialists and their satellites on the other.¹⁸ Belief in an indwelling God, working out his purposes in the world of men, naturally involved a solidaristic view of society - which was conveniently supplied by sociology.¹⁹ Newly developed sociology in the last

¹⁵John Wolfe, pp.20, 24, 25, 26, 30; B. Hilton, pp.256, 259.

¹⁶B. Hilton, Chapter 7, p.296, 298, 299.

¹⁷J. Wolfe, pp.164, 165, 167, 168.

¹⁸J. Maynard Smith, Evolution Now: A Century After Darwin (London, 1982); J. Durant, Darwinism and Divinity: Essays on Evolution and Religious Belief (Oxford, 1985), pp.14, 15, 16, 17, 18-23; R. Dawkins, The Selfish Gene (Oxford, 1976), see his Chapter - "Why Are People;" James Reeve Pusey, China and Charles Darwin (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1983), see its preface and introduction; B. Hilton, p.6; J. Wolfe, pp.167, 168; Bebbington, Evangelicalism, p.207.

¹⁹W. Stark, pp.19, 34, 35.

century forced religion to a more realistic appraisal of its task.²⁰ Obviously, intellectual doubt affected only a small minority, and often produced "unorthodoxy" rather than unbelief. Many people who found intellectual errors in religious dogma often became liberal Christians or syncretists rather than atheists.²¹ The realization that the individual was saved in his social context rather than out of it, and that the customs of society must be changed if he was to develop his full potentialities, was a far more realistic view than the conservative attitude that had expected to perfect the individual soul in a celestial sphere while the present order was left to decay.²²

In particular, the government's religious census of 1851 had shown that the Protestant churches had lost touch with the working classes to a greater extent than had been realised. This unexpectedly low rate of church membership and attendance gave the churches "a diminishing pool of human resources to support their religious, political, and social aims."²³ It was one of the most important reasons why the Church started to approach new theological theories so as to shake off its powerless image in solving new social problems. More and more theologians realized that a Christian structure of society could not be achieved without support for the political and economic aspirations of the labourer.²⁴

Therefore, after 1850, when the Incarnation actually began to displace the Atonement as centrepiece of Anglican theology, the word was attached more and more the life of Jesus on earth.²⁵ At its outset the Incarnation placed the emphasis upon the realization of the Kingdom of God in the present world, always professing a concern with human well-being in this world as well as in the next.²⁶ Considered corrective of and a reaction against an extreme individualism, the ethicizing strain must be regarded as a healthful influence even though it afforded an opening for the entrance of humanism and moralism. These liberal theologians emphasized that Christianity should go before the world as "a way of living rather

²⁰W.W. Schroeder, Cognitive Structures and Religious Research: Essays in Sociology and Theology (East Lansing, Mich., 1970), p.13, 16, 18, 20-21.

²¹Susan Budd, Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850-1960 (London, 1977), pp.106-12; O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II (1860-1901) (London, 1970), pp.112-18; G.I.T. Machin, Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1869 to 1921 (Oxford, 1987), p.15.

²²D. Martin, The Breaking of the Image: A Sociology of Christian Theory and Practice (Oxford, 1980), pp.2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 126; D. Davie, A Gathered Church: The Literature of the English Dissenting Interest 1700-1930 (London, 1978).

²³G.I.T. Machin, p.11.

²⁴O.Chadwick, Part I, see pp.363-369; L. Smith, p.21; Jeffrey Cox, The English Churches in a Secular Society, Lambeth, 1870-1930 (Oxford, 1982), pp.4, 5.

²⁵J. Wolfe, p.168; B.M.G. Reardon, pp.446-9.

²⁶ Leonard Smith, Religion and the Rise of Labour: Nonconformity and the Independent Labour Movement in Lancashire and the West Riding 1880-1914 (Keele, 1993), pp.16, 20.

than a dogma."²⁷ But this interest in practical and ethical concerns did not mean that the gospel became irreligious.²⁸

By the early 1830s the impetus towards ecclesiastical reform had assumed irresistible proportions within churches. The number of clergy dedicated to social reform had risen.²⁹ From 1860 onwards historical reconstruction of the life of Jesus became enormously popular for the first time.³⁰ The innumerable tracts and pamphlets which were published throughout the period 1833-1901, especially after the mid-Victorian age, can be seen as evidence that even the Victorian Church was prophetically engaged in giving to England a Social gospel. It started to become strong and formed a new and conscious policy of social involvement. Many changes took place in its church life. It not only developed a significantly new idea of its role in the nation, but this idea was implemented, often consciously, by many Dissenters.³¹ The practitioners of its social gospel played an active part in the Trade Union movement. During the 1870s-1890s the discussion about the conditions of working classes in the Church became more intense and more widespread. Its theologians wanted to "preach a gospel" of fair wages and a just distribution of wealth.³² In order to deal with the social problems of working classes, its social reformers set up a series of organizations, such as the Promoting Working Men's Society, Guild of St Matthew, Christian Social Union, Christian Fellowship League.³³ In 1883 the Victorian Church appointed two committees "on the spiritual needs of the masses of the people." Concern about the working classes was now expressed at all levels of the Church.³⁴ The social gospel reached its Victorian culmination about 1891, 1892, 1893.³⁵ With the establishment of the Churchman's Union for the Advancement of Liberal Religious Thought in 1898 and the early 20th century saw further development of the new theology of the later Victorian years. In 1903 the Workers' Educational Association was founded largely through its members who received considerable support

²⁷See Hutchison, p.57; B.M.G. Reardon, pp.18-20.

²⁸O. Chadwick, Part II, pp.272, 273, 280, 281; C.H. Hopkins, pp.1-13, 320, 321; John R.H. Moorman, A History of the Church in England (London, 1953), pp.356, 392; R.T. Handy, The Social Gospel in America 1870-1920 (New York, 1966), see Introduction; S. Curtis, A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture (Baltimore & London, 1991), p.276; L. Smith, pp.34, 35,38, 39, 40.

²⁹A.D. Gilbert, p.127.

³⁰B. Hilton, p.299.

³¹Desmond Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church: A Study of the Church of England 1833-1882 (Montreal, 1968), p.ix, Chapter 7.

³²Chadwick, Part II, pp.272, 279.

³³K.S. Inglis, pp.272, 273, 275, 279, 280.

³⁴Ibid., pp.22, 23, 46.

³⁵Chadwick, Part II, p.279.

from the Church.³⁶ Some Anglicans claimed the credit for being the first to put socio-economic questions posed by industrial capitalism firmly on the Church of England's agenda. Many Anglican theologians sought to reduce Christian dogma to an essential minimum, accepting the import of biblical criticism without wholly rejecting the miraculous.³⁷

In Scotland an effective form of social discipline was in practice maintained in many parishes against notorious sins in the 17th century. In 1916, the editor of Life and Work, the magazine of the Church of Scotland, reaffirmed a Christian belief in progress. The Church of Scotland was responsible for an impressive array of institution for orphans, the destitute and the elderly.³⁸

Among Protestant missions there was a broad range of social philosophies stemming from the theological divergences among the churches before the mid-19th century. Both the Protestant "old" dissent deriving from the 17th century (Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents and Unitarians) and "new" dissent of the 18th century (Methodists) (Baptists, Independents, Quakers and Presbyterians increasingly called Congregationalists and Unitarians) were among the most famous British Nonconformists.³⁹ They obtained massive growth in early industrial society, especially between the 1780s and 1830s while the state Church was weak and they were more active in engaging in social reform than the Established Church.⁴⁰ Many Nonconformists supported the Trade Union movement and concerned themselves with the labour movement.⁴¹ One aspect of the Nonconformist Conscience was the readiness of hitherto individual liberals to seek remedies for social evils by recourse to greater participation of Government.⁴² They made their own significant contributions to education

³⁶John R.H. Moorman, pp.356, 382, 410; O. Chadwick, Part II, pp.276, 466; C. Raven, Christian Socialism 1848-54 (London, 1920), pp.48, 32, 106, 336, 337; P.N.Backstrom, Christian Socialism and Cooperation In Victorian England. Edward Vansittart Neale and the Cooperative Movement (London, 1974), pp.29, 31.

³⁷J. Wolfe, pp.168, 169.

³⁸Bebbington, Evangelicalism, pp.18, 92, 137, 185, 191, 209, 213; P. Toon, Evangelical Theology, 1833-1856: A Response to Tractarianism (London, 1979), pp.117 ff.

³⁹The Toleration Act of 1689 directly led to building Dissent in to the establishment. But two new developments in the Old Dissent in the later 18th century should be noted: (1) the growth of Unitarianism, mainly among the more educated Presbyterians and Old General Baptists; (2) a revival of evangelistic interest among Baptists and Independents. See David M. Thompson, Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century (London & Boston, 1972), pp.1, 2, 3.

⁴⁰With the establishment of individual denominational unions after the 1810s, "dissenters" became Nonconformists. The formation of the National Council of Free Churches in 1896 marked that the Nonconformist moves towards consolidation went beyond individual denominations. See J. Wolfe, p.59; D.M. Thompson, pp.47, 240, 260; A.D. Gilbert, pp.68, 71, 89, 90, 91, 154, 159,161, 162.

⁴¹A.D. Gilbert, pp.94, 120, 180, 212, 237, 238; K.S. Inglis, Chapter 2, pp.62-118; D.M. Thompson, pp.131, 222; L. Smith, pp. 16, 18, 21, 22, & Chapter 3.

⁴²D.W. Bebbington, The Nonconformist Conscience (London, 1982), p.13.

and social welfare.⁴³ They contradicted all stereotypes by providing sports and entertainment for the general community more readily than the Anglicans.⁴⁴ The Quakers' main contributions lay in their adult night schools for humbler classes, campaigns for Factory Acts, women's work and anti-slavery.⁴⁵ The Unitarians in the 1830s and 1840s founded Domestic Missions for philanthropic purposes.⁴⁶ The Methodist response to industrial capitalism was its important contribution as a school for trade union leaders.⁴⁷ Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists were particularly involved in the Mining and Agricultural Unions. In the countryside Congregationalists and Baptists tended to be strong among the farmers and independent village craftsmen.⁴⁸ The Salvation Army organized Employment Bureaux, by which news of jobs was announced. Nonconformist ministers were well known to have been speakers at Labour Church meetings.⁴⁹ The YMCA (initiated by an interdenominational group of young evangelical businessmen) (which spread rapidly and became a world-wide institution) helped young men to keep up a high moral standard.⁵⁰ From 1894 onwards, the Baptist Christian Socialist League (1894), Quaker Socialist Society (1898) and Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service (1905) were founded and all modelled on the Anglican Christian Social Union established in 1889.⁵¹

In the 18th and even early 19th centuries the general tendency of the work of all the Protestant churches was that their humanitarianism meant charity rather than social engineering. But in the second half of the 19th century the churches usually portrayed themselves as in a kind of giant settlement house, blanketing the entire nation with good works, reforming the living conditions of the majority and providing Britain's best hope of bridging the gap between the classes.⁵² Particularly from the last quarter of the 19th century there were many real humanitarian movements,⁵³ and more

⁴³Nigel Yates, Robert Hume, & Paul Hastings, Religion and Society in Kent, 1640-1914 (Woodbridge, Kent, 1994), p.2.

⁴⁴J. Cox, pp.85-89.

⁴⁵W.C. Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism (London, 1919), pp.555, 561-5,578, 587, 588; A. Raistrick, Quakers in Science and Industry (London, 1950), pp.82, 139, 143-4.

⁴⁶L. Smith, p.59, 67.

⁴⁷See E. Halevy, History of the English People in 1815 (London, 1924), pp.359, 361; Thompson, The Making of English Working Class, p.412; R. Wearmouth, Methodism and the Working Class Movements of England 1800-1850 (London, 1937), pp.16-17; W. Jessop, An Account of Methodism in Rossendale and the Neighbourhood (Manchester & London, 1980).

⁴⁸D.M. Thompson, pp.12, 14, 186.

⁴⁹L. Smith, pp.21, 23, 62, 63.

⁵⁰K.S. Inglis, p.275.

⁵¹Chadwick, Part II, pp.278, 281; L. Smith, p.16.

⁵²J. Cox, p.6; G.I.T. Machin, p.16; Bebbington, The Nonconformist Conscience, pp.38-45.

⁵³See R.N. Stromberg, Chapter XI.

and more theologians' mind moved towards new concepts of economic science and social determinism. Churches through their programmes of social relief won wide respect for their sincere and urgent concern for the destitute. More and more churches awakened to the importance of the social concern, and they were all more interested in socio-economic questions and made more theoretical contributions to the study and analysis of socio-economic arrangements.⁵⁴ Thus, in the period 1855-1918 the Church of England itself and many other denominations began obviously to emphasize the social Christianity policy.⁵⁵ They commonly thought the Bible had some relevance to realistic political or social problems, and using it as a starting point tried to find a solution along Christian lines. The churches did a good deal to initiate and sustain the interest in social reform. They bore some responsibility for the displacement of ecclesiastical issues from politics by social ones.⁵⁶ They became Britain's most important voluntary social institution. In addition, denominational competition stimulated the religious practice of social responsibility without eroding religious faith. The increase of their common interest in social reform promoted the tendency of growing understanding between churches which led to some interdenominational unions, though cooperation was much easier between Nonconformists of different denominations than with the Church of England.⁵⁷

During the period of the 1850s-1910s liberal theological views definitely gained ground. Evangelicalism was swayed in the straight forward process of liberal advance, some former conservative theologians even found a middle path and called themselves "liberal evangelicals."⁵⁸ The social gospel became mature and was recognized in the West, thus it became an integral part of the thought and action of the Church, and one of the hopeful beacons in the 1910s that had descended upon mankind was the seriousness of effort and genuine progress being made toward that persistently elusive goal - an adequate sociology of Christianity.⁵⁹

In the eyes of the Protestant Church, the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910 marked an important turning point - the new commitment to social responsibility. The principle of the conference in the 1910s

⁵⁴C. Binfield, So Down to Prayers, Studies in English Nonconformity 1780-1920 (London, 1977), pp.7, 8, 9, 12, 20; J. Cox, see Chapter 3, pp.48-89.

⁵⁵G.K. Clark, Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1855 (London, 1973); J. Ruskin, Works, Vol.xvii, ed. by E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London, 1905); C. Gore ed, Property, its Duties and Rights (London, 1913), p.xv; R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (London, 1926); Inglis, pp.218, 219, 288, 289, 292; R. Holt, The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England (London, 1952), p.232; P. Wicksteed, The Common Sense of Political Economy (1910) (London, 1933), Vol.ii, p.701.

⁵⁶Ibid., p.17.

⁵⁷Machin, pp.17-8.

⁵⁸Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, p.208; John Wolffe, pp.170, 171.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp.304-5.

influenced the church work both in the Christian nations and their foreign missions.⁶⁰ They believed that "the age of sheer individualism is past and the age of social responsibility has arrived." "They exalted the newer ideals of social justice, social service, social responsibility."⁶¹ This conference called for missionaries to become social reformers, summoning the Church to find out and apply the Christian solution for social evils. Social Christianity in Britain and America had been an ameliorating influence improving the conduct of people undergoing the stresses and strains of modernization.⁶² Soon the influence of social Christianity was enlarged to the whole world from Christian nations. Thus, in the 1920s the social gospel had entered its golden age, having erected a solid foundation institutionally and theologically in the West.⁶³ It had proved that it could inspire, organize, create, cooperate, and change.⁶⁴

The great era in modern foreign missions began in Britain in the 1790s and reached its new high tide with the outbreak of the World War I. It was dominated by Anglo-Saxons and drew much of its vitality from evangelical Protestant churches newly awakened to a sense of missionary responsibility.⁶⁵ Between 1895 and 1930 the essential unity of 19th-century Protestantism obviously fractured as evangelicals and liberals went their separate ways in Britain. The conservative missions distanced themselves from their more liberal denominational colleagues.⁶⁶ Many British Protestant missions developed a keen social conscience, while they retained their optimism characteristic of Victorian Britain.

2. Origin & Development of the Social Gospel in China

The development of the social gospel in the West directly influenced its origin in China. Although practically all denominational groups ultimately awoke to social issues, the movement took root and grew most vigorously among most British churches. Here British and American Unitarians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists,

⁶⁰Jefferson City (Mo.) Tribune, 17 December 1912, in Scrapbooks, Rauschenbusch Papers, quoted from Donald K. Gorrell, The Age of Social Responsibility : The Social Gospel in the Progressive Era 1900-1920 (Macon, 1988), see p.179.

⁶¹The Religious Education Association Ed., Religious Education 9 (April 1914), p.98; Gorrell, p.7.

⁶²R.M. Miller, American Protestants and Social Issue 1919-1939 (Chapel Hill, 1958), p.17.

⁶³Ibid., p.17.

⁶⁴Gorrell, p.339.

⁶⁵K.S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity. Vol.6: The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia. A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914 (New York, 1944); S. Neill, A History of Christian Missions, especially Chs. 8 & 9.

⁶⁶Brian Stanley, The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century (Leicester, 1990), p.134. The emergence of evangelicalism in the 18th century was called a "cornerstone" of the pattern of British religion in the 19th century. After the opening decades of Victoria's reign the evangelical movement actually passed the peak of its influence. See J. Wolfe, pp.25, 26, 30.

Baptists, Quakers and Anglicans were particularly active, for they inherited the Western state-church tradition of responsibility for public morals.

In the last century most Protestant missionaries in China confined their activities to purely evangelistic work but got little success. Later on it was realised that the only way to attract the Chinese people was to undertake the defence of their interests, especially in connection with the questions of their rights and welfare in every day life. However, the social gospel methods of the British societies were closely connected with one important name, Timothy Richard.⁶⁷ Richard wanted to convert millions of Chinese people by "quick ways," such as medicine, education, literature, famine relief and canvassing in official and intellectual circles.⁶⁸ His personal experience in China had convinced him that a splendid programme of Westernization and economic modernization was the only road for China's national salvation. She needed both the gospel of forgiveness and the gospel of material progress and scientific advance. Protestant missions might make the world more prosperous and technologically efficient. His special vision for the regeneration of China became highly influential.⁶⁹ These new methods were thought more effective than direct preaching. Alexander Williamson also emphasized that if missionaries were able to show how scientific methods could help a nation progress, the missions would enable them to believe: missionaries were their friends; and accordingly would obtain Chinese top officials' respect and praise as well as enjoy the trust of the Chinese people.⁷⁰ John Fryer, Walter H. Medhurst, Alexander Wylie, Griffith John, Joseph Edkins, William Muirhead, William H. Murray, Benjamin Hobson, John H. Dudgeon and John K. Mackenzie were all among the first generation of British social gospel practitioners in China. As one can see, these British social gospel practitioners' careers were closely linked to the Chinese reform movements with their educational, medical, social work and literary endeavour, but theology had never seemed of primary importance to them. They were the primary movers of the social gospel among British missions in China.

However, Richard's working strategies in the 19th century were not acceptable to the majority of the British missionaries in China; his ideas were especially strongly opposed by the main representatives of traditional evangelicals. J. Hudson Taylor, the founder of the China Inland Mission

⁶⁷T. Richard, Forty-Five Years in China (London, 1916), p.151; W.E. Soothill, Timothy Richard of China (London, 1924), p.122.

⁶⁸"Timothy Richard and kuang-hsueh-hui" (Timothy Richard and the Christian Literary Society for China), by Chiang Wen-han, Wen-shih tzu-liao hsuan-chi (The Selection of Cultural and Historical Materials), March 1964, No.43.

⁶⁹See P.R. Bohr, Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884 (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

⁷⁰Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, 1890 (Shanghai, 1890), p.153.

(CIM) (a famous "faith society"),⁷¹ radically criticized Richard's thinking as unorthodox and a betrayal of the principles of Christianity during China's Protestant Conferences in both 1877 and 1890. Nor did the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) home board support Richard.⁷² Taylor's missionary approach significantly became most popular among missionaries influenced by the holiness movement, which emphasized personal consecration rather than social regeneration.⁷³ In the 19th century Richard himself did more than any other single Western missionary to adopt multiple ways to approach the Chinese and to disseminate Christianity in China by the means of social gospel, while the majority of British missions mainly worked only for the numerical increase of the Christian community. The CIM was a typical example with this narrow field of vision. British evangelicals in China were comparatively uninvolved in advanced medical, education, social reform, and literary work. "As a result, their missionaries were less sensitive to the mounting groundswell of opinion against imperialism and their converts less prominent in the growth of nationalist politics."⁷⁴ But Richard was the only foreign figure who profoundly influenced the Chinese reform movement of 1898 and exerted significant impact on Chinese domestic policy. Even today many historians think of the social gospel in terms of Richard's working style. It is thus evident how deep his influence in the formation of new mission working strategies and methods. Such differences between Taylor's conservative methods and Richard's affected many aspects of mission work.

Despite the fact that they were in a minority, these pioneers of the social gospel persistently maintained that mission social services contributed to changes in social customs and ideas, and the most outstanding achievements of mission work came from this philanthropic work rather than from evangelistic activities. The purely religious way offered a limited scope, and it was thought an inefficient way by the practitioners of the social gospel. In the 1880s some of them seemed to have felt that evangelical work to a large degree depended on the attraction of mission medical work. By the end of the 1890s they had definitely concluded that missions without this widely attractive enterprise would be doomed to failure.⁷⁵ Thus, these liberal missionaries had laid the foundation of

⁷¹The CIM drew its missionaries from the conservative wings of most of the Evangelical bodies. Taylor depended on God, rather than on the wisdom and strategy of man. See Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, p.795; China Mission Year Book, 1923, pp.95-101; C. Peter Williams, "British Religion and the Wider World: Mission and Empire, 1800-1940," in Sheridan Gilley & W.J. Sheils ed., A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present (Oxford & Cambridge, Mass., 1994), p.394; Bebbington, Evangelicalism, pp.12, 94, 152, 225, 258.

⁷²B. Stanley, The Bible, pp.138, 140.

⁷³Ibid., p.165.

⁷⁴Stanley, The Bible, p.134.

⁷⁵K.S. Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, p.452.

social gospel by the turn of the century. But the majority of British missions remained more indifferent or suspicious towards these enterprises until the first decade of this century. Thereafter many missionaries began to depart widely from the theological positions of their predecessors.⁷⁶

More and more missionaries seriously felt that it was difficult to give attention to the things of the spirit when the body was denied its barest necessities and when the mind was not at rest owing to economic insecurity. They considered spiritual and temporal work not only inseparable but also interdependent.⁷⁷ Thus they asked themselves, "Is this the time for us to apply our religion, not only in the spiritual life, but also in our every day living?" "Not just a religion for Sunday."⁷⁸ "It is the duty of every kindly English man and woman to lend a helping hand in their gigantic problem of humanity and grace."⁷⁹ Many missionaries shared a common viewpoint that the social gospel promised to open unlimited ways to affect all China and all Chinese. The Gospel of Jesus Christ was as wide as the needs of man, spiritually, morally, socially, politically, materially and economically. They believed that all things of the Chinese welfare enterprise were related to them.⁸⁰ For example, in famine relief, "preaching was often at a discount, but practical Matthew 25 was always at a premium."⁸¹ Also, their educational efforts could in turn create a strong Christian community expressing in its life the spirit and principles of Christianity. Economic truth was God's truth, even as spiritual truth. Thus industrial and agricultural reform in China was recognized by many as an integral part of the propagation of the Gospel. It is pretty clear that whenever and wherever Christian missionaries had gone for evangelization it had been supported by various reform schemes for the converts. Spiritual uplift and schemes of material redress almost went side by side.⁸² "Protestant missions in China showed a decidedly secular trend toward dealing with the problems of the social scene rather than the spirit only." "Evangelism became only part of the Christian work though it remained an essential ingredient."⁸³ The church leaders attempted to elevate China's

⁷⁶F.W.S. O'Neill's The Quest for God in China (London, 1925) is an illustration of this change.

⁷⁷J.K. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, p.194.

⁷⁸CBMS. London, Asia Committee, the NCC, Box 348, E/T China, The NCC Annual Report 1926-27.

⁷⁹W.E. Soothill, China and England (London, 1928), p.162.

⁸⁰"Chi-tu-chiao hsueh-hsiao tsai Chung-kuo chiao-yu hsi-t'ung chung so-chan ti-wei" (The Place of Christian Schools in The Chinese Educational System), Hsin chiao-yu (The New Education), Vol.4, No.3, (March 1922).

⁸¹IMS. North China, Reports, Box 8-1921, E. E. Bryant's report from Tsangchow in 1921.

⁸²World Missionary Conference Reports, 1928, Vol.III, p.443.

⁸³Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985, p.194.

national life in all possible ways.

The social gospel aimed to get rid of the old image of the Church. Its quintessence was, in fact, that through more practical and valuable contributions in these spheres Protestant missions were able to keep alive the Christian spirit and to show Chinese people the value of Christianity in real life. These means could increase the attraction of the Church. This policy in the new era was seen as the best way to reach the unconverted. The aims and methods of the social gospel demonstrated that the missions made considerable efforts to promote the social and material welfare of Chinese people and to provide China with more substantial and more effective assistance in the shift of society. Many missionary bodies held high hopes of winning the intelligentsia for Christ through these significant activities. Traditional working methods were not able to meet the new needs of social development and progress. The outlook of mission targets was wider than before, and their methods were more elastic in principle and practice.

It was an obvious fact, that even before World War I there had been some British missionaries whose commitment extended to an improvement of China's socio-economic conditions. The social gospel had been very popular and even gained the support of most missions, though it was challenged by the evangelicals, who had been for most part silenced and given way as the theological liberals among the missionaries of China broke the ascendancy of the old orthodoxy.⁸⁴ The Protestant missions made great endeavours to lift the levels of medical services, education, social reform, women's work, and ideological enlightenment. These types of work were the opportunities for setting higher standards of practical Christian service. The social gospel methods thus led the Chinese people to look at missions with new eyes and increased respect.

In retrospect, on the one hand, social reform had become major concerns of patriotic Chinese since the turn of the century, especially after World War I, the insatiable hunger of China for Western learning was seen in all spheres and at all levels. More and more Chinese believed that their country still badly needed to abandon much of her heritage and to assimilate more of Western culture. Such social demands provided new opportunities for mission cultural work in the 1920s. As a result, Christian bodies managed partly to solve China's knowledge starvation through all sorts of social gospel enterprises. On the other hand, it was a fact that the Chinese were not attracted to the mission chapels. Most missions in the 20th century no longer thought the social gospel enterprises definitely subordinate to evangelistic activities. They were no longer means to enter evangelical work but equal working branches. This was the most important difference between the pioneering social gospel

⁸⁴Donald W. Treadgold, *The West in Russia and China: China, 1582-1949*, Vol.2 (Cambridge, 1973), p.73.

practitioners and mission new comers. One point of view had been popularly accepted, namely evangelism and other types of cultural work were not opposed but complementary methods, and neither could stand without the other. Their innovatory methods played a greater role in undermining Chinese traditions and pushing China forward to the large-scale adoption of Western learning.

Thus, traditionally, some historians think that British missions in the 1910s and 1920s still maintained their conservative image,⁸⁵ which is not true. In fact, the majority of British societies adopted similar working policies as many American missions did, especially after the mid-1910s, and their attitude had deeply changed. Richard's strategic vision was widely shared, and his methods were even more popularly adopted in the 1920s. Meanwhile, more British missionary individuals dissociated themselves from the narrow proselytizing of their evangelistic camp, and they had more flexible theological thoughts, explaining the principles of Jesus in much broader meanings. In many British mission official documents, mission leaders highlighted the importance of the social gospel. In the 20th century such activities became collective missionary efforts. These new policies set the major pattern for mission work in China. In the early 1920s around 8 and 12 million dollars (gold) were expended annually in Protestant missionary work in China, the majority of which was spent on the social gospel enterprises.⁸⁶ British missions with other Western missions after World War I in China invested massively in major initial projects intended to shape the new China in the image of the Christian West. The majority of British missions did not have the resources of the biggest institutional spenders, but they undoubtedly participated in the shift of strategic emphasis. Their focus and missionaries' personal life were more closely connected with such enterprises. These missions of the social gospel presented Christianity as the religion of modernization, the great ideological engine, in partnership with Western science and civilization, pushing China into the modern world of freedom and prosperity.

However, new social gospel polices were not accepted by all the British missions in China. Of 29 British missions in the 1920s' China, some societies, such as the CIM, BCMS, PMU (which were all founded by evangelicals),⁸⁷ and Bible Union of China (founded in 1920)⁸⁸ were still inclined to the belief that education, medicine, literature and social

⁸⁵In the period 1857-97 British evangelicals mainly dominated the mission work in China (see Latourette, A History of the Christian Missions In China, pp.362, 363). Many today's scholars are therefore deeply impressed by this historical fact.

⁸⁶Namely, on medical, educational, social welfare and women's work, but only a tiny percentage on evangelical work. See Chung-hua kui-chu: Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao shih-yeh t'ung-chi 1900-1920 (The Christian Occupation of China), ed. by Milton Theobald Stauffer, tran. by Tsai Yung-ch'un, Wen Yung, Yang Chou-huai and Tuan Ch'i (Peking, 1985), pp.95, 96.

⁸⁷See 1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China (Shanghai, 1936), pp.7, 46.

⁸⁸Lutz, Chinese Politics, p.44.

reform were private and secular and not church concerns. Monies donated by Christians at home for the purpose of conversion, in their view, were not meant to be spent to achieve secular goals. These evangelicals committed themselves to the work of conversion, and their methods were closer to those of Catholic churches in China. However, evangelistic methods did not mean that its carriers did nothing but purely evangelical work. Some were also involved in the social gospel work, but this was not their primary focus, they only ran such enterprises at elementary levels. However, although the liberal and conservative became two sharply polarized factions in their theological theories, they continued to work together for the common causes as foreign missions.

Due to the different traditions and working methods between British and American missions, the time when British societies implemented social gospel policies in modern China came later than that of most American missions but it reached its climax in the 1920s. An undue confidence in the superiority of British culture and an excessive belittling of Chinese society had been more characteristic of the 19th century.⁸⁹ After the 20th century, such attitudes were modified or adapted. Most missionaries examined their own pride in the light of the humility and their personal devotion. They tried to set before themselves and the Chinese the benefits of Western civilization in changing their emphasis from religion to other cultural work. As a result, the diversification of working methods was the most important feature of the British missions in the 20th century.

This diversification is well-revealed in the trend, after the mid-1910s of Western missionaries towards the work of the social gospel, leaving much more of the day by day pastoral work to the Chinese. A good example is provided by the personnel allocation of the London Missionary Society (LMS), for by 1929 only 22 of the 111 missionaries were involved in evangelistic work compared with 39 in medicine, 23 in education and 18 in women's work.⁹⁰ Similarly, before 1920, the Friends Foreign Mission Association (FFMA) had transferred its focus to social work. Of its total 26 missionaries in China, only one did evangelical work; 83% of its grants was allocated to educational and medical work.⁹¹ In 1927, over 90% of its property belonged to the social gospel enterprises.⁹² A further example is provided by the EMS. Prior to 1937, about 350 EMS missionaries, including wives, had served in China. This total comprised 78 doctors and their

⁸⁹Lutz, *China & the Christian Colleges 1850-1950* (Ithaca 7 London, 1971), p.9; D.W. Treadgold, p.92.

⁹⁰LMS. Central China, Correspondence, Box 42-1929, Report of the 19th Annual Meeting of the China Council of the LMS for the Year 1929."

⁹¹FFMA. Minutes of Committee of Missionaries of China Mission, Chungking, 31 Jan.-13 Feb.1919, pp.10, 22.

⁹²FFMA. Minutes of Committee of Missionaries of China Mission, 13 July 1927, pp.130-40

wives; 83 single women, 57 of whom were educational workers, and 26 nurses.⁹³ Thus the number of medical and educational workers of the BMS was much larger than that of evangelistic workers. It also employed more Chinese in these two fields than that in evangelistic work.⁹⁴ In the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) Hupeh District in 1925, of 17 missionaries, only 3.5 persons did evangelistic work. In 1930 of its 24 missionaries, only 1 worked in the theological college.⁹⁵ The pattern of such personnel allocation represented a transformation in the history of the British Christian movement in China. This implementation of the social gospel in the 1920s is confirmed by surviving mission archives, of which 70-80% concern social gospel type activities. Thus, most missions no longer committed themselves primarily to evangelism.

There were also, it is true, many missionaries in China who were seldom college-educated in the last century.⁹⁶ This situation began to change at the turn of the century. In order to meet needs for carrying out the social gospel policy, Christian missions began to pay great attention to training and recruiting missionaries with professional knowledge. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM) at home secured the recruitment of higher qualified university undergraduates and even post-graduates. Many highly-educated missionaries entered China. British Presbyterian churches were good examples. From 1911 and 1927 there were in total 118 English Presbyterian Mission (EPM) missionaries working in the mainland of China excluding Taiwan, of whom 54% (64) had received higher education, 21 held M.A. degrees, and 10 had doctoral degrees and a number were trained professional nurses.⁹⁷ In the 1920s, 64% of the United Free Church of Scotland (UFS) missionaries had gained degrees of bachelor or higher degrees, and other 13.6% were professional trained nurses; 78% of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI) missionaries had received education above first degree level and 82% had received professional training.⁹⁸ This personnel policy ensured that more well trained missionaries were dispatched to China. These highly educated new comers gradually comprised the nucleus of British missions. The image of British missionaries was no longer that of the "uneducated lower classes."⁹⁹

⁹³H. R. Williamson, British Baptists in China 1845-1952 (London, 1957), p.77.

⁹⁴Ibid., p.279.

⁹⁵WMMS. Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Pastoral Session of the Synod of the Wuchang District Held at Kuling on 5 Aug. 1925; Minutes of A Meeting of the District Synod for the Wuchang District Held at Hanyang, between 27 April and 2 May 1931.

⁹⁶Thus an English officer of the 1880s regarded missionaries as "one grade below the rank of gentlemen." See Major Henry Knollys, English Life in China (London, 1885), pp.205-7.

⁹⁷See Edward Band.

⁹⁸Austin Fulton, Through Earthquake, see Appendix.

⁹⁹C.P. Williams's paper in S. Gilley's book, p.384.

In addition, after a period of several years' work, many missionaries were sent home on leave to complete their further studies or post-graduate training in order to renew and improve what they had mastered and to fit themselves for their life of service on the field. Normally this plan was realized through their furlough periods. As early as in 1920 the BMS reported that one-third of its staff was set up to attend special furlough study. Its inter-provincial conference urged that facilities for study ought to be open to all missionaries and not only those specially engaged in educational work.¹⁰⁰ The move to make further study a permanent mission policy was intensified. Many missionaries gave up their rest and recreation at home.¹⁰¹ This quest for new knowledge structured an essential academic air among missionaries.

The transfer of evangelistic work to the native Chinese as the by-product of missionary involvement in social work also intensified the debate over the devolution of authority to the Chinese Christians.¹⁰² In the 1920s whether in evangelical or other cultural work, the increase in the Chinese demands for self-government was more and more pressing. In 1913 the China Continuation Committee (CCC) was established to coordinate the activities of the Protestant missions. Foreign missionaries constituted its majority. In 1922 the CCC was replaced by the National Christian Council (NCC). This newly founded council had a membership of 100, of which 55 were Chinese.¹⁰³ Thus 1922 was likely to be an epoch-making event for the Chinese Church. The effects of the change were noticeable at the meeting of the NCC in 1929,¹⁰⁴ about two-thirds of its 100 delegates were Chinese. This trend increased the role of the Chinese pastors; and evangelistic work was devolved much earlier than any other type of mission work. With the increasingly independent consciousness in the nationalist Christian movement, the gulf between the two missionary views again became wider and wider. The practitioners of the social gospel obviously showed more sympathy with the Chinese national sentiment. But they suffered strong criticism from evangelical groups. In 1927 the CIM and other one or two missions withdrew from the NCC in protest at the attitude of liberal connivance towards such nationalism.¹⁰⁵ But Sinification of evangelical work enabled missionaries to transfer their major attention to the social gospel work.

Therefore, one of the general features of British missions in the

¹⁰⁰See its inter-provincial conference reports.

¹⁰¹For example, William Miskelly, The Missionary Herald of the PCI, March 1922, p.258.

¹⁰²Namely the goal of self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating the Chinese churches.

¹⁰³PCI. Reports of General Assembly 1923 of the foreign Mission in China.

¹⁰⁴See its annual report for 1929.

¹⁰⁵See the report of the NCC in 1927-28; Latourette, History of Missions, pp.795-805.

1920s compared with earlier periods was that they appeared in China much more often as mediators of Western civilization than as evangelists. Their plans were focused on introducing Western learning and developing social gospel enterprises. From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the churches increasingly considered themselves as social institutions rather than a purely religious agencies; evangelism was no longer the highest priority in the activities of the majority of British missions. The situation had changed radically from the 1910s. It is also clear that the historical evolution and realities both in Western and Chinese society led to this alteration of mission aims, working methods, policies and strategies, and brought about the great success of mission cultural work eventually. The social gospel policy enabled them directly to commit themselves to a full-scale pattern of welfare services, but the split between liberals and conservatives became extremely conspicuous. The social gospel organizations revealed a new dynamic in institutional social Christianity. The social movement was finding a permanent place in the socially active denominations. Also the movement was finding more solid standing in relationship to the other movements (i.e. those of the secular Chinese reformers) concerned about social reform in China, with which, by principle, they were committed to function as partners. In other words, the social gospel was much more suitable for the state of China, for its tasks were very close to those of the nationalists in the New Culture Movement and also similar to the reconstruction schemes of the Nanking government. In China, therefore in the 1920s, Christianity was to be presented as "the central ingredient of an integrated package of Westernization,"¹⁰⁶ and progressive methods of the social gospel ensured that Christian missions would play an extraordinary role in China's national development and modernization in the 1920s. The continuing difference between theological liberals and conservatives resulted in their greatly divergent contributions to Chinese society, but most British societies consciously involved themselves in the social regeneration of China. Their humanitarian objectives were dominant. The missionary enthusiasm was sincere. They had adopted a different strategy to realize the traditional goal of evangelization.

IV. THE POLICY OF INTER-MISSIONARY COOPERATION

The influence of the social gospel upon movements toward the unity of the churches was an important aspect of the rise of social Christianity. For in the West the federative movements that came into being around the turn of the century were based upon social-active impulses rather than credal or doctrinal agreement. The World Interdenominational Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 was the first great venture in such

¹⁰⁶C.P.Williams's Paper in S. Gilley's book, p.403.

cooperation.¹⁰⁷ In the 1920s the international missionary cooperation reached its high point.¹⁰⁸ The gradual emergence of this new idea represented an implicit victory of the first magnitude for the social gospel. The Protestant missions in China were aware that their scattered working-style made the formation of social gospel policy difficult. They all recognized the necessity for greater organizational cohesion if the Church was to play a more significant role. Thus, the cooperative movement among Protestant missions was launched in the 1910s and reached its peak in the 1920s. This movement provided an important guarantee for them to make new cultural achievements. A high degree of effective cooperation and unity in mission work was one of the most prominent characteristics. Among different denominations and nationalities, the Protestant missions achieved more federation and coordination rather than competition, and the work among different missionary bodies supplemented one another. Breaking through convention and religious division, the Protestant churches even cooperated with the Roman Catholic Church in certain fields. Meanwhile they also greatly strengthened the connections with secular Chinese society in order directly to solve practical social problems.

In the early 20th century the trend towards the idea of inter-missionary cooperation had become very apparent. One of the most important permanent results of the World Missionary Conference in 1910 had been the formation of a plan for the better coordination of the Protestant missionary forces. In China, as a result, the CCC was established in 1913. This functioned with increasing usefulness, being responsible for carrying out the findings of the NCC in 1922. All the churches were loosely gathered together in this council. In 1921 the formation of the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland had first laid solid foundations for overseas cooperation between British missions and also with other national missions. In the 1920s British missions showed a more positive attitude towards the cooperative movement, especially with their American colleagues in China. As at home, American Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and the northern branches of the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians in China were more socially active than other American churches in advocating the social gospel.¹⁰⁹ They thus became the most important cooperators with the British missions. Their joint plans enabled them to wield greater working power than previously.

In practice, the policy of cooperation was the direct offshoot of social gospel policies. The expansion of Christian enterprises required greater manpower and financial resources than previously. Only joint

¹⁰⁷John R.H. Moorman, pp.402, 403, 404, 407.

¹⁰⁸In 1921 the International Missionary Council was formed. The trend of such cooperation was intensified by the Second World Missionary Conference at Jerusalem in 1928. See C.P. Williams's paper in S. Gilley's book, p.402.

¹⁰⁹Curtis, p.xiv.

Christian forces were able adequately to fulfil these unprecedented tasks. The Protestant missions had increasingly to concentrate their limited personnel and money on the most important projects. The post-1914 Ecumenical Movement issuing from Protestantism further intensified the federation of Christian missions in China. It was the most inclusive form and embraced all the various organizations through which Protestant missions were cooperating and coordinating across confessional lines, not merely within but also beyond Protestantism. Nearly every British society had been given more support from its home board, but domestic resources were stretched beyond the limits of what was needed. Hence, these new cultural builders were constantly frustrated by a lack of funds. The financial problems of British missions to a great extent restricted the rapid development and extension of their enterprises.

Unlike the American missions, by 1930 British missionary work in China had seldom received official support, in contrast to the largest British colony in Asia - India, where the government showed a completely different attitude.¹¹⁰ The colonial government in Hongkong also generously subsidized mission cultural institutions.¹¹¹ The cooperation and coordination between them were common in those places. However, there were some Englishmen, or at any rate British in the political and commercial circles, who protested against the intrusion of missions into China. They would severely limit British relations with the Chinese to the trade and the diplomacy.¹¹² The general tone of the British government tended to be unfavourable for missionary activities and often showed a cold shoulder to their cultural work in China. Even the British Foreign Office in 1938 made a self-criticism of its influence abroad in the past, namely political and economic ones had long been recognised as fundamental and both been carefully promoted and protected. But British cultural influence was ignored.¹¹³

Some British missionaries thought that British merchants and British officials were well known in China merely as sellers of material goods. Both these two groups of Britishers seemed to have made the Chinese people think that Britain possessed "no intellectual, no humanistic, no spiritual commodities worthy of offer to the Chinese." "Are we of a truth nothing but a materialistic people, whose sole standard of values is pounds sterling; and who are nothing for the Chinese but to make money out of them?"¹¹⁴ Many

¹¹⁰See Ruth Hayhoe & Marianne Bastid (ed.), China's Education and the Industrialized World - Studies in Cultural Transfer (Armonk, New York & London, 1987), p.48.

¹¹¹According to the statistics of the LMS, CMS and WMS in the 1920s, about one third income of their cultural institutions in Hongkong came from the colonial government.

¹¹²W.E. Soothill, China and England, p.132.

¹¹³FO431/4, see Foreign Office (1938), Memorandum on British Council and Maintenance of British Influence Abroad, p.7.

¹¹⁴Soothill, China and England, p.132.

missionaries were dissatisfied with British traders' and officials' purely materialistic motive in China, and they were not content to confine British-Chinese relations to such a basic level and to regard China only as the huge commercial markets in which British traders dumped their goods. But British mission home boards often felt it very difficult to persuade their government to support their Chinese cultural enterprises.¹¹⁵ In missionary opinion, Western civilization or the soul of an advanced nation could not be measured in yards of piece goods, or weighed in the scales of diplomacy. They aspired to alter the seemingly low profile of the British people in China through their cultural work. They thus attempted to introduce more Western civilization to Chinese people and to commit themselves to be the cultural messengers between the West and East.

The gulf between the policies of the British government and missions' never disappeared in modern China. The divergence between them was absolutely more than their cooperation. As a well-known historical fact, the British Boxer Indemnity funds resulted in the only cooperation between British government and missions, the one exception to the general pattern. Although this action helped more or less to bridge the gulf between British missions and government, the trustees of the funds in England (the officials in the Foreign Office) were strongly averse to any use of the indemnity money for the purposes of spreading Christianity in China and insisted that in principle, only the secular enterprises operated by the British missions were investment projects.¹¹⁶ This again to a certain extent annoyed the missionary leaders in China.¹¹⁷ Even so, this action demonstrated that the British government had first publicly expressed its recognition of the British missionary enterprises. However, after the long delayed remission of the British Boxer Indemnity Funds to China, important plans for returning this money finally got under way in the 1930s. But the work of the 1920s was only confined to the process of discussion, investigation, and preparation. Thus the fund was really beneficial to China only after 1930 and could not help solve the British missions' financial problems in the 1920s.

In addition, British merchants had been paying great attention to the mission institutions in a pure British style. They would rather support a real British institution than any cooperative institution between American and British missions.¹¹⁸ Thus, missionary leaders criticized British

¹¹⁵UFS. ACC. 7548/D/35-39, File No. 21, p.3, "The Chinese Indemnity Fund."

¹¹⁶The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Parliament, Report of the Advisory Committee together with other Documents Respecting the China Indemnity (London, 1926).

¹¹⁷CMS. G/CH1/L4, G. Hayward to C.I. Blanchett on 8 May 1925.

¹¹⁸CMS. G1/CH4/L5 1921, see E. F. Sarzwell to Bishop Hind in Fukien on 10 Nov. 1921; IMS. North China, Incoming Letters, S. Lavington Hart to Mr. Hawkins, Tientsin, 19 Feb. 1920; C.G.Sparham in Chinese Recorder, Vol.51, pp.271-276; Mrs. Thomas Butler, Missions as I Saw Them: An Account of a Visit to the Important Centres of the United Methodist Missionary Society in China and Africa (London, 1924), p.115.

merchants' dangerously narrow nationalistic spirit and thought that not only had joint work become increasingly important but could also promote Anglo-American friendship.¹¹⁹ The British merchants' support for mission enterprises was a conditional and selective one. However, the work of American missions had been obtaining popular and generous support from both merchants and their government. American mission properties in China were valued at \$41,904,889 in 1930 (which were over 4 times as many as British ones).¹²⁰ Usually the funds in American missions were sufficient and they were much richer than their British colleagues.

Meanwhile, the Christian communities in China faced a severe financial challenge, and no single mission could independently and adequately run larger cultural institutions or successfully organize a social movement.¹²¹ In view of this, it was time for them to recognize that only team work among all the Christian bodies was equal to this situation. The greatest economy and the most careful organization were necessary to carry out the work with any degree of success. Any rivalry and duplication among them would weaken Christian forces. Cooperation could also secure the greatest efficiency for the missions' work.¹²² Their joint impact would be greater. Thus strengthening their joint funds was much more imperative than at any time before.

Traditionally conservative British missions after the 1910s also asked to have an equal share in cultural work with American societies. Before 1920 many of British missionaries' correspondence and reports had reflected their dissatisfaction with American control of many mission institutions.¹²³ This apprehension increased in the 1920s. Both British missionaries and British merchants were very afraid of the so-called American rival.¹²⁴ This competitive psychology, on the contrary, prompted them to greater involvement in joint work in much wider fields in order to find more chances to mould Chinese according to British norms and models. Their cooperation with American missions was thus strengthened.

In the 20th century the political context and more complicated and unsettled conditions in China also encouraged cooperation, particularly as a by-product of the anti-foreign movements in the 1920s. This directly

¹¹⁹In 1921, J.B. Tayler was required to draw up a memorandum in consultation with Messrs Evans, Barbour, and Bevan, and urged the Association British Chambers of Commerce this, see Tayler's Annual Report 1921, from IMS. North China, Box 8-1921.

¹²⁰C.F. Remer, *Wai-kuo-jen tsai-hua t'ou-tzu* (Foreign Investments in China), Chiang Hsue-mo and Ch'ao K'ang-chie (tran.) (Peking 1959), pp.226, 302.

¹²¹CBMS. London, Asia Committee, E/T china, Box 417 Middle School Education, p.4.

¹²²Ibid., 1923, p.259.

¹²³IMS. North China, Correspondence, see two letters in 1912 and 1919; Incoming Letters, Box 23, J.B. Tayler to Mr. Hawkins, Peking, 9 Jan. 1923.

¹²⁴IMS. Odds, Box 9, *The University of Hongkong*, "The Box Indemnity," The Vice Chancellor to Sir Charles Addis, 6 April 1923.

accelerated the course of their federation on a larger scale. The rapidity and complexity of changes in China's Christian movement were unprecedented in response to a series of political movements. An analysis of the change in the priorities of the British missions cannot overlook these nationalist political movements to which all the missions' theories and practice in the 1920s were closely related. In fact, in the early 1920s China's situation had foreshadowed many things, and the missionaries themselves paid vigilant attention to this dangerous signal. The Chinese nationalists and intellectuals were strongly aware of the Western presence - the concessions, extraterritoriality, unequal treaties were sufficient reminders to them - the more so because of the numerous churches, mission schools and the missionary philanthropic enterprises that dotted the whole landscape.¹²⁵ Although the Chinese people were deeply attracted by the values of Western culture, science, technology and democracy mainly introduced by Protestant missionaries, they thought that Christianity was incompatible with scientific progress and China's modernization. It was in the 1920s regarded as a reactionary element rather than a progressive factor.

The altered status of Western missionaries in China was an obvious fact. In the 1920s the harmony between the Chinese nationalists and missionaries had been shattered. The Chinese demanded equality with other nations. At the Peace Conference in Paris and again at the Washington Conference the Chinese representatives asked for the termination of extraterritoriality and all other special concessions, which were the main demand of the early 1920s' anti-foreign movement. On May 30th, 1925 following the shooting of 13 Chinese student demonstrators by the police in the Shanghai International Settlement, the whole country was enraged. In many large cities, an anti-British boycott was instituted. The movement carried the boycott out not only against the British but also against the Japanese, American and all Western missionaries. Red communist Russian influence increased the Chinese people's hostility to "Western imperialists and Capitalist invaders." By June 1926 one of the slogans of the National Party, "the abolition of the unequal treaties," had been taken up by practically the entire country.¹²⁶ However, the May 30th's event directly led to the campaign of restoring educational rights in 1926.¹²⁷ In the 1920s the Chinese nationalists played a leading role in almost all the above activities, and they made many independent requests. Christian missions inevitably were affected, and they asked missionary schools, universities and hospitals to be brought under state control. The missions felt that foreigners were no longer secure. Obviously, the sudden change and

¹²⁵Latourette, Christian Missions in China, pp.737-739, 788, 812, 813, 818,821,840.

¹²⁶on the political background, see Lutz's, Fairbank' s and Franke's books.

¹²⁷See Part IV, Chapter 4.

deterioration in the political situation menaced their continued existence in China. All the mission bodies were forced to re-examine their purposes, and individual missionaries to re-examine their vocation as well as the Chinese Christians having to re-examine their role in a changing China. Indeed, in order to avoid political isolation and jointly tide over the great crisis, cooperation seemed extremely urgent. They believed that union symbolized the entire Christian world's powerfulness. As long as they could solve this essential problem together they could consolidate and reinforce their common Christian enterprises in China.

The drive for cooperation was thus encouraged by the 20th century's quicker communications, development in mission theory, and the practical need to adjust methods to the Chinese environment. The forms of cooperation were various, embracing local, regional, national, and international aspects. Apart from the establishment of the CCC, later the NCC, in 1912 the Anglicans merged their branches of varying national origins into the Chung-hua Sheng-kung Hui (The China's Anglican Church). In 1917 several of the Lutheran bodies united to form the Chung-hua Hsin-i Hui (The China's Lutheran Church). The Church of Christ in China was created in 1927, and it represented 127,000 communicants. It was the fruit of 16 missionary societies.¹²⁸ In 1930 the China Baptist Alliance was established. In 1932 the WMMS and UMC joined together and organised the Methodist Missionary Society.¹²⁹ A greater degree of efficiency, cooperation, coordination, and balance in the work of the all the participating Protestant missions throughout China was developed into the most effective policies. However, not all British missions took part in this unprecedented cooperative movement. Individual British fundamentalist societies showed much less enthusiasm in this movement.

With this degree of cooperation, a minimum of administrative organization became possible, while giving ample scope to the collective leadership rather than to those individuals who had dominated in the last century. The central structure of this cooperative movement was presided over by the NCC. This made it possible to unite different denominations to work together and formulate common policies and schemes. For the NCC also belonged to a branch of the International Missionary Council, its work was an important integral part of the world Christian movement. In the general scene in China, the 1920s saw a wide measure of cooperation achieved by the respective churches and missions to carry out uniform policies. The old style of the dispersion of missionary forces without any cohesion were now outmoded, and was unsuitable for China's actual conditions. The 1910s and 1920s witnessed the transformation of the informal inter-denominationism of the 19th-century missionary movement into actual union or federations

¹²⁸1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China, p.103.

¹²⁹See The China Mission (Christian) Year Book, 1913, 1918, 1927, 1928, 1931, 1933, 1935.

of churches. These united mission organisations could speak with greater weight and engage in more sophisticated cultural activities.

V. FEATURES OF THE MAIN BRITISH MISSIONS¹³⁰

There were about 29 British missions in China in the 1920s, some of them only concentrated on one or two fields of cultural work and confined their work within very small geographical scopes. The social influences of small societies were thus far less than those of larger ones. Here I discuss only the distinctive characteristics of main British missions before turning to a detailed consideration of their activities.

Among them, the CIM was in fact an international organization. Its headquarters was located in England, but it had a secondary centre in North America. The CIM had a strong British element in its leadership and personnel. In 1900 possibly 8-12% of its missionaries were American. British constituted over 60% of its members in the 1920s. The general number of the CIM missionaries constituted about 25% of all the Protestants in China, undoubtedly, it was the largest mission body.¹³¹ But its conservative working methods limited its contribution to West-East cultural exchange, and evangelistic work had been its first focus. The CIM's investment and personnel allocation in education and medical work thus only constituted a very small percentage in its whole financial expenditure in China.¹³² Its efforts in both fields were only at a basic level. Also, almost all its stations were located in the interior, remote and poor areas, and the CIM workers were often the only foreign group in those places. Its workers did not have regular salaries, so their life and work were very hard. Nevertheless in relieving famine and looking after orphans the CIM made outstanding contributions to China.

We note that the Church Missionary Society (CMS) threw a great quantity of manpower and materials in China into medical services, having the largest number of hospitals among British missions. It also ran the largest number of the elementary and secondary schools among British missions. Its contribution to higher education was concentrated on the University of Hongkong and the Fukien Christian University. But all the CMS work embodied more orthodox ideas and more religious colour than the other missions who carried out the social gospel policies. It operated the largest number of theological colleges and Bible schools. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) engaged in its work in Fukien and Kwangsi. Its cultural work was essentially confined to the Chinese women. It did not merge with the CMS until the 1950s, but it worked in intimate cooperation with the CMS in the 1920s.

¹³⁰See more detailed information in Appendix I, II.

¹³¹Fairbank, The Missionary Enterprise in China and America, p.136; Chung-hua kui-chu, pp.695, 1190.

¹³²CIM. See its annual reports, 1919, 1922.

The WMMS highlighted social work. It was one of the major medical missions. It involved in the joint higher educational work in Central China and Lingnan. The WMMS regarded Chinese workers as an integral part of its staff, which was a distinctive feature of its work. The LMS was the earliest denomination among British churches which carried out the social gospel policies. Its working style had been extremely close to the advanced American societies in this respect since the 1890s. This resulted in much earlier cooperation between it and several social gospel American missions. Its involvement in higher educational cooperation and coordination was much deeper than any other British missions. It was never the largest British society in China. But before the 1910s it had been the largest medical mission among all the missions in China. In the 1920s it still owned the second largest number of mission hospitals among British missions.

The EPM's focus in South China was on medical, educational and women's work, in which the majority of its workers were allocated. Quite a number of missionary medical leaders with very high reputation in China came out of this society. Apart from its 14 prominent hospitals, it also ran the second largest number of the elementary and secondary school students. But it had a much less share in Christian higher educational work. This mission in Taiwan made remarkable contributions to exploiting medical and educational work, enlightening the people's ideas and lifting women's social status. The number of the UFS and PCI clergymen was very small. Their medical and educational work as well as their social services occupied the dominant place in the Manchurian areas. They were two of the most typical medical missions. Without exception, the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission (CSFM), as all other Presbyterian societies, took medical work as its principal stress. Its working area was mainly limited in I-Chang of Hupeh, where it led mission work in nearly all cultural fields.

The BMS mainly worked in inland North China, where its cultural work was of special value and importance. Medical services, education and social welfare were all its priorities. Under the leadership and great endeavours of the BMS and American PN, Cheeloo became the only higher educational union institution where British missions were able to have an equal share with their American colleagues in personnel. Its museum work was outstanding. Such special popular educational institutions were rarely seen in other missionary enterprises. It produced the most prominent leaders in Christian literary work. Its literary influence in China surpassed that of any other British society.

The FFMA was also a typical society carrying out social gospel policies. It threw a great deal of energy and time into the cooperative work in West China. Its working sphere of medical services and education was mainly confined within Szechwan. In addition, its women's work and social reform were also very outstanding. The Society for the Propagation of Gospel (SPG) and United Methodist Missionary Society (UMC) definitely committed themselves to the social gospel policies. Medical and educational

work were their essential emphases, chiefly in inland China.

Due to their special geographical situation, the EMS, CIM and LMS North China Committee together shouldered more responsibilities in famine relief than the other British missions. Apart from the minority of the British societies who were and remained conservative evangelical, most British societies belonged to the social gospel group. The features of their cultural work had many similarities to one another.

Besides the formation of missions' policy and principle, the second area of missionary cultural work was direct social responsibility. Thus, the focus of next section of this thesis will be shifted to their concrete activities in transforming Chinese society, of which their medical services will be the first topic.

CHAPTER 2: MEDICAL SERVICES (1)

INTRODUCTION

At present, the medical activities of British missions as a whole during the 1920s in China have still not been summarized, though there have had several articles and works on the contributions of some individual medical missionaries and the history of some mission hospitals.¹ Unlike American societies, medical work had been the first focus of British mission work and thus their special contributions cannot be ignored. This and the following chapter aim to give a complete picture of British mission medical work and to evaluate its place in China's national development in the 1920s.

The medical work of Protestant missions in the 1920s fell into 5 major dimensions: dispensaries and hospitals, medical education, medical research work, medical translations and publications, and public health. The first one belongs to direct medical care or primary medical services; and the other four fields constitute the parts of indirect medical care or secondary medical services. The essential leads of discussion will essentially follow the five working fields of mission medical work mentioned above. Thus, direct medical care naturally becomes the focus of Chapter 2. All indirect medical services will be discussed in Chapter 3.

The history of the development of mission medical work may be divided into three periods. During the first period before the end of 1870s, medical missionaries individually engaged in the activities of medical care and mainly ran dispensaries, providing basic medical services; the number of mission hospitals was very limited. In the second stage, from the 1880s to about 1910, when missions had accumulated enough funds, manpower, and necessary materials their dispensaries were transformed into small hospitals; most of the oldest mission hospitals emerged in this period. Orthodox Chinese opinion think that mission medical work began to decline after 1919,² which is actually not true. In the third stage (1910-1930), with which Chapter 2 and 3 are concerned, missionary medical work entered into a completely new phase. The number of mission hospitals made a great leap forward; higher medical education, medical research work, medical translations and publications, and public health campaigns were almost all fully launched while missions continued their primary medical service on a much larger scale. Self-funding primary medical work, developing higher standard medical institutions, engaging in more secondary medical work, and

¹E.H. Paterson, A History for Hongkong: The Centenary History of the Alice Ho Miu Ling Nethersole Hospital 1887-1987 (Hongkong, 1987); "Scottish Women Medical Pioneers: Manchuria 1894-1912," by H.H. Tsai, Department of Medicine, University of Liverpool, Scottish Medical Journal, 1992:37; "Missionary Doctors VS Chinese Patients: Credibility of Missionary Health Care in Early Twentieth Century China," by Yuet-Wah Cheung & Peter Kong-ming New, Social Science & Medicine, Vol.21, No.3 (1985), pp.309-17.

²See Chao Hung-chun, Chin-tai Chung-Hsi-i lun-chen shih (Modern Chinese History of Controversy between Western and Chinese Medicine (Shihchiachuang, 1982), p.38.

carrying on a medical concentration policy³ to promote overall cooperation among the Protestant missions together embodied the characteristics of mission medical work in the 1920s.

The above medical achievements in modern China owed much to the powerful administrative leadership of the China Medical Missionary Association. The CMMA was set up in 1886 on the lines of the British Medical Association in order to meet the urgent need for cooperation and coordination among scattered medical missionaries. Its aims were to afford the opportunity for consultation and discussion in the group of medical practitioners; to promote the science of medicine amongst the Chinese and mutual assistance derived from the varied experiences of medical missionaries; and to maintain a unity and harmony of the regular profession in China.⁴ 34 medical missionaries took part in the association as founding members. In 1920 there were almost 600 medical men and women, and membership of the association was not confined to medical missionaries, but was open to all doctors in sympathy with mission work.⁵ The CMMA functioned chiefly through the following standing committees: Council on Hospital Administration, Publication Committee, Council on Medical Education, and Council on Health Education. The Chinese Medical Journal acted as its official organ. In 1925 it amalgamated with the National Medical Association (NMA) (founded in 1915 and consisting of foreign-trained Chinese doctors), and its name became the China Medical Association. It ceased to be a pure missionary medical unit but became a joint medical association between foreigners and Chinese. The CMA headquarters in Peking was in 1927 moved to Shanghai. In 1932 it had 10 branches in China;⁶ the missionary activities were taken over by the Council on Medical Missions (CMM).

The geographical feature of the British medical missionaries may be divided into two groups according to their working regions, an "urban-metropolitan" or central station group and an "up-country" or peripheral group. The former worked in the metropolitan ports or large cities. The latter were scattered about vast inland areas - both interior countryside regions and those smaller towns far from large cities. The former did both primary and secondary medical work, but the latter mainly highlighted direct medical care.

³The medical missionary leaders decided to concentrate their major money, manpower and materials on certain institutions so as to increase the quality of their service.

⁴Fang Hao, Chunghsi chiao-t'ung shih (A History of Sino-Western Communications) (Taipei, 1959), pp.126-127.

⁵G.H. Choa, "Heal the Sick" Was Their Motto: Protestant Medical Missionaries in China (Hongkong, 1990), p.17; Harold Balme, China and Modern Medicine. A Study in Medical Missionary Development (London, 1921), p.104.

⁶Ch'en Pang-hsien, Chung-kuo yi-hsue shih (The Medical History of China) (Peking, 1984), p.338.

I. DIRECT MEDICAL CARE

The contents, working pattern and major features of primary medical services will first be discussed. The second part will focus on the impact, progress and achievements of mission direct medical care in the 1920s.

1. Contents, Pattern and Features

Primary medical service provided by Protestant missions in the 1920s comprised 3 fields, dispensaries (primary medical services in a basic standard), hospitals (in a higher standard) (which was the backbone of direct medical care) and special medical care centres.

(1) Dispensaries

The first two dispensaries in modern China were set up by the alumnus of Rugby School, Thomas Richardson Colledge, at Macao in 1827 and in Canton in 1828. By 1905 British missions ran 167 dispensaries (70% of the total mission ones) whilst American societies had 67, and other European countries 7. British missions had been keep their dominant place in this field. The number of their dispensaries in 1920 is displayed in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1 DISPENSARIES OF MAJOR BRITISH MISSIONS IN 1920⁷

Missions	Dispensaries		Med. Itinerations	
	No. of Dispen. %	No. of Patients %	No. of Patien. %	No. of Operats. %
CMS	32 15.2	166,128 14.7	357 17.7	
SPG	2 0.9	10,433 0.9		
BMS	4 1.9	47,574 0.42		
LMS	13 6.2	135,787 12	40 2	
UMC	7 3.3	50,411 4.5		
WMMS	11 5.2	125,806 11.1		
CSFM	2 0.95	33,235 2.9		
EPM	8 3.8	131,790 11.7	800 39.7	
PCI	12 5.7	54,274 4.8		
UFS	10 4.7	131,239 11.6		
CIM	104 49.3	216,516 19.2	798 39.6	2 100
FFMA	4 1.9	25,225 2.2		
TSM	2 0.9	1,300 0.1		
Total	211	1,129,758	2,013	2

In total, British missions established 211 dispensaries in all 23

⁷Chung-hua kui-chu, p.1200; and the medical archives of main British missions in 1920.

provinces and special administrative divisions. The majority of mission dispensaries were opened before 1920, but medical missionaries also initiated new ones in the 1920s. In this field, the CIM deserves special consideration. It ran over 100 dispensaries in 16 provinces.⁸ The guiding principle of its medical work was now considered to lie in the provision of its medical services by means of ordinary dispensaries and rural clinics rather than with centralization with elaborate medical plants. Thus, many of its workers, before they went to China, had received basic medical training. In accordance with its general policy of working in remote inland regions, its dispensaries in many places were often the only mission medical activities, such as those in Sinkiang, Ninghsia and Ch'inghai.⁹ Thus over a large geographical area, the CIM provided simple medical services, operating the largest number of dispensaries and over 49.3% of the total. Similarly, many other British missions also provided this type of primary medical service. Mostly their dispensaries were erected in the remote regions or city suburbs without mission hospitals and even very far from those large medical centres. Thus, their importance was quite obvious, and the local communities chiefly depended on these dispensaries to solve their most essential medical problems. For instance, the CMS in West China ran Mienchow dispensary to a very high standard.¹⁰ The Chinese people's preliminary knowledge of Western medicine also first came from these basic mission medical enterprises. These missionaries were the first people who cared for ordinary Chinese people's health in such vast country districts.

Meanwhile, the relationship between mission dispensaries and hospitals was very close. Above all, mission dispensaries were important supplementary units for mission hospital work. They always played a very important role in looking after the people's and pupils' health in local communities. In fact, taking these basic medical units as the healing centres where there was no mission hospitals, missions again extended the scope of their medical services. Also, their work was not confined inside these dispensaries. For example, their staff routinely practised as midwives in those districts, and attended house-calls made by patients. Of course, a more important service was to provide Western medicine for local Chinese people, and the missionaries in these dispensaries always journeyed to nearby places to dispense medicine. Especially in remote and up-country areas, their establishment helped people avoid long travelling to mission hospitals for only minor ailments, and served to increase medical efficiency. Thus, they also to a certain degree reduced the burden on

⁸See its annual reports in 1905 and 1920. The figure of the CIM dispensaries - 29 given by the CCC in Chung-hua kui-chu is not very accurate and the actual number is much more than this.

⁹China and the Gospel - report of the China Inland Mission 1924, ed. by the CIM (London, 1925), p.36.

¹⁰Gordon Hewitt, The Problem of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942 (London, 1943), p.293.

mission hospitals.

Secondly, mission dispensaries in particular districts often carried the responsibility for the same tasks as hospitals. For instance, in the 1920s one of the SPG dispensaries in Peking, started in 1905, came second in the volume of its work following the LMS hospital though there were 7 other mission hospitals in the city, Dr. Graham Aspland, with the aid of Chinese doctors, expanded the dispensary work and added an operating theatre with some 20,000 attendances yearly.¹¹

Thirdly, dispensaries were the foundation of the mission hospital development, and nearly all hospitals emerged out of an embryonic form of large dispensaries. Many very small British up-country hospitals were even called dispensary hospitals or cottage hospitals. In fact, they were in the transitional period from dispensaries to formal mission hospitals; and they often functioned both as dispensaries and hospitals.

Fourthly, these dispensaries were the feeders of mission hospitals, and they sent many inpatients and serious outpatient cases into mission hospitals after their preliminary (tentative) diagnoses. From this angle they functioned as medical advisory bodies for Chinese patients or medical information centres.

Finally, they often served as the temporary hospitals in itinerant activities of medical doctors. The doctors in mission hospitals always paid regular visits to the dispensaries nearby and treated the patients in the regions around those dispensaries. For example, the doctors in the Pakhoi General Hospital insisted on paying a weekly visit to the Linchow Dispensary 18 miles away.¹² The LMS Hankow Women's Hospital despatched its staff regularly to visit Sinchow Dispensary. According to its own report in 1923 it provided satisfactory treatment for 175 patients in 5 days in one medical journey.¹³

Undoubtedly these services enormously enlarged the sphere of medical work. Therefore, mission dispensaries not only shared direct medical care work with mission hospitals but also bore more basic medical responsibilities. Taking their dispensaries as additional bases, the serving scope of mission hospitals was actually greatly expanded, particularly to those interior and remote country areas. Thus, owing to the existence of dispensaries, mission hospital services extended far beyond their local market towns or port cities; they carried on a part of rural medical tasks by means of regular attending those dispensaries. As a result, mission dispensaries formed an indispensable basis of primary medical work.

¹¹China's Millions 1922, ed. by the CIM, p.102.

¹²CMS. M/Y CH2 1931, File One, CMS Hospital Pakhoi, Report for 1930 & 1931.

¹³LMS. Central China, Reports, see this hospital report in 1923.

(2) Hospitals

The number and scale of mission hospitals, which had become the major form of Christian primary medical work, had greatly increased in the 1920s. In 1920 there were over 600 foreign medical missionary doctors and 900 foreign-trained Chinese doctors in China, scattered over almost all provinces. British medical missions planted hospitals run on the same lines as at home, in many strategic centres of China.

TABLE 2.2 THE HOSPITALS OF BRITISH MISSIONS IN 1920¹⁴

Medical Missions	General Hospitals		Special Hospitals	Inpatients Men Women Children	Operations
	Men	Women			
CMS & CEZMS	13	15	12	10,086 1,345	4,049
SPG	4			329 70	217
BMS	8	1		1,132 322	724
LMS	15	7	2	8,949 2,367 432	6,090
UMC	5			2,573	941
WMMS	12			4,523 699 160	2,462
CSFM	1	1		1,118	1,074
EPM	13	3	1	12,410 335 3	4,684
PCI	5	4		1,390 572 8	3,395
UFS	8	5		1,199 857	3,184
CIM	18			3,793 977	3,485
FFMA	2	1		316 77	218
EMM	1			40	
CMML			1		
SA	2				
Total	144		16	56,091	30,523

¹⁴See the archives of major British missions; *Chung-hua kui-chu*, p.1199 & p.520.

TABLE 2.3 MEDICAL STAFF ALLOCATION OF MAIN BRITISH MISSIONS & THEIR CHINESE MEDICAL STAFF IN 1920¹⁵

Missions	Foreign Staff			Chinese Staff			
	Drs. M. F.	Nurses	Others	Drs.	Nurs. Gra. Students	Others	
CMS & CEZMS	15 6	27		26	94 53	16	
SPG	3 1	5		3	6 4	3	
BMS	11 2	5		8	7 17	8	
LMS	17 4	12	1	21	40 83	36	
UMC	3	2		5	6 6		
WMMS	13 5	5		7	28 82	6	
CSFM	2	1		2	4 6		
EPM	11 4			24	8 61	11	
PCI	3 1			4	9 40	28	
UFS	? ?	?		4		48	
CIM	3 1	7	3	5	3 46	42	
FFMA	1 2	2			1 8	8	
EMM	1	2		1			

Urban Type. The early mission hospitals were generally of a very small size and were not divided into specialized units. During the 1920s a number of British mission or joint hospitals were developed on a larger scale, particularly in large centres, which represented much more closely the modern types of hospitals familiar in their homeland, than anything seen heretofore. These institutions were departmentalized, staffed by a group of from 4 to 6 physicians and possessed the physical equipment for professional work of a high degree of excellence. 3 or 4 foreign nurses, conducting a training school, were a necessary part of such a hospital. By the time of the Peking Conference of the CMMA in 1920 the leading issue had become that of greater professional efficiency in the conduct of these hospitals. A good example is provided by the CMS Hangchow Kwangchi Hospital (the Hospital of Universal Benevolence), erected in 1882 by Dr. Duncan Main. His achievements in building up the hospital were remarkable by any

¹⁵Chung-hua kui-chu, p.1198.

standard. It was transformed from a four-room "opium refuge" with merely 16 beds in the 1880s to a modern hospital of 500 beds, with a medical college and a wide range of medical care in the mid-1910s. In 1920 alone it accepted 24,509 outpatients, 2,362 in patients and carried out 2,397 operations. This comprehensive medical operation contained 22 departments, each with its own independent building. It had not only a large array of hospital departments but a wide range of foreign and native staff, numbering 89 in all. At the peak, its workers were over 100. It was one of the largest if not the largest of its kind in China. The majority of its staff were both medical professionals and teachers.¹⁶ Kwangchi was a real masterpiece. It was very rare that any union medical hospital or college provided such a complete and large scale comprehensive medical enterprise as it. In the late 1920s its scale was still far larger than that of other large mission hospitals, as St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai, the WCUU, Cheeloo and PUMC hospitals.¹⁷

The second great medical centre was in Shanghai - The Chinese Hospital of Shantung Road (LMS). In 1930 it celebrated its 86th birthday and was the oldest British mission hospital in mainland China. Under the leadership of Dr. C.J.Davenport it had developed from small beginnings into a large and well equipped hospital. In 1928 its outpatients numbered in all 143,517, which represented an increase of more than 57,000 visits over the numbers for the previous year; the inpatient department was no less busy, coping with 3,867 admissions, increase of 239 over the previous year. The number of radiographs taken was 2,355, and operations (excluding many very minor cases) amounted to 2,231.¹⁸ There was a very strong staff allocation here, totalled 22 British medical workers in 1926.¹⁹ Other leading mission hospitals included that at Moukden,²⁰ the EPM Swatow General Hospital, the LMS Mackenzie Memorial Hospital at Tientsin, the Hankow Union Hospitals, Cheeloo Union Hospital and the WCUU Union Hospital. During the 1920s the most Chinese Western-style hospitals were of a very small size and still in their infant period, the comprehensive medical treatment provided by these large mission hospitals took on a very dominant position. In this way modern scientific medicine on Western lines established a strong position in urban China. Their patients came from all directions. They greatly and vitally rendered their medical care to both cities and surrounding country

¹⁶CMS. G1 CH2/O 1920, No.38, Annual Report for 1920 of the Hangchow Hospital and Medical Training College in Connection with the CMS; Hewitt, p.269.

¹⁷CMS. M/Y CH2 Dr.D.D. Main's report, 13 Aug.1920, and M/Y CH2, Chekiang 2, from Dr.S.D. Sturton, Hangchow, 4 Apr.1931.

¹⁸Report for 1928, Jan.1929, by J.L.H. Paterson, The Lester Chinese Hospital, LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 10-1928.

¹⁹LMS. Central China, Reports, see the report of this hospital for 1926.

²⁰See The Brief History of the Moukden Medical College.

areas.

Up-country Type. Traditional opinions have criticized missionary medical work for its relative neglect of medical services in the rural areas in China.²¹ In fact, their criticism is not very accurate. For medical missionaries silently did a great deal of concrete and arduous work in rural regions, though admittedly their work in these places was not so great as in those central areas. Much of their work in the up-country hospitals, although unknown to the public, met the pressing need for more medical services in these interior and rural districts where Protestant missions were major contributors.

British missionary archives reveal that the actual number of the up-country hospitals was much greater than that of metropolitan ones. For instance, most hospitals of the CMS and CEZMS in Fukien belonged to smaller town medical stations, and many of them were straightforwardly called cottage hospitals.²² This decentralised pattern allowed the medical staff to serve both city and country Chinese people in this province. Of 6 LMS hospitals in Chihli, 5 were up-country medical institutions. Its Siaochang hospital opened in 1889 was near southeastern border of Chihli and the centre in a district of 14 counties with an estimated population of over 4 millions amongst whom there was no other medical mission at work. Its patients frequently came from two days' journey for treatment.²³ Apart from hospitals in Wuhan, all of other WMMS and LMS Hupeh and Hunan hospitals were located in smaller towns or up-country regions and their names can scarcely be found even on the biggest map.²⁴ An emphasis upon work in rural and remote districts was central to the working methods of the CIM, SPG and UCM. Almost all their hospitals were erected in such places, where they were often the only mission hospitals. Except the Moukden Central Hospital of the UFS and the Hsingking Hospital of the PCI, all of their other 20 hospitals in Manchuria were located in very smaller towns and remote regions.²⁵ Though the EPM hospitals were all established in the 3 coastal provinces, except Swatow, Chuanchow and Chaochow hospitals, all others were located in up-country districts. For example the EPM Shinro Hospital in Tainan was the only one in Formosa for years.²⁶

The fullest measure of success in up-country hospitals was attained

²¹Paterson, p.11.

²²Chung-hua kui-chu, p.177; CMS and CEZMS, see the detailed location of their hospitals in the medical archives of Fukien Missions in 1920.

²³LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 22-1920, see Dr.S.G. Peill's letter on 18 Feb. 1920 from Tsangchow.

²⁴See Paterson, p.12.

²⁵My interviews with Drs.D. Faulkner in Belfast on 2 Feb. 1993, M. Findlay at Leven in Scotland on 13 Oct. 1992, D. Littlewood in Edinburgh on 12 Oct.1992, and I. Garven in Glasgow on 17 Oct.1992.

²⁶CBMS. London, Asia Committee, Box 407, Presbyterian Church of England: Medical Work.

in the 1920s. The progress was very obvious. These hospitals were the backbone of mission medical work in up-country and remote areas. Since the 1910s there had already been further specialization of medical work in the metropolitan mission hospitals.²⁷ But in these country hospitals usually one foreign doctor had to assume all medical responsibilities with the help of Chinese assistants. Thus, their medical services did not need specialists but versatile medical workers with broader medical knowledge and skill to cope with all kinds of cases. In up-country hospitals there was a close study of the minimum requirements for efficient hospital service. Facilities for cleanliness of the plants and patients, protection from insects and vermin, supply of instruments and apparatus sufficient for a major general survey and for laboratory diagnosis were taken as necessities.

Almost all up-country hospitals were badly understaffed and financial difficulties seriously crippled the work in some places. They also suffered the greatest difficulties during this decade from political disturbance, the bandit menace and trade depression. However, the major achievements of these small up-country hospitals in the late 1920s were as follows: Their hospital beds were limited to a certain number (20-40) so that they could increase the quality of services; many of them built their own new buildings; medical missions greatly increased in the number of well-trained Chinese staff, and this medical policy buffered the urgent situation of lacking medical staff. They also became financially self-supporting, no longer relying on mission funds and so preserving their existence. Despite growing difficulties, they expanded medical services and increased their efficiency.

Generally, although British missions provided both city and rural medical services in China, the general tendency was that the care facilities, supplies and instruments of urban type were more adequate; they were able to render higher standard medical care; by advances in scientific appliances urban medical centres were able to provide much better and more complicated services and obtain more beneficial results than up-country hospitals; the scale of their services was much larger than the up-country type. This development strategy between two types of hospitals, in my opinion, was absolutely correct. Thus, the medical service of metropolitan hospitals was highest in quality, but the up-country ones were more highlighted in quantity. In addition, it was not an intelligent policy to equip an up-country hospital according to the standards of metropolitan institutions; limited mission personnel, finance and materials did not permit this either. The essential tasks of up-country hospitals was to meet the local people's medical needs and cope with more ordinary cases rather than more thorny and knotty ones as metropolitan hospitals did; their

²⁷By 1920 many of them had special business managers, pharmacists, radiographers, special surgeons, physicians and gynaecologists.

geographical position made it unrealistic for them to attract patients from outside areas as treaty port hospitals did. In fact, even today's primary medical work in China still maintains the pattern of missionary times.

(3) Special Primary Medical Work

Besides the general provision of ordinary hospitals, special medical provision also catered for a range of diseases. In its first category were those special care centres, including lepers' hospitals, tuberculosis sanatoria, and asylums for the insane, although the latter was more of an American speciality. Much good was accomplished by these medical institutions. Its second was auxiliary medical care, such as wartime voluntary work, medical famine relief, help for drug addicts and treatment of venereal diseases. The special medical care again demonstrated a much broader scope of mission medical services in the 1920s than previously.

Leprosy in the Far Eastern countries, especially in China had been prevailing for a long time. The number of lepers in China was estimated in the early 1920s not less than 450,000 or 25% of the lepers in the world.²⁸ These special patients formed the most miserable social group in China. This problem had first been seriously tackled with the establishment of a branch of the World Mission to Lepers (ML) in Shanghai in 1892,²⁹ which greatly assisted in bringing about the extinction of leprosy.³⁰ In the 1920s there existed 32 Christian enterprises for Leprosy (of which, British missions totalled 22 in 8 provinces and American societies 10),³¹ and the majority of their funds came from the ML,³² while British home missions also provided more subsidies for these special medical institutions.³³ The CMS not only founded the first leprosy hospital at Pakhoi of South China Sea in 1886³⁴ and the best one in Hangchow³⁵ but also possessed the largest number of such institutions (14). H. Fowler's leprosy hospitals at Siaokan

²⁸Balme, p.95; B.E.Read, "Modern Treatment of Leprosy," The China Journal of Science and Arts, Vol.1, No.2 (March 1923), p.167.

²⁹The Headquarters of the World Mission to Lepers in London, whose branch offices were set up respectively in London, Dublin, New York, Toronto, Edinburgh, Melbourne, Calcutta, see Ch'en Pang-hsien, p.382.

³⁰1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China, p.148.

³¹See Chung-hua kui-chu, p.990; Appendix II.

³²Chung-hua kui-chu, p.990; and see CMS's reports of South China and Fukien Missions in the 1920s; H.P. Thompson, Into All Lands, p.681; LMS, Report of the School of Medicine of the SCU 1924-25; BMS, The Herald of the BMS 1921, p.101; LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 8-1920, Review of Ten Years of Hospital Work in Connection with the Siaokan Medical Mission, Henry Fowler, 28 Jan.1920, Siaokan, Hupeh; CIM, see its report for 1931.

³³CMS. M/Y CH2 1931, File 1, see the financial report of Pakhoi Medical Mission in 1930; and Pakhoi Hospital Report for 1930 & 1931; Pakhoi Leper Hospital Statistics for 1930 & 1931.

³⁴CMS. M/Y CH1, see South China 1920; CH2, South China 1931; G1 CH1/P4 1913-1926, South China Mission, No.19.

³⁵CMS. M/Y CH2 1920, File One, see Dr. D.D. Main's report on 13 Aug. 1920.

were famous all over the world.³⁶ The Swatow General Hospital alone from October 1922 to September 1923 dealt with a total of 1,389 cases of leprosy.³⁷ British missions thus bore the major share of leprosy treatment in modern China.

These lepers' asylums were both healing centres and special research institutions; and this special relief belonged both to social services and medical care work. They strictly carried out the system of segregation in the interest of public health, as in China there had been no strict isolation or control over the movements of such people. Missionary activities were thus able to confine the infection of leprosy to a certain extent. Several forms of treatment had satisfactory results. A new method of treatment for early cases by injections (intermuscular) and socii and gynecardite pills was proved successful. The new sulphonamide treatment for leprosy raised high hopes. There was a 95% chance of cure among early cases properly treated.³⁸ This scientific method of treating early cases of lepers played a great role in China.³⁹ The specific treatment of leprosy with ethyl esters of chaulmoogra oil was one of the most noteworthy advances of modern medicine.⁴⁰ Many patients left wholly or partially cured.

"Heal the sick and cleanse the lepers"⁴¹ was the motive behind the mission leper workers' action. They took great risks to cure and look after Chinese lepers heedless of their personal safety. They used every possible means to restore the unfortunate's self respect. They endeavoured to renew the physical stamina of lepers and helped them to cast off the bonds of physical misery and mental torture.⁴² They even committed themselves to assisting the patients to re-enter into social life.⁴³ Many of their patients were able to do gardening, carpentry and such of skilled trades as could be taught in these institutions.⁴⁴ Mission medical work in this field was one of the most moving chapters in the history of mission philanthropic work in China.

The Chinese were helpless in dealing with leprosy. Chinese patients

³⁶The China Journal of Science and Arts (March 1923), p.171.

³⁷EPM. Overseas Lingtung, General Correspondence, Swatow, Reports, Minutes, Letters, 1923, Box 33, File 4, see the statistics of Swatow Hospital; Edward Band, p.438.

³⁸See Hewitt, pp.237-238.

³⁹CMS. M/Y CH2 1931, File 1, Leper Asylum Section, Contributed by Jonas Lee.

⁴⁰The China Journal of Science and Arts (March 1923), p.167.

⁴¹CMS. M/Y CH2 1931, File 1, Report of Pakhoi Medical Mission.

⁴²CMS. M/Y CH2 1931, Pakhoi Hospital Report for 1930 & 1931.

⁴³CMS. M/Y CH2 1931, Jonas Lee's Narrative for 1930 & 1931.

⁴⁴The China Journal of Science and Arts (March 1923), p.172.

looked to medical missionaries as great potential healers. It was reported that leprosy had been infrequently seen in 1930.⁴⁵ Their healing work for the lepers obtained the full appreciation and high praise of the local community; they gained popular social support and international cooperation.⁴⁶ As a result, the Chinese Mission to Lepers (CML) was started in 1926, and Government in the early 1930s increased their interest in this philanthropic enterprise.⁴⁷ British medical missionary specialists had done important work in controlling leprosy and contributing new treating methods. They offered the most valuable contributions to controlling widespread leprosy and had provided the earliest treating solution to the eradication of leprosy from China. Many of their suggestions and treating experiences were used even during the 1960s and 1970s in China. Medical missionaries laid a foundation for China to finally eliminate leprosy.

Controlling T.B. and opening asylums for the insane were also important integral parts of special medical care work. Prevalent neglect of the elementary laws of hygiene resulted in widespread T.B., which was "China's major killing disease" and a terrible scourge. The operations on glands (tubercular and suppuration) and tubercular sinuses were always a large number in the statistics of medical missionary work. For example, in 1925 alone the LMS Tientsin Hospital performed 122 glands and 102 T.B. sinuses operations.⁴⁸ Their pulmonary services saved a lot of young sufferers of pulmonary tuberculosis. Dr. Louisa G. Thacker insisted on offering open-air treatment for tuberculosis in the Amoy area; and in plague years she did many inoculation tours.⁴⁹ At certain times over one-third of the available beds in the WCUU hospitals were occupied by pulmonary tuberculosis cases. A clinic was also run three times a week. A tuberculosis ward was built at the CMS Kienning hospital in 1922 and the new treatment was used effectively. In 1924, it opened two tubercular sanatoria in its Foochow and Hangchow hospitals.⁵⁰ The SA also had a special Tuberculosis Hospital in Chihli. Without exception, any study of special medical care in China must first trace the history of these medical missionaries' pioneering work.

The work of Red Cross during the wars, medical relief in famines, helping drug addicts and treating venereal cases together constituted the

⁴⁵"Chapter IV. Public Health and Medical Events," The China Year Book, 1929-30, p.123.

⁴⁶CMS. M/Y CH4 1920, File 1, the letter from M. Mackenzie, Foochow, 3 May 1920, M/Y CH1 1920, File 1, South China, the letter from S. Beattie, 8 Jan.1921.

⁴⁷Harold Archer Van Dorn, Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic: Two Decades of Progress (London, 1933), p.246.

⁴⁸See Report for the Year 1925 of the Machenzie Memorial Hospital, LMS, Tientsin, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 9-1925.

⁴⁹EPM. Overseas, South Fukien, Individuals, Box 21, File 7, W.M.A. Missionaries of the Amoy Mission EPM.

⁵⁰CMS. M/Y CH2 1920, see Dr. Main's report.

second aspect of mission special medical care. The work of Red Cross was also one of important features in mission medical care. Innumerable civil wars were at its height in the 1920s. As a result much of missionary medical work was related to the war casualties of quite another category. Sometimes, a great number of gun-shot and even bayonet wounds poured into mission hospitals.⁵¹ Armed local brigandage also raised the wounded number.⁵² In 1927 the Red Cross unit in Wuhan, in which 9 missionary organizations involved, accepted approximately 11,000 wounded soldiers in Hankow and Wuchang.⁵³ The Outpatient Department in Cheeloo Hospital was also full of wounded soldiers.⁵⁴ In 1928, in view of a strongly worded telegram from General and Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek, medical missionaries service to the wounded in Hsuehowfu was extended.⁵⁵ It was a wartime experience of most ghastly character. Thousands of terribly wounded men were treated under increasing difficulties due to lack of food and stores. Mission hospitals were the scene of incessant relief work by the Red Cross. British medical missionaries not only saved many lives in wartime but also were important organisers of some local Red Cross branches.

China was devastated by famines, so medical relief also became one of the most usual features of missionary work during the 1920s. The BMS, CIM, and LMS North China District Committee rendered most significant services.⁵⁶ But famine also brought in other problems, starvation diseases, all kinds of epidemics and plague drove missionaries to help with almost all mission hospitals in the famine areas serving as places of refuges.

Medical missionaries also engaged in social reforming through helping some patients to break off drug habits and alcoholic poisoning, both with medical treatment and moral persuasion. Among illustration of this sort of work in the 1920s, the St. Andrew's Hospital of the SPG at Hokienhsien set up a special infirmary for opium-addicts.⁵⁷ The CMS Hangchow hospital also treated many opium smokers each year.⁵⁸ The EPM Yungchun Hospital was appointed as the official opium refuge of the district by the civil magistrate in the 1910s; and there was a marked diminution in the numbers

⁵¹China's Millions 1922, p.123.

⁵²Band, p.352.

⁵³WMMS. China Correspondence Hupeh, Box 964, Hupeh Chairman, the letters on 27 May 1927 and 23 June 1927; Box 965, Wuchang Chairman, 1927, see Report of the Work of the Red Cross Unit in Wuhan, 20 July 1927.

⁵⁴WMMS. China, Box 1091, W. W. China, Missionaries on Furlough, 1927, see the letter from SCU, 2 Dec.1927.

⁵⁵CMS. G1 CH2/0 1929, 8.

⁵⁶BMS. CH/64 Men R-SP, File 2, T.S. Russell, Report of Famine Relief Work, Sianfu, Shensi 1930.

⁵⁷CBMS. London, Asia Committee, E/T China, FBN 19, Box 409, No.12.

⁵⁸CMS M/Y CH2 1920, the report of Dr.D.D. Main on 13 Aug. 1920.

of opium smokers applying for treatment in the 1920s.⁵⁹ The CIM ran 16 opium refuges in 1924; the number in 1925 was increased up to 23.⁶⁰ However, some missionary work was in vain, because many addicts were unable to give up such insidious temptation and resumed their seductive drugs when they returned home. Thus the tireless provision of these patients with repeated medical treatment and moral education seemed to have become part of medical missionaries' social responsibility.

British mission hospitals also accepted the patients of syphilis and venereal cases. For instance, Swatow General Hospital from October 1922 to September 1923 treated a total of 400 syphilitic cases and the figure of vaccinations was 236 for this type of special patients.⁶¹ The best way of doing so was by injection. The injection of Norarsenobenzol was administered for the latter condition, and with very good results. Improvement set in from the first injection; finally, the headaches, staggering and deafness all disappeared. The patients left the hospitals and once again making their own living.⁶² Thus through the above extensive medical care, missionaries saved many lives and earned the title of the "Free-healing Doctors" as well as many decorations for their unselfish dedication from Government.

2. Impacts, Progress and Achievements

The achievements of the missions in the primary medical field may be best gauged in relation to the advances in treatment and facilities provided, as well as by the sheer numbers involved. But the 1920s also saw important organizational changes, above all, the encouragement of self-financing medical missions (reducing dependence on missionary funds) and increasing by the devolution of the control of hospitals from the missions to native Chinese management. It is to these latter aspects that we now turn.

(1) General Policy Change

The changes of general mission medical policy were mainly seen in securing the cooperation among Protestant missions and standardizing hospital work. Both policies obviously promoted the development of mission primary medical work and increased its efficiency. The past had many important lessons to teach but it did not have to be allowed to unduly dominate the later mission work. These led to changes of emphasis in many places and foreign funds to be spent where need was seen to be greatest.

⁵⁹See all kinds of statistics of hospitals in EPM archives; Band, p.415.

⁶⁰China and the Gospel - Reports of the China Inland Mission, 1925, p.36; 1926, p.30.

⁶¹EPM. Overseas Lingtung, General Correspondence, Swatow, Reports, Minutes, Letters, 1923, Box 23, File 4, the statistics of Swatow General Hospital.

⁶²See its report in 1921, there were 110 syphilis inpatients totally.

Firstly, in pursuit of the plan for the better coordination of Protestant missions inaugurated at the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, in 1919, Dr. Harold Balme of the BMS, the Principal of the Medical School of Cheeloo, sent out a questionnaire to all mission hospitals under the heading "An Enquiry into the Scientific Efficiency of Mission Hospitals in China". 80% of mission hospitals replied.⁶³ This investigation revealed many existing problems in direct medical care. Hence, by 1920 increasing the efficiency of medical mission work had been placed as a high priority; a definite policy of medical cooperation between missions had been shaped. The general development of primary medical work was towards greater administrative efficiency. Thus, the medical concentration in the key centres particularly enabled the cooperation among different societies, nationalities, and denominations to become necessary. For the sake of economy and effective medical work, the missions in China were to pool their resources, to develop central hospitals with a stronger staff and better equipment so that they could meet the demands of an altered situation. This policy had been amply shown by the substantial steps which some British mission hospitals took to amalgamate in the 1920s. For instance, the medical union among the CMS, CEZMS and Dublin University Fukien Mission (DUFM)⁶⁴ had been quite famous since the 1910s. The WMMS and LMS had assumed the bulk of the responsibilities in the Hankow Union Hospital, which was called "a nice European hospital" by visitors.⁶⁵ In the 1920s the scattered working style had already given way to the institutionalization of medical missions and international cooperation. Medical missionaries had done much more by united action; and fine pieces of work were carried through by their joint efforts. The medical cooperative schemes greatly increased efficiency. Their primary medical work was entering into its harvest season.

Secondly, the CMMA, which had largely contributed to the marked advance in standards of hospitals in the early 1920s, in 1925 set out a more significant policy at its Biennial Conference held at Hongkong. With a view to assisting mission hospitals to attain accepted Western standards of staff and equipment, the CMMA began to register mission hospitals.⁶⁶ Subsequently, a Committee on Registration and Grading of Hospitals was appointed especially for this purpose. The survey pointed out that an attempt should be made by missionary societies throughout China to reach this standard, and also to make provision for filling vacancies due to

⁶³Chung-hua kui-chu, P.963.

⁶⁴The DUFM had been a branch of CMS' Fukien Mission since 1910.

⁶⁵WMMS. China, Wuchang District, Box 1091, W.W. China, Missionaries on Furlough, the letter from Principal of School of Nursing, the Union Hospital, Hankow, G.E. Stephenson, 7 Feb.1929.

⁶⁶LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 25-1926, Micro. No. 498, CMA - Report of Committee on Registration and Grading of Hospital.

leave. The CMMA issued a series of strict regulations. For example, a nurse should not be appointed to do dispensary work in a station where there was no doctor and no nurse should be expected or allowed to take on a doctor's work, or be in charge of a hospital during the leave of the doctor.⁶⁷ British missions urged their medical auxiliaries to bring their work into line with these standards as soon as possible. For instance, in the late 1920s the EPM hospitals were classified as "A" Class (Swatow and Chuanchow), the "B" Class (Suabue, Chaochowfu, Wukingfu, Shanghang, Changpu, Yungchun), and the "C" Class (Thaipu).⁶⁸ The UFS in 1926 began to pay special attention to the rules of nurses and registration of hospitals.⁶⁹ By the late 1920s, most mission hospitals had fulfilled their registration work and the tasks of uniformity and rationalization. The effect of the medical reorganization and stricter management was noticeable. They had tested their medical work by common standards since then. This policy raised the quality of service and working efficiency in the latter five years of the 1920s, especially in those smaller country hospitals.

The stability and progress of the 1920s in primary medical work depended in great measure on the soundness of these missionary principles and policies. The new angle of vision obtained by these policies threw light upon the entire field of operations. These policies pointed out the weak links and brought mission primary medical work in China to a new phase.

(2) Organizational Change

At first, in the 1920s one of the organizational innovations assigned by many medical missions to the large mission hospitals was that of visiting doctors and consultants. With the development of far larger hospitals in the 1920s, more workers were needed to match the new size of institutions. This meant securing help for hospitals from foreign doctors or foreign trained Chinese doctors who were practising locally, and enjoyed a high reputation. It was one of the secret weapons of success that British mission hospitals were still able to make great progress under the conditions of acute lack of medical staff. The cooperation between the full-time resident doctors and part-time visiting or honorary doctors on the whole proved satisfactory. These temporary medical staff made great contributions to guaranteeing service quality and responding to increasingly urgent needs. By this means, great benefit was bestowed upon the young foreign trained Chinese practitioners; on the other hand, it

⁶⁷CEZMS. CEZ/C AC1 / CH1 1924-1927, CH/FK/26/27, Executive Sec. of CMA, J.L. Maxwell to Sec. of CEZMS, London, 20 Oct.1926.

⁶⁸See Band, p.437; EPM, Overseas, General Correspondence, South Foukien, Amoy, Minutes & Letters, Reports, Box 11, File 2.

⁶⁹UFS. Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee June 1926 to Apr. 1927, p.193.

brought relief to the over-worked resident doctors. Meanwhile, the system of consulting medical staff appeared in some central hospitals. For example, in the late 1920s the Shantung Road Hospital at Shanghai had its own 3 Consulting Medical Officers. This special medical system provided further guarantee for adopting medical experts' advanced suggestions, increasing medical quality, initiating a system of medical surveillance and administration at a higher level. It was completely a new measure in improving medical professional work.

Secondly, outside visits and an itinerant medical system was also set up in the 1920s. A fully organised systematic visitation by nurses and doctors was begun. One can still find a large number of home visits each year in the records of these hospitals, both city and up-country ones.⁷⁰ In the busiest medical institutions the medical staff insisted on the services of outside visits. Usually, women's hospitals and dispensaries had more outside cases than men's hospitals, for a large percentage of outside visits were midwifery cases. They were always ready to meet these S.O.S. calls. Outside visits had become an important routine medical service. The doctors in country hospitals went out and visited urgent cases more often than the doctors did in larger centres. Many British medical missions also set up the itinerant medical system in order to further extend their medical working dimensions. Such medical service constituted a mobile force of medical services. They made great efforts for the presentation of practical Christianity in these "regions beyond", namely, they offered mission medical care beyond the scope of their medical stations.

Thirdly, more and more women's, maternity, children's wards and hospitals were set up. Apart from existing women's hospitals, more and more women's wards in mission hospitals were enhanced into separate and independent women's hospitals in the early 1920s. These hospitals were able to be independent in their personnel, administration, and finance, though they usually were detached from the former general hospitals and often co-existed with the men's side in the same city or medical station. Their emergence greatly satisfied the urgent demands of female patients, because the Chinese women, especially those in the countryside, in the 1920s were seriously bound by traditional ideas and still lived under the yoke of the feudalist ethical code. Generally they did not like to see male doctors. Missionaries thus created their women's hospitals in order to provide a convenient service for Chinese women. Most of these hospitals were staffed by keen, dedicated and efficient female doctors, who set high standards. They acquired great popularity by virtue of the competent and sympathetic treatment given to women's diseases and obstetric cases, but also offered

⁷⁰See the report of Shantung Road Hospital in 1922 in LMS; China's Millions 1922, p.102; EPM. Overseas Lingtung, General Correspondence, Swatow, Reports, Minutes, Letters, 1923, Box 33, File 4, see the statistics of these three hospitals; FMA. China Committee 1925, FSC/C/4/3 Letters from Missionaries, see medical statistics from 1 Dec.1923 to 1 Dec.1924; PCI. See Reports of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions - 1921 & 1930, Zenana Mission: Irish Presbyterian Church, "Go Forward" (Belfast).

ordinary treatment.⁷¹

In addition, in order to deal with those maternity cases, special maternity wards, departments and even hospitals emerged gradually in the period of 1910-1930. The CMS Maternity Hangchow Hospital was opened in 1920.⁷² In 1926 it founded a maternity hospital in Hinghwa, which became one of the most famous centres of maternity work in China.⁷³ After 1926, Dr. Mary Watson at the CMS Yunnanfu Hospital mainly concentrated on maternity and infant welfare. In 1934 there were 556 maternity cases here without a single death.⁷⁴ In the UFS Moukden Maternity Hospital (started in 1916) 240 normal deliveries and 480 difficult labours were taken care of in 1920. This service completely changed the high infant and maternity mortality rates in the city and areas around Moukden.⁷⁵ Alice Memorial Maternity Hospital was the only kind of special hospital in Hongkong then. The quality of mission maternity services was first-class one. Mission hospitals through their high reputation were able to attract more maternity cases in the competition with unqualified midwives in the same towns.

The emergence of children's wards, set up by many mission hospitals, also formed one of the major projects of hospital expansion plans in the 1920s. Normally, they were contained inside women's hospitals. For example, a children's ward was added to the CIM Kaifeng Hospital.⁷⁶ There was the Babies Home in Moukden attached to the UFS hospital.⁷⁷ In 1929 the WMMS Fatshan Hospital opened the Children's Ward too.⁷⁸ The Children's Ward was one of the major features of the Shinro Hospital at Tainan. It was a sign of remarkable confidence that the parents were willing to leave their children in sole charge of the nurses. The appearance of special child medical care showed that mission hospitals were able to meet the needs of a larger number of children patients.

As we can see, the CEZMS, CMS, LMS, WMMS, UFS, PCI, CIM in opening women's, maternity hospitals and running children's wards did more work

⁷¹For example, the Shantung Road Hospital, divided into the Men's and Women's Hospital in the early 1920s, provided services of very high quality. Dr. Nina Beath, who served in the EPM Swatow women's hospital for over 20 years, before her death in 1925, set a splendid model of professional devotion to women's health.

⁷²CMS. M/Y CH2 1920, see Dr. Main's report.

⁷³Hewitt, p.269; CBMS, London, Asia Committee, E/T China, FBN 19, Box 409, No.12.

⁷⁴See its report in 1934 and Hewitt, p.239.

⁷⁵UFS. Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee June 1926 to Apr. 1927, p.155; The Brief History of the Moukden Medical College.

⁷⁶Young China, the Magazine of the Comradeship for China, Nov. 1923, No.12, ed. by the CIM (London, 1923), p.2.

⁷⁷UFS. Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee June 1927 to Apr. 1928, p.324.

⁷⁸WMMS. China, Box 505, South China District, Fatshan Hospital Report 1929.

than other British missions and had a long history.⁷⁹ The MMC Hospital in the 1920s modernized its maternity and infant care and totally changed the gloomy picture of the past.⁸⁰ The number of the PCI women's hospitals even surpassed men's. British missions had greatly intensified the medical services among women and children in the 1920s.

The divisions of mission hospital work became more and more painstaking, and both the level of hospital departmental administration and the academic standard of medical services were improved. Effective organizational reforms of mission hospitals were therefore one of the major causes that enabled their primary medical work to make great progress in the 1920s. They not only increased hospital capacity and working efficiency but were also able to meet much broader and more sophisticated needs of patients than ever before.

(3) Disease Treatment and Medication

The organizational changes and reforms of primary medical work directly promoted greater progress in the treatment of disease treatment. British mission hospitals gained more influence by their surgical work than their medication.⁸¹ In their clinical services Western doctors had rich experiences in surgery, ophthalmology, gynaecology and obstetrics.⁸² Where medical work was done along up-to-date scientific lines, it quickly won confidence. Nearly every hospital had a very long operation-list annually. Abdominal operations were considerably more frequent. The removal of abdominal and pelvic growths, and short-circuiting operations such as gastro-enterostomy, were the most common ones. These Western doctors were also very good at the operations of large abscess, anal fistula, dental extractions.

The tragedy of blindness was very common in China, and the figure of blind folk seen in mission hospitals was a fair index of the progress that scientific medicine made. The medical services in the field of ophthalmology were Western doctors' speciality. In the 1920s' operation lists of British mission hospitals, cataracts were still very well known cases. For example, many such blind persons were restored to sight by the skilful effort of Dr. Dugald Christie at Moukden Hospital. There were many Chinese patients in these hospitals who had entered blind and by means of removal of cataracts or other operations were well on the road to recovery of their vision.

Operations for the removal of all kinds of Tumours, both benign and

⁷⁹Chung-hua kui-chu, pp.1199, 177.

⁸⁰The Brief History of the Moukden Medical College, p.79.

⁸¹See the records of my interviews with Drs. I. Garven and D. Faulkner, who worked in the mission hospitals in Manchuria in China in the 1920s and 1930s.

⁸²Chao Hung-chun, p.26.

malignant, were also frequent. Most patients after operations made splendid recoveries. At the Yungchun Hospital an old lady was relieved of an 80lb. tumour! When her chair bearers took her home, they chuckled to one another as they left the hospital on the surprising lightness of the old lady.⁸³ Dr. Gordon, worked in the PCI Kwanchengtze Hospital, successfully removed a tumour on the eye ball of a five years old child in 1924.⁸⁴ In 1929, Siochang Women's Hospital doctor successfully cleaned the open breast cancer of a patient.⁸⁵

The Chinese trust in the British doctors' power to heal diseases was increasingly raised through the treatment of casualties and the wounded. Their X-ray apparatus were used in most mission hospitals, and proved of immense value. They got a large number of fracture cases, and it was a great help towards their intelligent treatment. In diseases of bones and joints and the localisation of bodies it was of even greater value. With the increasing development of the traffic and transportation as well as machinery industry in China, especially in the large cities, accident cases, or "casualties" were very numerous throughout the 1920s.⁸⁶ Mission hospitals in cities made an important contribution to releasing these patients. Western doctors' amputation technology, traumatic haemostatic technique, and debridement were all superior to Chinese traditional practitioners'.

The parasitic diseases were so common in China, British missionary doctors, especially those worked in South China, gave an deep insight into these diseases, as to their modes of infection, and the most efficient remedies for the same. Ankylostomiasis (Hook-worm) was another disease which, in their experience, was much more frequently met with in the South China and one of the common "Tropical diseases" in China. Many patients were treated, the parasites disappeared from the splenic blood, and the patients making apparently complete recoveries.⁸⁷

The great majority of the Chinese people had much more faith in Western surgery than Western medicine. Indeed, mission hospitals had many spectacular achievements in medical surgery and enjoyed a very high reputation.⁸⁸ On the other hand, foreign doctors had to do much propaganda work in China so as to make Western medicine fully acceptable. Medication, as distinguished from surgery, had definitely increased in volume, both in

⁸³See Band's book.

⁸⁴The Missionary Herald of Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1924 (Belfast), p.245.

⁸⁵Annie Gray, A Scotswoman in China 1925-1951 (Buchan, undated), p.45.

⁸⁶See the report of Shantung Road Hospital of Shanghai, 1921, from LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 9-1921; the report of the hospital for 1925.

⁸⁷LMS, North China, Reports, Box 8-1921, see The 53rd Annual Report of the LMS Hospital in Tientsin.

⁸⁸The records of my interviews with Drs. Garven and Faulkner.

inpatient and outpatient work, although patients invariably tried old-fashioned methods first. However, in some special diseases Western medicine had performed distinguished roles. As in epidemics, rapid cures were obtained by using Western medicine and the Chinese people were not slow to go to mission hospitals for treatment. Western medicine was believed to be more effective in curing tuberculosis, fever, heart diseases, stomachache, mental illness, skin diseases, and diarrhoea, whooping cough, dysmenorrhoea and amentia, and in preventive epidemics.

Methods of diagnosis and treatment were changed and added to in accordance with the march of medical science in these ten years. One great advance was the general use of serum diagnosis tests for syphilis. Gastric and renal functions had been investigated. A little blood chemistry was done, but much remained to be developed along this line. Blood transfusions were carried out on occasion in large mission hospitals. In the late 1920s, in some advanced mission hospitals, radium was used several times for treatment of cancer. Ultra-violet light made a fine contribution to the treatment of tubercular and marasmic children.

In general, surgery was a feature of the professional work in mission hospitals, which definitely increased during the 1920s. Chinese patients were much more willing to consider operation at this time than they used to be. Mission hospitals introduced a scientific approach to treatment which traditional Chinese lacked: dissection, laboratory tests, injections, surgery and X-rays. The achievements of primary medical work during the 1920s were really splendid, the poor were given free treatment, the blind received their sight, the lame walked, the lepers were cleansed, the deaf heard, the dying were brought back to life. The impressive records of British mission hospitals and their cooperative institutions won widespread acclaim in Chinese public and press circles alike.

(4) Patients, Buildings and Equipment

Above all, the success of mission hospitals may be best measured by the great increase of patients' numbers. This, owing to the lack of complete statistical materials of British missions, cannot be gauged in total but may be demonstrated from typical individual examples. The Mackenzie Memorial Hospital of the LMS and the PCI women's medical work were two of typical representatives.

TABLE 2.4 THE MEDICAL WORK OF THE MMH⁸⁹

	1915	1921	1929	1930
Outpatient	26,061	27,321	86,410	84,019
Inpatients	349	390	912	875
Operations	367	875	2,221	2,326
Total Income \$		20,000	55,149	

TABLE 2.5 THE PCI WOMEN'S MEDICAL WORK⁹⁰

YEAR	1921	1930
Inpatients	349	731
New Cases	390	10,634
Total Hosp. Visits	3,648	23,028
Home Visits	307	2,671
Operations	1,019	815

Tables 2.4 and 2.5 clearly reveal that during the 1920s the MMH and PCI women's medical work made great progress as their service capacity and scope were relatively enlarged. The medical progress was not only reflected in those urban institutions but also in those up-country ones. Many other British mission hospitals also reported their steady progress.⁹¹ Mission hospitals had 13,455 hospital beds and yearly treated 1,500,000 patients in 1915; 16,737 beds and 144,258 inpatients in 1920, but 17,145 beds, 157,039 inpatients and 3,289,934 total patients in 1930.⁹² In 1931, according to the reports from only 215 mission hospitals, 3,559,308 patients had been treated.⁹³ In nearly all mission hospitals the number of the outpatients trebled whilst the figure of inpatients had more than doubled. Also, the death rate in many hospitals was also largely reduced

⁸⁹See the report of the MMH 1915, 1921, 1929, 1930.

⁹⁰PCI. See "Our Work in China (Women's Work of Irish Presbyterian Church in China)", in Reports of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions - 1921 & 1930. Zenana Mission: Irish Presbyterian Church.

⁹¹China's Millions Feb. 1925, p.23; BMS. Annual Reports of BMS, 1925, p.104; 1930, p.22.

⁹²The China Year Book, 1921-22, p.819 and 1930-31, pp.315-316; Wong Chi-min and Wu Lien-teh, History of Chinese medicine (Tientsin, 1932); see "Ta-shih-chi," Chronicle of Events; Wang Chih-hsin, Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao shih-kang (The Historical Outline of the Christianity in China) (Shanghai, 1940), p.332; and see W.G. Lennox, "A Self Survey by Mission Hospitals in China," CWJ, Vol. 46 (1932).

⁹³J.L. Maxwell, "The Mission Hospitals in China," CWJ, Vol.46 (1932), pp.820-823.

in the 1920s.⁹⁴

The modernization of primary medical work in constructing new buildings and adding new equipment was also an important mark of mission medical achievements. Most British mission hospitals had a reputation going back two or more decades. They enjoyed the good will of the Chinese people; they had an increasing number of patients and a larger number of staff than previously. However, before 1920, medical missionaries had to endure all the inconveniences of outdated hospitals. The universal lack of modern equipment and instruments as well as accommodation in mission hospitals had already become hindrances to progress in modernization. Thus they began striving for modern buildings and facilities with which they would be able to do first-class work.

In the 1920s most CMS hospitals had new buildings. By 1930 in the LMS hospitals at Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin and Hongkong the new buildings had been completed. By 1930 the MMC men's, women's hospitals and maternity unit became the first-class hospitals and their standards even far outstripped those required by the CMA. The UFS's and PCI's remote hospitals were also given renewed life, new buildings in Hingking, Hulan, Hailung, Liaoyang, and Hsinminhsien were completed; many of them were equipped with heating systems and Sterilising plants.⁹⁵ The BMS's new hospital blocks were also seen in North China.⁹⁶ The SPG in 1923 established its largest hospital - the Mosse Memorial Hospital at Tatung of Shansi. The FMMA Tungchwan Men's Hospital had its new building in the early 1920s.⁹⁷ The layout of these new buildings and equipment was given more attention, such as wider and more gently sloping stairs, more windows with ample sunshine, wards with better light and ventilation, separate isolation wards for infectious diseases and so on. The strategy of hospitals tended to be more streamlined and was of a strikingly modern character. Office working conditions were all greatly improved; the inpatient beds were increased as well. They were the proud possessors of the best hospital buildings locally. All of these broadened the scope of treatment of their patients.

There was also great progress made in medical appliances and equipment. It was reported that there were no X-Ray plants in 87% of mission hospitals in 1920 and no high pressured sterilizers in 34% of mission hospitals, no bacteria cultures in 82% of hospitals (but most of the EPM's hospitals had X-ray outfits installed in the 1910s - earlier than

⁹⁴LMS. South China, Reports, Box 5-1923, Report of the Alice Memorial & Affiliated Hospitals, Hongkong in Connection with LMS for the Year 1923; my interviews with Drs. Agatha Crawford on 1 Feb. 1993 and D. Faulkner in Belfast, D. Littlewood in Edinburgh.

⁹⁵UFS. Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee, May 1920 to Apr. 1924; 28 May 1924-21 Apr. 1925; and 1928-29; PCI. Reports of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions - 1928-40. Zenana Mission: Irish Presbyterian Church - 1930. Go Forward, pp.35, 67.

⁹⁶Minutes of BMS, Shansi Conference, 1924; The Herald of the BMS, 1921, p.101; 1930, p.13.

⁹⁷FFMA. China Committee, 11/VIII/1920, Conference with F.L.Yang, D.Lo, and S.H.Fang.

most of the other missions hospitals).⁹⁸ However, the picture changed greatly in the 1920s. Some mission hospitals had set up independent hydrotherapy, light and X-ray departments, and the number of cases for light treatment had increased. Building up new operating theatres, installing laboratories and many kinds of equipment had also been a high priority.⁹⁹ Medical work was greatly improved by these equipment and appliances. In the development history of mission hospitals British missions had taken a great step towards medical modernization.

The material conditions of many mission hospitals in the 1920s were radically and fundamentally transformed. Hospitals of all sorts were opened, and larger sums of money were spent in buildings and equipment. British missions had made tremendous efforts to make these new hospital block models in equipment, organization, nursing, sanitation and cleanliness equal to that in a home hospital. The higher standards of primary medical work desired and attempted by mission medical staff in China had essentially been reached in the late 1920s. But the construction of these larger plants, finer styles, and more adequately equipped hospitals had, in fact, been far beyond the financial ability of missionary societies. This achievement depended mainly on the growth of financial self-support, derived largely from hospital fees and from Chinese and foreign contributions.

3. The Growth of Self-Funded Hospital Provision

In the 1920s most British missionary hospitals still preserved their nature as charitable institutions. The PUMC Hospital inpatients' list of 1922 showed that free patients constituted 18% and part payment 68% (total 86%), but full payment only by 14%.¹⁰⁰ In the early 1920s the LMS hospital in Shanghai freely treated many of returned coolies from France.¹⁰¹ In 1929 the WMMS Fatshan Hospital statistics showed that the ratio between the free cases and paying ones was 1 to 8.25.¹⁰² The MMH in 1929 gave 4,222 patients free treatment, and a far larger proportion were treated at a nominal fee which was considerably below cost.¹⁰³ The charitable feature of these hospitals had thus enhanced the Chinese patients' deep respect for the treatment.

⁹⁸See Chung-hua kui-chu and EPM medical archives in the 1910s.

⁹⁹BMS. See the report of the School of Medicine of SCU; The Missionary Herald of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, March 1922 (Belfast), p.127; BMS. 1927 & 1929 Annual Reports of BMS; Band, p.376; UFS. WMU (China) 14a. - Miscellaneous of MMC, see Experimental Biochemistry MMC.

¹⁰⁰LMS. PUMC Report to LMS North China D.C. 1922.

¹⁰¹Shantung Road Hospital, Shanghai, 1921, LMS, C. China, Reports, Box 9-1921.

¹⁰²WMMS. China, Box 505, South China District, Fatshan Hospital Report 1929.

¹⁰³See its annual report in 1929.

However, the expansion of medical institutions also led to more and more financial difficulties, as the demand for funds rose commensurately, while the surplus of free treatments was often a main cause of financial deficit. As a result, mission hospitals often had difficulties paying their way. Neither the financial ability of mission home boards nor each society's overall consideration of their social work in China was able to keep up with the increasing request for medical funds. Running a hospital was a very expensive business. British mission hospitals, at the time of their opening, carried out the policy of free service in order to attract patients, especially in the 19th century.¹⁰⁴ However, the policy of self-finance, which was formulated in the early 20th century, meant that there was no magic formula for mission hospitals to provide free treatment to all people. Besides, after the 1910s, Western medical work had already become an important integral part of China's social needs, and missions no longer needed to attract patients by means of free treatment. Despite this, they had not yet entirely lost their charitable nature and contributed to acknowledge its importance. But, after 1900, mission hospitals turned their attention to patients' fees, beginning to charge patients and even gradually to increase fees. But poor patients always received free treatment or ^{were} charged half fees; only those who could afford to pay were asked to do so and so helped to secure the self-funding of hospitals.¹⁰⁵ Their methods of fee charging was very flexible, completely according to the patient's financial ability. All mission hospitals in the 1920s made great efforts to lessen the financial burden on home missions. Many patients used to think mission hospitals a cheap place to live in and had no intention of paying, even a small fee, for treatment.¹⁰⁶ Although they were reluctant to pay, the system of charging medical fees gradually became stricter and stricter. The 1920s was a key period for Protestant medical missions in realising their strategic target of self-funding. Thus the roles of the medical fees, Chinese and foreign subscriptions and donations of mission hospitals in accelerating the course of this self-funding will be examined respectively.

¹⁰⁴See Juan Jen-tze and Gao Chen-nung, Shanghai tsung-chiao shih (Shanghai Religious History) (Shanghai, 1992).

¹⁰⁵LMS. South China, Incoming Letters, Box 24-1925, Micro. No.413.

¹⁰⁶CMS. M/Y CH4 1916-1920, M/Y CH4 1920, File 1, the letter from K.M. Andrews, Futsing, 28 Nov. 1919.

TABLE 2.6 SELF-FINANCE MEDICAL WORK OF MAJOR BRITISH MISSIONS IN THE 1920S¹⁰⁷

Missions /Time	Mission Funds	Medical Fees	Donation & Subscri.	Self-Finance	Total Income
LMS 1920	4.7% \$8,880	42.23% \$79,789	53% \$100,134	95.23% \$179,920	\$188,932
UFS 1920 (Tls.)	12.28% 3,103	10.25% 2,589	77.47% 19,576	87.72% 22,165	25,269
1924 (Tls.)	8.68% 5,403			91.32% 56,844	62,264
1929		71.26% \$13,710			\$19,24
WMS 1920	18.38% \$8,725	18.69% \$8,871	62.93% \$29,869	81.62% \$38,740	\$47,464
CIM 1920	1.8%	42.3%	36.8%	79.1%	-19% (Deficit)
1925	13.32% \$7,469	11.91% \$6,681	61.32% \$34,390	73.23% \$41,070	-13.5% \$56,083
1930		41.47%			
CMS 1920	7.75% \$8,230	7.9% \$8,385	64.6% \$68,566	72.5% \$76,954	\$106,140
FFMA 1920	55.9%	35.8%	3%	38.8%	-5.3%
1924	30% \$2,600			70% \$6,053	\$8,653
1930	25%			75%	
CSFM 1920	12.72% \$2,219	41.48% \$7,237	29% \$5,060	70.48% \$12,297	-16.8% \$17,448
PCI 1920	24.62% \$6,697	26.58% \$7,230	31.9% \$8,677	58.48% \$15,907	-16.9% \$27,201
EPM 1920	26%	20.6%	32%	52.6%	-21.4%
BMS 1920	49.4% \$4,222	44.3% \$3,788	1.1% \$94	45.4% \$3,882	\$8,542
SPG 1920	75.34% \$9,897	22% \$2,926	1.7% \$223	23.7% \$3,113	\$13,136
UMC 1920	6%	81.17%		81.17%	-12.8%

¹⁰⁷Chung-hua kui-chu, see medical statistics; N. Goodall, p.516; WMS. China, Box 504, South China District Meeting, June 1926: Statement on Devolution of Control to Chinese Church; see the reports of CIM for 1925 and 1929; UFS. AAC. 7548/D/35-39, File No.20, United Free Church of Scotland Manchuria Mission Council - Abstracts of Accounts for 1920 and Grants for 1921, pp.2-6; and Abstracts of Accounts for 1924 to Grants for 1925, pp.2-6; Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, Abstracts of Accounts 1929, p.28; FFMA. China Committee, Vol.6, 1923-1930, China Committee 1925, FSC/CH/4, Letters from Missionaries, E. Medical Statistics 1 Dec.1923 to 1 Dec.1924; Friends' Service Council, Draft Minutes of China Committee, on the Report of the Deputation to China and Japan, May 1930, see medical statistics.

Obviously, among these British missions in China, the LMS possessed the highest medical income in 1920, followed by the CMS and WMS. Also, half these missions were able to keep revenue and expenditure balanced apart from the PCI, CSFM, CIM and UCM; the FFMA had a small deficit; and EPM had a worse deficit.¹⁰⁸ Several factors affected the self-funding of their primary medical institutions. Firstly, medical fees played a vital role. Several medical missions had essentially achieved self-support by 1920, and local foreign and Chinese contributions and donations were the most important source of their income. However, the situation in the late 1920s had fundamentally changed, and medical fees now became the most important hospital income. For instance, the Hankow Men's Hospital in 1923 stated that three quarters of its income came from fees. In the LMS Tientsin hospitals the medical fees were 46.1% of its general receipts in 1922 but 70.42% in 1930.¹⁰⁹ In some urban hospitals even there was no evidence of funds from their home board at all.¹¹⁰ This had broken the routine procedure by which foreigner staff's salaries always came from their home boards. Even in up-country hospitals, medical fees in the late 1920s also increased. The CMS small Yunnanfu Hospital was reported to be running principally on patients' fees; and mission grants only covered a fraction of its cost. The financial statement of its Christ's Hospital at Chacang of Foochow showed that only 11.58% of its receipts came from mission block grants; 63% from fees; and 25% from subscriptions.¹¹¹ The degree of self-support in the FFMA Suining Hospital amounted to about 78% in 1929 and only 22% of its income came from the home board as block grants.¹¹² The general tendency was that mission hospitals were increasing fees in the 1920s, which became their major economic pillar.¹¹³

The second main source came from Chinese and foreign contributions. On the one hand, the amount of medical financial assistance available from the Chinese had enormously increased. Missionary medical work had obtained more Chinese support than other mission institutions in China. For instance, the new buildings of the CMS hospitals in Hsinghua, Sienyu and Ningpo were fully subscribed locally. Yungchun merchants subscribed a

¹⁰⁸Chung-hua kui-chu, p.1201.

¹⁰⁹LMS. Central China, Reports, Report for the Year 1923, the Hankow Men's Hospital; the London Mission Hospital, Tientsin, Statement of Account for the Year ending 31 Dec.1922; Mackenzie Memorial Hospital, Tientsin, report for 1930.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹CMS. M/Y CH4 1931, File 1, M. Baldwin to D. Cook, Sec. of Medical Committee of CMS, 28 Jan.1931.

¹¹²FFMA. China Committee 1927, Correspondence, Friends' Service Council and American Friends Service Committee, "Report of the Joint Deputation Sent to China and Japan in the Winter of 1929-30," II. West China, p.10.

¹¹³My interviews with Drs. Faulkners and Garven.

considerable amount to meet the increased cost of drugs and the purchase of more land for the EPM hospital. The Jenkins and Robertson Memorial Hospital, Sianfu, had been able to derive the bulk of its running expenses from local sources.¹¹⁴ The contributions of the Shantung Road Hospital from foreigners in 1922 were \$13,546, but the total from Chinese \$21,204. The recognition of Western medical superiority by influential Chinese opinion meant that not only did the Chinese wealthier class supply considerable help for these medical enterprises but also substantial sums of money came from Chinese local governments and Chinese officials.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, there was a new financial source in the hospitals in the coastal provinces. The British hospitals in Fukien and Kwangtung had secured large contributions from the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia.¹¹⁶ With the enlarging of the influence of mission hospitals and their increased reputation, this had become a new and important financial source of medical work since the 1910s.

On the other hand, foreigners both in China and abroad were also important sponsors of mission hospitals. Everard Fraser on Feb. 7th, 1920 presided over a public meeting in Shanghai. It convened for the support of British medical missions in China and urged the British residents in China to assume financial responsibility for these hospitals.¹¹⁷ Their valuable help was seen in many places. In 1922 the British Chambers of Commerce first distributed their grants to major British mission hospitals. For example, they contributed the sum of Shanghai \$2,735 (i.e. Amoy currency \$3,721.09) to each EPM hospital¹¹⁸ while granting \$1,941 to the UFS hospitals in Manchuria.¹¹⁹ Lord Maclay gave £10,000 for the new buildings of the CMS Hangchow Hospital which was thus able to go forward with its full blueprint. The contributions of the PCI Kuanchengtse Hospital were generously made by Mr. Gale of the Salt Administrative Bureau, the British Chambers of Commerce, the Red Cross.¹²⁰ In 1921 when the LMS Hankow Men's Hospital faced serious financial problems, H. Feary Garner, Chairman of the China Association, of Hongkong & Shanghai Bank and Vice-Chairman of the Chambers of Commerce and Mr. Kent, agent of Butterfield & Swires and

¹¹⁴BMS. Annual Reports of BMS 1924 & 1925.

¹¹⁵BMS. Annual Report of BMS 1924, p.97; China's Millions 1922, p.123; Wuchang Men's Hospital, Report for Year ending 31 Dec.1921, from LMS.

¹¹⁶Band, The History of the EPM, p.407.

¹¹⁷LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 22-1920, see Dr.S.G. Peill's letter 18 Feb.1920 from Tsangchow.

¹¹⁸EPM. Overseas, General Correspondence, South Fukien, Amoy, Minutes & Letters, Reports 1922, Box 11, File 2, Amoy Council Minutes July 1922.

¹¹⁹UFS. Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee May 1920 to Apr.1924.

¹²⁰PCI. Reports of General Assembly, 1924, Foreign Mission, p.11.

Chairman of the British Chambers of Commerce promised more money.¹²¹ In 1923 approximately half the income of the LMS hospitals in Hongkong came from foreigners' donation.¹²² In the Shantung Road Hospital three quarters of its subscriptions and donations in 1921 came from foreigners. In addition, almost all mission hospitals recorded the names of special donors for the Endowment of Beds. These special sums of money were used to help particularly the poorest inpatients in mission hospitals.¹²³ The foreign contributions to mission hospitals greatly accelerated the process of their self-funding.

Thus, the goal of mission hospital self-finance in the 1920s had been largely achieved, partly through increasing medical fees and partly through native and foreign donations. This was achieved earliest in urban hospitals in the mid-1920s and also became possible for up-country ones about in 1930. The majority of British mission home boards, generally speaking, only retained the responsibility for the permanent foreign staff's salaries and a limited part of building funds of mission up-country hospitals. The mission medical grants became less and less. The general tendency of the SPG, FFMA and BMS definitely developed towards self-funding hospitals in the 1920s, though their speed was slower than the others'. According to W.G. Lennox's statistics, the medical grants by Protestant mission boards formed 17% of the total receipts for 1930's expenses of hospitals. This amount from mission boards was very small as compared with the proportion contributed for the support of evangelistic and educational work.¹²⁴ Meanwhile, the total foreign money accounted for 25% of hospital income.¹²⁵ Thus mission medical work obtained more Chinese support than any other missionary enterprises; the Chinese people themselves during the 1920s had assumed more financial responsibility for caring for their own fellow-citizens. Relatively, mission medical work had much less financial difficulties than their educational work, as they to a much larger degree obtained self-funding in the former than that in the latter. But their educational work still mainly relied on mission funds in the 1920s.

Looking back at the ten years' work, most mission hospitals had been able to keep their heads above water and depended on their own endeavours to wipe out adverse balances. It was a fact that they had large deficits from time to time, due to the duration of numerous wars and the consequent increased cost of drugs, equipment, labour, and food. British missions

¹²¹Report on A.C. Secretary's Visit to Central China, by C.G. Sparham, 23 Dec. 1919, LMS, C. China, Incoming Letters, Box 31-1920.

¹²²LMS. South China, Reports, Box 5-1923, Micro. No.548, see Report of the Alice Memorial & affiliated Hospitals, Hongkong, for the year 1923.

¹²³See the reports of mission hospitals in these years.

¹²⁴O.A. Petty ed., Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, Fact-Finders' Reports, China, Vol. V (New York & London, 1933), pp.481, 482.

¹²⁵Ibid.

faced considerable difficulties. However, in the 1920s the mission primary medical work achieved self-funding and ultimately escaped a thousand snares. This was the only way and provided the important guarantee for permanent progress and steady development of mission primary medical work. This self-funding principle was adopted by only a few mission hospitals in the early 1920s, but the majority of them essentially achieved self-funding in the late 1920s. Mission urban hospitals were able to achieve this principle on a much larger scale than their up-country hospitals. This was one of the greatest achievements made by the medical missions in the 1920s. Meanwhile, the medical self-supporting policy directly led to the commercialization of mission primary medical work, for fees became the most important hospital income. The fully charitable small mission hospitals in the early years neither met an increasing demand of Chinese society for modern medical care nor set up their real modernization foundation on a large scale. Thus, hospital commercialization provided the only possible solution for mission hospitals to continue their existence. A force with amazing potential for good would be seen in China. Thus, the commercialization of mission primary medical work was also one of the major features.

4. Towards the Transfer of Control

In the 1920s there was an equally noticeable advance in the strategy of transferring control of mission hospital administration and religious work partly from these medical missions to their regular subscribers in China and Chinese churches and partly from mission home boards to their medical mission committees in China. The results greatly advanced the later medical work. This was a direct outcome of the policy of self-funding, already initiated in the 1900s. It was a kind of unconscious medical devolution growing out of the process of raising funds for hospitals. However, in the 1920s medical devolution had become a conscious action of missions. Although no clear-cut and definite policy had been devised before 1920, the earlier changes laid the foundation for the qualitative change of the 1920s. Unlike educational devolution (see chapter 4), medical devolution proceeded in an orderly and gradual way; it was an action completely initiated by the missions themselves.

The LMS first laid down its policy - "Devolution of Control of Mission Hospitals" in 1920 ahead of the CMMA. At this time, the devolution of responsibility in the matter of mission medicine did not yet seem very clear, and there was no uniform action among the whole of Christian community, though, by 1920, many British-American medical institutions had more or less started the transfer of control in line with their respective mission policies. However, the CMMA did not formulate a specific policy of medical devolution until 1923. Medical missionary individuals and all local medical missions clearly recognized something of the magnitude of their opportunities and responsibilities. Increasing efficiency was the starting

point of this policy.¹²⁶ Thus, the transfer of control became a fixed and uniform goal of medical missions after 1923. Due to medical missionaries' special professional training, if for no other reason, the medical devolution policy acquired its own specific features.

At first, in some areas, hospital administration was transferred to major regular subscribers. In the early 1920s the firms which subscribed to the hospitals regarded their subscriptions as charity and a favour on their part. However, later medical missionaries in these hospitals thought that this income was very unpredictable. For the sake of setting up a much sounder basis for their annual receipts, these hospitals suggested that firms arrange for medical insurance for their employees at a cheaper rate, so mission hospitals gained more steady financial support through this way. Hospital leaders endeavoured to make more straight and frequent personal contacts with the heads of these firms which used their hospitals, and this made non-professional devolution possible sooner. On the one hand, by the mid-1920s the working arrangements in urban mission hospitals had first been carried out on a cooperative basis between the missions and local subscribers. A similar system had subsequently been carried into the work of their up-country hospitals, who gradually adopted the former's experiences. The hospital committees comprised partly foreigners or partly Chinese, who were hospital regular subscribers and major members of hospital trustees, had taken over the hospital administration from the medical missions and accepted responsibility for current expenses and future extension. Major hospital contributors gained the right to speak on the administrative matters for mission hospitals. This policy greatly promoted the development of mission primary medical institutions.

On the other hand, these Chinese and foreign merchants as well as other foreigners in China also depended on these mission hospitals largely, because which provided the necessary guarantee for the health of both themselves and their employees. Admittedly, there had existed the special relations between mission hospitals and their contributors since the early 20th Century. These hospitals provided their regular subscribers with many privileges and favourable services,¹²⁷ so the special relationship between these hospitals and their main subscribers was an interdependent one.

Mission hospitals also encouraged local Chinese communities to have a share in hospital administrative work, for there was in certain districts a growing desire on the part of the Chinese community itself to assume the responsibility for supporting and developing medical missionary work. As early as 1923, Cheeloo hospital had done much to strengthen local Chinese

¹²⁶LMS. Central China, Box 34-1923 (April-June), Folder 2, Medical Mission Policy (the CMMA).

¹²⁷See Copy of Letter to the Local Press, Dec.17, 1925, by the Executive Committee of the Hospital, from the report of the hospital, 1925, from LMS.

interest and support.¹²⁸ In 1926 the CMA Missionary Division believed that the time had come when definite steps ought to be taken to commit the direction and control of mission hospitals to the Chinese community, as soon as it was ready and able to assume such responsibility. It suggested the following as a general plan for such development:

"1. Each provincial Church Synod or similar body should appoint a General Medical Board to exercise general supervision of the work of mission hospitals in its territory. 2. Each hospital should be under the control of a Board of Directors, which should be thoroughly representative of the churches of the district as well as of the local Chinese community. 3. The duties of this Board of Directors should be to maintain and develop the work of the hospital, and to appoint the hospital superintendent."¹²⁹

In pursuance of this definite policy, the control of the large city hospitals were transferred to boards of management which had assumed administrative responsibility for the running expenses. The representatives of the Chinese community were thus elected on to local Board of Directors and take part in the management of mission hospitals. For example, in 1927 the members of the CMS Ningpo Hospital Council included the local Chinese community representatives. Its council had general administrative and financial management of the hospital.¹³⁰ Mission hospitals were becoming increasingly integrated into the social system of the districts in which they were situated.

Secondly, besides administrative work, part control of appointments were also transferred to these special committees' control. The committee of the LMS Hongkong hospitals in 1922 decided that the LMS should appoint and support only the superintendent and matron. The other foreign and Chinese professional staff were appointed by the Medical Superintendent in cooperation with this committee. But administrative staff were completely appointed by the latter.¹³¹ Many other mission hospitals adopted a similar measure. Thus, except hospital administrative work, these special committees also controlled part of staff appointments.

In the third place, the Chinese Church had undertaken the responsibility for evangelistic work. Before 1920, foreign missions retained the power of carrying on their religious work in these hospitals. However, in the 1920s the posts of Bible men or women in mission hospitals were usually maintained by Chinese churches. More and more mission hospitals made such an effort so as to secure similar cooperation with Chinese Christians and philanthropists. Evidence for this can be found in the programme of the BMS Shantung Mission Conference in 1924. It aimed to

¹²⁸BMS. The Herald of the BMS 1923 (London, 1923), p.121.

¹²⁹"Minutes of the Council of the Missionary Division", CMJ (June 1926).

¹³⁰CMS. G1 CH2/O 1927, No.41.

¹³¹See the hospital report in 1922.

concentrate on having Chinese hospital evangelists with close cooperation between its hospitals and the Chinese Church.¹³² In 1929 the CMS Fukien Medical Committee passed the resolution that the Chinese Church assume responsibility for all catechists and Bible women working in mission hospitals.¹³³ Thus, by the late 1920s the majority of the positions of evangelistic workers in mission hospitals had been taken over by Chinese churches.

Roughly speaking, the transfer of mission primary medical work was limited to financial, administrative, business affairs, part control of appointments as well as evangelistic work in connection with mission hospitals. Such non-professional hospital work entirely owned and governed by mission bodies now became definitely the responsibility of local communities. However, such control did not include the professional service of mission hospitals which was still the responsibility of the medical staff. At this point medical devolution differed from the educational devolution which became completely Chinese controlled. However, the missions had implemented different policies of medical devolution between their urban and up-country hospitals. Mainly due to a serious shortage of foreign medical staff and the policy of medical concentration, in the late 1920s medical professional work in some mission up-country hospitals were handed over to capable mission-trained Chinese doctors. They had become attached to the hospitals for years and were thought able to carry out such work. These small hospitals entered a new beginning under Chinese leadership.¹³⁴ But medical missionaries still held the medical professional positions in those key centres. Thus, the devolution in up-country institutions had gone much farther than that in urban ones, touching both on non-professional and professional work. Through exercising this function, missions had already aroused Chinese Christian enthusiasm and brought every native positive factor into play. However, medical work in mission urban hospitals was the last sphere to be devolved to the Chinese taking place only with missionaries' entire withdrawal in the late 1940s. In these ways the pattern of the medical devolution in urban and up-country hospitals remained thus distinctive.

Generally, medical devolution was a wise and timely action on the part of missions. Before the 1920s most medical staff often had to carry a overheavy burden of medical, administrative, and religious responsibilities at the same time. After medical devolution, special persons assumed special responsibilities, so that medical professional staff had been free from the daily chores, non-professional administrative and religious affairs of all

¹³²R. Fletcher Moorshead, "Heal the Sick" - the Story of the Medical Mission Auxiliary of the Baptist Missionary Society (London, 1929), p.151.

¹³³Hewitt, p.261.

¹³⁴The Herald of the BMS 1929 (London, 1929), p.110.

sorts. All of these were increasingly moved from doctors and nurses on to cooperative committees. The clear-cut division between the medical professional and non-professional work had largely increased efficiency and quality. To a great extent it had buffered the problem of long-term lack of medical staff. Medical staff could concentrate their time and energies on professional work but gave up their non-professional duties of their own free will. But a missionary spirit and professional efficiency were maintained.

In addition, the new mission hospital consultative or advisory committees in the 1920s were largely drawn from local gentry, officials, merchants, Chinese church members and hospital staff. By possessing such a committee each mission hospital had become more integrated with the local community, which created a deeper interest in its work and greatly adding to its strength. Its needs were better understood, its appeals for support were strengthened, and its work and welfare were promoted and extended. This policy mobilized the enthusiasm of their subscribers, local Chinese communities and Chinese churches, because their position had greatly changed, and they now became hospital managers from being only onlookers and helpers in the former years. All the members of hospital committees, whether Chinese or foreigners, had a true sense of ownership, hence mission hospital work was integrated into the social system in the 1920s. The sense of direct participation and responsibility for mission hospital administration and religious work further impelled them to link their own future with hospital developments and give more care and attention to mission hospital work. This policy was undoubtedly beneficial to mission hospitals in helping resolve, in particular, their imminent financial problems and carrying on their self-funding policy. Thus funds were raised and large rebuilding schemes were planned in the 1920s. British mission home boards only accepted minimum financial responsibility, but these local hospital committees made an advance far beyond what had been possible and had the full responsibility for management and finance previously retained by home missions. Mission funds had not been required for the development of urban hospitals. The smaller hospitals were allocated minimum mission grants for the improvement in equipment or buildings. Meanwhile, mission hospitals invited local Chinese churches to bear evangelistic tasks also helped stress their important leading role in local religious matters. The devolution in mission hospitals led to the close cooperation and definite division in work which had satisfied each participant side.

Furthermore, an interesting comparison between mission medical and educational devolution is necessary. Above all, educational devolution was much more rapid and radical and went much farther than the medical one. Although individual Chinese Nationalists claimed: "The hospitals were built for the Chinese, they must therefore be given back to us,"¹³⁵ the conditions

¹³⁵Report for 1926-1927, by E. Hope Bell, IMS, Central China, Reports, Box 10-1927.

of all-round devolution were not ripe yet. The majority of British medical committees or auxiliaries were fully in accord with the suggestions of the CMA in regard to devolution of the control of mission hospitals to the Chinese Church whenever and wherever it was ready and able to assume such responsibility. However, in the 1920s the involvement of the Chinese Church in mission hospital work had been confined to only evangelistic work; "the Chinese Church is still terribly lacking in its sense of duty in medical mission work."¹³⁶ The medical work had not yet been regarded as integral to the life of local Chinese churches or dioceses. In the 1920s mission-trained Chinese medical staff themselves did not prepare independently to carry the burden of responsibility either. Even Government had also to a large extent been relying on medical missionaries' help before 1949. The time had not yet come when the presence of the medical missionaries was a hindrance rather than a help. Apparently, a policy of complete transfer both of non-professional and professional control was quite impracticable in the late 1920s.

Also, principally, in both medical and educational work missions first transferred the control of smaller enterprises in a basic standard to local Chinese churches and local communities. Only the most expensive institutions - the large boarding-schools and hospitals - remained entirely under mission control.¹³⁷ Devolving both types of small enterprises was on the missions' own initiation rather than a compulsory action. Moreover, by the mid-1920s mission elementary schools had completed their devolution to Chinese churches, but the work of transferring small hospitals to the hands of mission-trained doctors and Chinese churches had just begun in the late 1920s. In the process of educational devolution, both its administrative and teaching leadership in all institutions had essentially been transferred to Chinese control by the early 1930s. But devolving professional work in large mission hospitals to Chinese doctors did not come until missionaries' entire withdrawal in the late 1940s. Thus, the devolution in the two fields was not synchronized with each other. Despite this, both had pushed the Chinese increasingly to recognize the importance of their Christian duties and to assume more responsibility. It had laid a foundation for later complete devolution.

Though medical devolution was limited in the 1920s, the changes in mission policy revealed a new shift of emphasis. Instead of foreign missionaries being the centre of Chinese activities, the new stress was laid on the training of Chinese leaders. Medical missionaries were working in the most sympathetic and close cooperation with their Chinese colleagues so as to help them in every way to consolidate the work of the past and to be qualified successors in near future. Thus, medical missionaries's role

¹³⁶WMS. China, Box 504, South China District Missionaries' Meeting, June 1926: Statement on Devolution of Control to the Chinese Church.

¹³⁷See Bishop Hind's report in 1925, South China, CMS.

as helper, teacher and advisor became more conspicuous than ever before. In medical devolution, between Chinese, foreigners and Western medical missions, a sense of partnership in mission medical services was increasingly developing.

Apart from the first aspect of medical devolution from foreign missions to local communities, the second aspect of transferring medical control should not be omitted here. Through medical devolution the British medical missions in China become further independent from their home boards and obtained more autonomy in conducting their own medical work in China. The devolution of the first aspect - transferring the hospital administrative and religious work - had consolidated their position of self-funding. Many urban hospitals had completely or nearly reached the target of economic independence, and the dependence of up-country hospitals on their home boards in finance tended to be increasingly less and less. Meanwhile, home missions no longer control led the choice of all appointments in these hospitals but superintendents and matrons. This meant that the degree of remote control by these mission home boards gradually decreased, with more and more of their former responsibilities taken over by their medical missions in China. In fact, the first aspect of medical devolution directly accelerated the second one.

The significance of medical devolution during the 1920s was profound. This well-considered medical policy and strategy resulted in more accomplishments in direct mission medical care than previously; it was one of the secrets of operating these effective primary medical institutions. Medical devolution thus brought a most important transformation in mission primary medical work, which in this process was brought more up to date both in its professional services and administrative management. Thus the 1920s' medical devolution in mission hospitals was essentially successful. Therefore, the conclusion can be drawn here that after the devolution, mission primary medical work was not weakened, but was, as an essential part of the Christian message, strengthened.

5. Summary

In primary medical work, each British medical mission had its own characteristics. The LMS was a pioneer in almost all branches of medical work among the whole of Protestant community in China. In 1920, of Protestant missions in China, the CMS and LMS had the second and third largest number of male inpatients; the LMS had the third largest number of female inpatients; both took the first and third places in the figure of children inpatients; the LMS, EPM, and CIM possessed the highest records of the operations with general anaesthesia, and LMS also was in the third position of operations with local anaesthesia.¹³⁸ Among Protestant missions, American PN, MEFB, British CMS and LMS showed the largest number of

¹³⁸Ibid., p.1199.

hospitals and hospital beds in the early 1920s' missionary survey; they made the greatest contributions to transplanting Western medicine into China.¹³⁹ The proportion of medical services in the CIM's overall working arrangements was obviously very small.¹⁴⁰ Both British and American Presbyterian missions paid the greatest attention to their medical services, possessing the largest numbers of hospitals, outpatients, inpatients and operations among all denominations. Generally, the CMS, LMS, WMMS, EPM, UFS, PCI, EMS, SPG and UMC placed overwhelming stress on medical work on account of their strong social gospel inclination. To these British missions medical work was the key means and first focus through which they wanted to transform Chinese society.

¹³⁹See CIM report for 1920; China's Millions 1922, p.102.

¹⁴⁰CIM report for 1922, p.40; and report for 1929, pp.56, 38.

TABLE 2.7 A COMPARISON OF BRITISH & AMERICAN MISSIONARY MEDICAL ENTERPRISES¹⁴¹

Nations/ Years	British Missions	American Missions	Other European Missions	Total
1876 Hospitals Dispens.				16 24
1889 Hospitals	28	32	1	61
1905 Hospitals Dispens.	90 167	70 67	4 7	164 241
1911 Hospitals				170
1914 Hospitals				224
1920 Hospitals	160	152	21	326
1930 Hospitals				340
1935 Hospitals	146	119	?	?

In 1905, British missions held the absolute dominant place in primary medical work with almost 55% of the mission hospitals and 70% dispensaries. They had been emphasizing medical work since the mid-1910s, indicating that the initial stage of their medical work in China had passed. In 1920 they had 49% of the Protestant mission hospitals (One inaccurate figure was provided by the CCC in the same year, namely the number of all British mission hospitals was 143, about 44% of the whole mission hospitals). As compared to 152 American ones (47% or so).¹⁴² Thus, the total number of hospitals run by American missions was actually similar to that of British

¹⁴¹Chung-hua kui-chu, pp.665, 1198; Appendix II; IMS, Central China, Incoming Letters, Box 34-1923, see the letter from H. Fowler, Shanghai, 6 Apr.1923, Medical Mission Policy; Choa, p.220; CBMS, London, Asian Committee, E/T China, FB19, Box 409, No.12; the medical investigation of the Rockefeller Foundation in China in 1914; "the Christian Church Hospitals and Imperialist Aggression," by Ku Hsin-yuan, Jen-min pao-chien (People's Health Care) (Peking, 1960) (1960:11); Chao Hung-chun's book; main British mission archives.

¹⁴²Chung-hua kui-chu, p.713.

societies.¹⁴³ British missions still maintained more dispensaries located at centres away from mission hospitals. During the 1920s, 192 British mission hospitals and 27 special medical homes had ever existed (see Appendix II). Americans accounted for a large proportion of the increase: in 1905 45% of Protestant missionaries in China were British, and 35% from the USA; by 1922 only 18% (about 1,200) were British, but 51% (3,315) were now American.¹⁴⁴ The general number of American missionaries in China was almost 2,000 more than British missionaries, but the figure of American medical missionaries was very similar to British one, and just a little bit more than the latter. As far as the general numbers of mission hospitals, hospital beds and inpatients were concerned, they were roughly equal to each other. However, British medical missions had been having the majority of mission dispensaries. Thus, medical work was the first emphasis in the whole of British mission work in China and there was a larger proportion of British missionaries engaged in medical work than American. But American societies had bigger percentage of their missionaries who engaged in educational work than British one. Their first working focuses were different from each other, though the general working styles of most British and American missions were very similar.

A glance at the mission medical working map makes it evident that the majority of the mission hospitals in Anhui, Hunan, Chiangsi, Shantung were mainly under American medical supervision, among which Anhui should be included under developing areas in mission medical work. (Canadian missions mainly concentrated their efforts on Szechwan and Honan.) British missions were essentially able to have an equal share with American missions in Chechiang, Chiangsu, Kweichow, Shansi. However, British societies kept their medical superiorities in 11 provinces: Heilungchiang, Kirin, Fengtien, Chihli, Kansu, Shensi, Fukien, Formosa, Hupeh, Yunnan and Kwangsi. British hospitals stretched into 21 provinces and their dispensaries into 23 provinces, whereas the Americans had only reached one third of China's land area. British medical dominance was geographically greater than American.¹⁴⁵ British missions set up more medical stations in the most backward and inland areas, where the medical demand was greatest.

Though the number of mission hospitals decreased in the mid-1930s in contrast to that in the 1920s,¹⁴⁶ this did not represent the decline of

¹⁴³Ibid.; W.E. Soothill, China and England (London, 1928).

¹⁴⁴Statistics drawn from K.S. Latourette, pp.606, 675, 680, 768, 773; 1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China.

¹⁴⁵China's Millions 1921, p.83; FFMA, China Committee, 11/VIII/1920 (2); H.P. Thompson, pp.677, 680.

¹⁴⁶The figures both of British and American medical work given by the CMA was certainly lower than the actual ones. See the statistics of mission medical work in 1935 from CBMS, London, Asia Committee, E/T China, FBN 19, Box 409, No.12; the medical working records of main British mission archives. I estimate that the actual number of American mission hospitals should have been over 111 by 1935 which is obtained chiefly according to the figure provided by the statistic materials of CBMS.

mission primary medical work. In some regions the opening up of communications by excellent roads and bus services had linked up distant towns and villages, so that it was no longer necessary to maintain some hospitals as isolated independent units. In order to avoid the medical duplication and increase efficiency, the policy of medical concentration resulted in the decrease in the number of mission hospitals in the 1930s. Those mission hospitals which did not have the possibility of being efficient were closed down while others were united to become really efficient institutions. In addition, the general social mood in China had changed a great deal. Many old social habits and customs were broken, female nurses might freely enter into male wards; and women patients would rather see male doctors than female doctors, especially in those large cities. Such changes were seen in the combination of many men's and women's hospitals in the same stations after the late 1920s. It was not only efficiency that would be so secured but it would also make for economy. Efficiency was always the best economy.

British missions had already thrown the greatest manpower, material and financial sources into China among the overall strategic arrangement of their overseas medical work. For example, there were more BMS hospitals and medical missionaries in China than those in India and Congo.¹⁴⁷ The cases of other British missions were very similar to the BMS's.

TABLE 2.8 THE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEDICAL ENTERPRISES RUN BY PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN THE WORLD (1935-36)¹⁴⁸

Regions	Doctors	Nurses	Hosps.	Beds	Clinical Institutions
Asia	1,247	9,363	676	45,320	1,284
Africa	24	1,025	249	11,015	331
Australia	38	2,368	149	11,382	288
Latin America	37	325	17	807	37
Balkan	8	9	1	90	11
Total	1,354	13,090	1,092	68,614	2,351

In the context of global missionary work, medicine in China assumed a special importance, indicated by comparisons with other continents. In 1932 China had 53% of the mission hospital beds, and 48% of the missionary

¹⁴⁷BMS. Annual Medical Reports, 1915-16; 1922-23; 1924-25; 1927-28.

¹⁴⁸Chao Hung-chun, p.38.

doctors in the world.¹⁴⁹ Table 2.8 shows that in the year of 1935-36 half of mission primary medical causes in the world were in Asia. Yet half of these in Asia were established in China (where there were 662 doctors, 5,829 nurses, 308 hospitals, 21,658 beds, and 620 clinics).¹⁵⁰ Meanwhile, the medical working statistics of missions overseas had revealed that they had the largest figure of primary medical enterprises, both dispensaries and hospitals in China.

Primary medical services provided by the Protestant missions in the 1920s made tremendous progress. Medical missionaries had tried their best to make their quality of provision as close to that in the West as possible. Thus, this decade was a vital period for Western-style medical care to develop towards modernization. These medical missionaries had a great share with traditional Chinese doctors in looking after Chinese people's health. Meanwhile, they had filled the gap of Western-style healing work in China and settled many difficult cases usually felt quite helpless by traditional Chinese doctors. All the above achievements should be attributed to the careful policies and permanent measures adopted by the Church in the 1920s, considerably developing their work beyond that seen before 1914.

¹⁴⁹W.G. Lennox's paper in CMJ, Vol.46 (1932).

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

CHAPTER 3: MEDICAL SERVICES (2)

II. MEDICAL EDUCATION

Missionaries were real pioneers of Western medical education in China.¹ In the last century some medical missionaries trained Chinese medical assistants inside mission hospitals so as to meet their own immediate needs, but there was no permanent training centre. The expansion of medical work in the 20th century set two main challenges for the missionary movement, firstly to pace with modern standards, but secondly and to some extent more urgently, to provide more qualified staff. However, it was almost impossible for home missions to double their medical staff in China. The situation became even more acute as a result of World War I and was further aggravated by the famine in the early 1920s, with its abundant epidemics of cholera, typhoid, and influenza. "Never was there a time in China when medical missions were so much needed and medical training so much in demand."² With the dearth of medical missionaries and the growing demands for medical services, the importance of medical educational work in China was overwhelming in magnitude.

Medical education was also commonly called remedical work by medical missionaries, i.e. training their successors. Already, the CMMA in the 1910s predicted this tremendous need and put medical education as its first priority. In 1913 the CMMA firmly declared that foreign physicians had no permanent place in China and that if the Church was to have lasting influence, medical education of the Chinese themselves had to be emphasized.³ Subsequently, the Council on Medical Education of the CMMA was formed in 1915 and was in charge of the task of raising the educational standard in mission medical schools. The newly systematic training strategy was formulated, embracing a broader perspective compared with the methods of the previous century. In the 1920s medical education, above all, the training their Chinese successors was regarded as the principal project of mission medical work. Therefore, unlike primary medical work, mission funds and the Rockefeller Foundations were its most important financial mainstay.⁴ In this way Protestant missions laid the permanent foundation of modern medical education for China.

¹China's earliest government medical education was run in close connection with two British medical missionaries. Tung Wen Kuan (a foreign language school) in Peking was founded 1862 directly under the control of Tsungli Yamen (China's Foreign Office). Dr.J. Dudgeon became its first Western medical teacher. The School for Military Surgery (the first Western medical school in China) was established by Li Hung-chang in Tientsin in 1880 and Dr.J.K. Mackenzie was invited to train Chinese students.

²CMS. M/Y CH2, Chekiang 22, D. Main's letter on 2 July 1920.

³Resolution of the CMMA, Jan.1913, in Chinese Recorder, Vol. 44, p.595.

⁴In the 1920s the tuition fees never accounted for the main sources in the income of all union medical colleges. See their annual reports in these years.

1. Higher Education

Higher educational work in medical colleges included both training Chinese doctors and medical research and literary work.

(1) Training Chinese Doctors

In the 19th century the main method of training Chinese medical assistants was that some missionary doctors took in a small band of young men and trained them inside their hospitals by the apprenticeship approach, and the number of trained Chinese was very limited. This way was found inadequate in the 20th century. Thus most of the regular missionary medical colleges arose around 1910, for the sake of efficiency and economy of resources, in China the larger missions of United States, Great Britain and Canada combined to build up 5 such institutions with hospitals attached where a first-class medical training was given. These joint centres were in Peking (2), Tsinan, Foochow, Chengtu. Meanwhile, British missions had their own 3 colleges in Moukden, Hangchow and Hongkong. The essential strategy of mission higher medical education in the 1920s was that missions endeavoured mainly to strengthen the existing schools. They aimed at much better schools so as to perfect medical education and provide stricter training for Chinese medical students. Educational methods were now more far-sighted, giving more consideration to meeting the long-term interests of medical work in China.

(a) THE PEKING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE (PUMC). The most important of these medical schools in the 1920s was the PUMC. In 1861 Dr. William Lockhart of the LMS founded the medical work in Peking, which in the late 19th century grew into the best hospital with a small medical school in North China due to a large amount of investment of the LMS for many years. This in turn formed the foundation of the splendid PUMC and its teaching hospital. The North China Education Union (founded by the joint forces of the LMS and the ABCFM in around 1901) was the initiator and organizer for the establishment of the PUMC. Thomas Cochrane became the founding dean of this college. In 1904 the LMS, ABCFM, MEFB and PN re-built it.⁵ The China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation (CMB) took over this college in 1915. The PUMC then ceased to be a church-run institution. However, ties with missions still remained, for its board of trustees comprised 7 from the CMB and 6 missionary representatives. Its standard was based on that of the leading American medical schools. Its physical plant valued at US\$7,000,000 was erected in the early 1920s. 16 buildings in architecture characteristic of the best in Chinese classic and sacred style with high modern scientific standards, housed the laboratories, hospital wards, and auxiliary structures of the institution proper. It became one of the best-equipped medical colleges in the world. In 1929 it registered with

⁵Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao shih-kang, p.326.

Government.⁶ It meant that the important appointments would be controlled by the Trustees where Chinese constituted the majority. But its chief medical work was still mainly in the hands of foreign staff.

The PUMC had the foreign medical staff of highest calibre in China because its aim was to secure as far as possible the services of the best trained Chinese. By 1921 its rapidly-growing faculty and administration totalled 123 foreigners and 23 Chinese,⁷ all of whom had been trained abroad. There were 3 divisions in the PUMC - the Medical School, the School of Nursing, and its Clinical Hospital. The period of study in its medical school was 5 years, according to the new system of Educational Commission of the government, 4 years's clinical courses and one year of internship. The scope of the PUMC's studies included 3 fields so as to provide the best medical training for China, (a) an undergraduate medical curriculum, (b) post-graduate training for laboratory workers, teachers and clinical specialists, (c) refresher courses for the foreign and Chinese doctors who wished to catch up on recent developments in Western medicine.⁸ Its pre-medical department was located in Yenching, and its undergraduates in the first 3 years had to accept complete science training in Yenching, which laid a very sound foundation for their later medical courses. Thus, the PUMC graduates could obtain both B.Sc. and medical degrees and maintained its high academic standard. But the number of its undergraduates were much fewer than its post-graduates'. Thus it was actually the most important basis for training medical college teachers and medical administrative leaders as well as medical research workers for China. It was a training centre for fostering medical specialists in particular branches rather than general practitioners. Hence, the students here were mainly trained to be M.D. but not M.B. As a result of its equipment and high academic standards, the PUMC was universally acclaimed to be the most elaborate and best institution, not merely in China but also in the whole of Asia. The work in the college and its teaching hospital was able to compete with any in the West.⁹

Its place was very special. Traditionally, the PUMC has been criticized for having divorced and isolated itself from the realities of Chinese society - meeting the urgent needs for more general medical talents - but over-pursuing higher academic standards; it had not paid attention to the need of most Chinese people, particularly the demands in vast rural

⁶LMS. North China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 27-1929, see PUMC's documents enclosed in the letter from Alberta Washington, Peking, 2 Dec.1929.

⁷A PUMC's weekly bulletin in 1922 revealed: This college had 137 staff who represented 12 nationalities. Among the staff, 21 British representatives came from University of Aberdeen; University of Dublin, Hangchow Medical College, University of London, University of Cambridge, the PUMC and Cheeloo.

⁸J.G. Lutz, China and the Christian Colleges 1850-1950, pp.146-48.

⁹Ibid., p.147.

areas.¹⁰ This criticism is neither fair nor accurate. At first, the PUMC had laid a complete foundation for medical research work. For instance, it took on heavy responsibilities for public health much earlier than other medical colleges. It assumed the bulk of the basic research work, especially about main epidemics, incurable and common diseases in China, which had been long neglected by China. Its research work tackled the most practical social problems and was thus directly profitable to Chinese society, especially the vast rural areas. The PUMC had been functioning as the sole medical research centre in China before the establishment of the Lester medical research institute in Shanghai in 1927.

Second, the PUMC held identical views with the CMMA. Its starting point was to prepare for transferring medical leadership and administration as well as research to the Chinese doctors in the near future. Special training was imperative to bring out native management talents. This plan had been placed high on its agenda in developing Western medical enterprises in China. By 1922 it had trained 106 graduates since 1911. Among them, 40 worked in government hospitals, 37 in mission hospitals, 11 in private hospitals; 4 were post graduate students; with the occupation of 6 unknown.¹¹ Among 56 graduates between 1924-29, 10 were in administrative posts as hospital superintendents and 21 on the staff of medical schools. Between 1924 and 1934, 95% of 141 graduates were engaged in teaching, doing research and as hospital staff, with only 7 in private practice.¹² By 1936, 166 persons had received M.D. degrees.¹³ Indeed, its graduate body was small on account of its emphasis on quality rather than quantity. There were many clear-cut differences between the PUMC and other mission medical colleges. However, its training scope was by no means confined to these figures, for outside its regular training courses, there had already had been over 900 other physicians and nurses as well as technical personnel registered for graduate or special short-term courses and work here between 1921 and 1933.¹⁴ It was an ideal place for advanced studies. Foreign doctors and nurses might pursue equally advanced "refresher" courses to compare with those in the West, so many of them accepted special training for very modern and new medical subjects here in a more economical way than by further studies in their home countries.¹⁵

¹⁰Wong K. Chimin & Wu Lien-teh, pp.682-683; James C. Thompson, Jr., While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937 (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp.130-139.

¹¹PUMC Report to LMS North China D.C. 1922, LMS.

¹²M.B. Bullock, An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College (Berkeley, 1980), pp.128-129; Choa, p.154.

¹³Choa, p.154;

¹⁴LMS. North China, Reports, see annual report of the PUMC in 1933.

¹⁵J.C.Thompson, p.681.

Meanwhile, for ordinary general practitioners' work, the PUMC was about the best place in China for a young man to be sent to by other mission institutions. Without the existence of the PUMC, perhaps a larger number of the native medical doctors would also have to be sent abroad for further studying in order to be able to become qualified medical teachers. Hence, as a unique post-graduate training centre, the PUMC's strategic status lay in fostering the leading men with much higher academic standards for China's medical future.

Thirdly, it offered graduates both for secular and Christian enterprises. In this way its vision was wider than purely mission medical institutions. Filling the gaps in the Government departments and hospitals had been the largest demand on its graduates. Many top leaders in Chinese medical circles and the government departments came out of the PUMC; and some of them were in charge of the most famous hospitals in China, especially after the early 1950s. According to the investigation in the 1980s the graduates of the PUMC almost made up the majority in the leading circles of the Medical Association of China, in the Bio-medical Research Section of the Scientific Academy of China, and in the authors' list of the Chinese medical academic journals or magazines.¹⁶

Ultimately, in so huge a country as China it needed such a model which was able to compete with the most advanced institutions in the world. It did not bypass China's real needs, but satisfied a great gap in medical work in China. Due to its leading role, mission medical enterprises were essentially able to keep pace with the modern world. The new medical profession in China needed not merely a large army of general medical doctors but also specialized medical talents. China needed both quantity and quality in medical training at the same time. Its special place enabled it to serve as the locomotive of the whole medical work in China after the mid-1910s. Its work was very far-sighted. Thus, both other mission medical schools and the PUMC met China's needs and filled medical educational gaps by different methods, in different respects, from different angles and at different levels. Ordinary mission medical colleges and the PUMC together met not only the immediate but also permanent needs of Chinese society. All that the PUMC had done had very close connection with China's realities; its contributions were very extraordinary and completely special. By means of its existence, the medical educational structure in China was tending towards rationalization and perfection.

(b) THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE OF CHEELOO. After the PUMC, the second important medical school was that of Cheeloo, the result of Anglo-American cooperation. The American PN in 1883 had established a medical department in connection with its Tengchow College, which in 1890 was transferred to Tsinan and became a formal medical school. In the 1900s the EMS in Tsinan

¹⁶"Chi-tu tsung-chiao tsai-hua chiao-yu shi-ye hui-ku" ("Christian Education in China,"), by J. G. Lutz, tran. by Jui-ch'i Ling, *Ting* (Tripod) No.48 (Dec.1988) (Hongkong), ed. by Sheng-shen yen-chiu chung-hsin (Holy Spirit Study Centre), p.4.

received a substantial donation from the Arthington Trust and built up its medical school and the BMS Tsinan hospital soon became its clinical department. Both schools together constituted the School of Medicine of Cheeloo University in 1914. But it was located on the campus of the former BMS medical college. In the 1920s it was the most important aspect of this university, with the greatest allocation of financial and staff sources. The CMB and American Women's Medical Committee became the largest investors after 1924, with British mission sources playing a lesser role.¹⁷ This college provided the best example of the policy of medical concentration and a series of amalgamation helped it to rapidly expand. In 1915 3 undergraduate classes of the PUMC were transferred to Tsinan. This also brought US \$150,000 to house and educate them and enable this college to increase its equipment and faculty. In 1917 the Medical Department of Nanking Christian University merged 2 of its teachers and most of their students into the college. Subsequently, the LMS Medical College in Hankow¹⁸ also amalgamated with the college.¹⁹ The last amalgamation was the largest one. The North China Union Medical College for Women (NCUMC) was started in 1905, supported by American APM, MEM, ABCFM and British SPG. It was a very small and poorly-equipped school.²⁰ It was also handicapped pretty severely by its inability to secure a sufficient number of competent female medical teachers. In 1923 its major part was thus amalgamated into the SCU. This greatly strengthened Cheeloo's medical faculty, promoted the development of its Women's Hospital and further increased its financial sources.²¹ The school now became a broader inter-mission institution with the amalgamation. 14 missions cooperated in the college. British missions had a relatively larger share here than in other union universities, for example, in the 1920s about 56% of British staff in the university worked in the Medical School. In 1928 there were 10 British medical staff, 2 Canadian and 9 American medical missionaries.²² Many of British medical missionaries had been taking principal places here.

The school also kept well abreast of developments in the training of medical students. During the 1920s it extended its new laboratory block, and launched public health research and other branches of medical

¹⁷BMS. Minutes of SCU Board of Governors of British Section, London, 30 June 1930.

¹⁸It was commenced in 1902 and in 1908 became the Union Medical College, which was a cooperative venture between the LMS and WMMS. Its original aim was to meet the need of the shortage of medical staff in British mission hospitals in Central China.

¹⁹LMS. Central China, Reports, Box 31-1920, Fold 3, A Brief Report, Sept. 1917 to June 1920, of the Students of the Union Medical College, Hankow, Who Were Transferred to the Union Medical College, SCU, Tsinan.

²⁰The Challenge of China being the Report of a Deputation Sent out to Visit the China Mission Fields of the BMS 1919-1920 (London, 1920), p.9.

²¹LMS. Central Chins, Box 34-1923, Notes of a Conference between Representatives of the NCUMCW and SCU.

²²BMS. CH/64 SCU, F. Oldrieve, SCU Foreign Staff in Residence, May 1928.

education.²³ Its pre-medical instruction was arranged inside the College of Arts and Science, where students received their 2 years' training. Its undergraduate course lasted 5 years, including a year of internship. Teaching at Cheeloo was entirely in the medium of Mandarin Chinese. It set an example for the whole of China. In contrast to the policy of the PUMC, Cheeloo laid stress specially on training for the M.B. It also produced a small number of post-graduates. The faculty of this school was constituted to a large extent by the men who were particularly well acquainted with the problems of medicine in the rural areas, and who had special ability in arousing the interest of their students to serve in a rural programme.

A direct result was that the last amalgamation brought Cheeloo the first group of female medical students, hence it became a successful experimental centre of co-education. In 1924 18 women undergraduates and 19 female pre-medical students studied here; they took their full place in the university life. In 1929 there were 40 women students in Cheeloo, of whom the majority were medical.²⁴ From 1915 to 1929 altogether 220 students were graduated from this school, and 197 still in practice in 1929. In 1928 there were 105 working in 57 hospitals scattered over 15 provinces.²⁵ British missions had many reasons to be proud of their share in founding this school and using the Chinese language as medium of instruction. It was indeed second only in efficiency to the well-endowed PUMC.

(C) THE COLLEGE OF MEDICINE AND DENTISTRY OF WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY (WCUU). The WCUU in Chengtu was founded by the Canadian Methodist Mission (WCM) and 4 other missions (included the FFMA) in 1910; the CMS involved in this cooperative venture in 1920. Its medical college was started in 1914. Of 15 its staff members, the WCM supplied more than half. A dentistry department added in 1918 was unique throughout the 1920s and thus trained the first generation of Chinese dentists. Tropical Diseases also became one of its major research and teaching projects. The pharmacy department was initiated in 1932. The WCUU had its own pre-medical and pre-dental courses, practically equivalent to the completion of two years' college work. Thus, this teaching arrangement provided candidates with a higher academic standard. The WCUU's medicine and dentistry were particularly attractive to students, as they were afforded the only good opportunity to study these subjects in West China. Medical education was the first priority of the WCUU. In 1924 the number of its medical students was 99 (one third came from British mission middle schools)²⁶ and 38% of

²³The Challenge of China Being the Report of a Deputation Sent out to Visit the China Mission Fields of the BMS 1919-1920, p.22.

²⁴The Herald of the BMS (London, 1920), p.125; W. Parker Gray and C.E. Wilson (BMS), Report of a Visit to China 1929 (London, 1930), p.14.

²⁵BMS. The Challenge of China, p.26; Annual Report of BMS 1930, p.22.

²⁶FFMA. China Committee, CH/3, Letters from China 1920, Supplement to "The Friends," 13 Aug.1920, Friends' Service in the Far East.

the whole student body in the WCUU. In 1930, 87 students were registered in Medicine and 36 in Dentistry; the percentage of medical students increased to 47.5%.²⁷ Between 1915 and 1930, it had 99 graduates, among whom 22 were dental graduates.²⁸ Many Chinese doctors in West and Southwest China came out of this college.

(d) THE MOUKDEN MEDICAL COLLEGE (MMC). This college was opened in 1912.²⁹ It was the only mission medical college in Northeast China. Douglas Christie of the UFS was its founder and retired in 1923. His pioneering work is given very high assessment by historians.³⁰ In the early 1920s the MMC had a well-organized bacteriological laboratory, a pathological museum and histological department, and a well-equipped chemistry laboratory; there was also a spacious student hostel with accommodation for 120 students, and a teaching hospital with 140 beds and 57,000 outpatients annually and provided abundant clinical materials.

The MMC was the earliest medical mission school to register with the Board of Education of Government (1917), and its diplomas always received the official stamp; it had been keeping a very close relation with the local educational authorities. The local government met hospital urgent needs of the human body for dissecting work; all of its land was donated by Government. It admitted women students in 1924. In 1930 there were as many as 23 women among its 98 students, thus becoming an important training centre both for male and female doctors in Northeast China.

After the closing of the Hangchow Medical College in 1927, the MMC became the only medical school in mainland China which was run on British lines. Although it was a union college between British UFS, PCI and Danish DLM, British staff comprised over 70% of the faculty. The foreign staff were chiefly Scottish by birth and were all educated in Scotland. By the early 1930s half of its Chinese staff had had post-graduate experience in Scotland. Therefore Scottish methods of medicine and surgery as well as the medical educational tradition of a Scottish style deeply and strongly affected this medical school. The course was initially for 5 years and later lengthened to 6 and even 7 years. This standard aimed at duplicating that of the Scottish universities, and its curriculum was framed on that model. However, the entire course and final examinations were a model of teaching medicine in the Chinese language. The MMC depended almost entirely on voluntary contributions, which came chiefly from Scotland, and received no money from the UFS Foreign Mission Committee. To collect funds for the

²⁷FFMA. China Committee, Letters from Missionaries, 1924, Office of the President Joseph Beech to Bart Joseph Flavelle on 23 Oct. 1924. CH/15, WCUU Minutes etc. 1929-32, Report of the WCUU for the Year Ending 13 June 1931.

²⁸J. Taylor, History of the West China Union University (London, 1936), pp.71-81.

²⁹See D. Christie, Thirty Years in Moukden 1883-1913 (Constable) (London, 1914).

³⁰K.S. Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China; A. Fulton, Church and Mission In Manchuria, see the pages of MMC.

college, during the 1920s Christie effectively organized about one dozen local committees (in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Galashiels, Helensburgh, Kilmacolm, Kilmarnock, Perth, Aberdeen, Dumfries, Falkirk), to which the UFS Foreign Mission Committee appointed its members to act as representatives. Their fundraising work played a key role in the MMC development.³¹ Scottish subscriptions constituted 74% of its income, but the fees were only 10-14%.³² The Scottish people's generous support made the finance of this expensive enterprise fully independent from its beginnings to about the early 1930s (when the affiliation of the college to the North-Eastern University in Moukden took place).

Furthermore, in its entrance examination no difference was made between Christians and non-Christians; all of its religious activities were on a voluntary basis. It was entirely an academic institute with a very strong scientific atmosphere.³³ From 1912 to 1930 its enrolment of students was 387. By 1929 the number of its graduates was 176. Except 7 dead, all served in different hospitals. By 1949 it had trained 682 doctors, 77 pharmacists, 40 laboratory technicians and 359 nurses.³⁴ Although not the largest, it was certainly the most respected and prestigious medical school in China. Its graduates' higher qualifications were admitted by the University of Edinburgh in 1934. The graduates holding M.B., Ch.B. degrees of the MMC would thus be qualified to attend the post-graduate courses in this university.³⁵ This recognition showed that the MMC had reached its peak through its teachers and leaders' persistent endeavours over many years. The galaxy of talents of the MMC were quite outstanding. Many of them became well known specialists, directors and superintendents of hospitals throughout the country, and famous professors of medical colleges; some even held the positions of Head of the Municipal Public Health Department in Peiping, Vice Minister of Health of Chinese Central Government, Vice Minister of Health of Chinese Literature Army and Vice Minister of Health of the northwestern regional government and so on for many years.³⁶ Its graduates had made remarkable social and academic accomplishments. The college was the result of a unique missionary bond between Manchuria and Scotland.

(e) THE UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE AT FOCHOW. It was formally opened in March 1911. The CMS, ABCFM and MEFB were its founding members. The CMS also

³¹UFS. Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee UFS May 1928 to Sept.1929, p.300.

³²The MMC - Central Committee Minutes, 8 July 1925; Contributions in 1928.

³³See E. Christie, Dugald Christie of Manchuria: Pioneer and Medical Missionary - the Story of a Life with a Purpose (London, 1932); MMC - Report for 1918 and report for 1930.

³⁴W. Parker Gray and C.E. Wilson, p.9; and UFS, ACC.7548/D/35-39, File 21, 1930, To the Indemnity Committee (British Indemnity Fund).

³⁵UFS. MMC Report, 1934, p.13.

³⁶See Brief History of the Moukden Medical College.

made its Foochow hospital available for training these medical students. It shared the work in constructing laboratories, teachers' houses and dormitories for students and furnishing equipment.³⁷ The first 4 students graduated in 1916 when there were 6 missionary doctors on the teaching staff. In 1919 there were 11 graduates and in 1920 its student body was 15 in 1920³⁸ and 23 in 1921. However, the college was also under threat of closure due to without sufficient funds and teaching personnel, finally in 1922 it closed. Although its history was very short and it existed only for 11 years, the CMS was its major financial, material and personnel contributor.

(f) THE MEDICAL SCHOOL OF HONGKONG UNIVERSITY. The Hongkong College of Medicine for Chinese was formed in 1887, and the Alice Memorial was used as its teaching hospital. From 1887 to 1912 the college was an independent institution. Its course lasted 4 years, later extended to 5 years. Sun Yat-sen was one of its first graduates; and Li Shu-fen, the Minister of the Health Department of the Republic, also graduated from this medical college. After 1912, it was run by the University of Hongkong.³⁹ A group of British doctors provided free services in initiating this college. Strictly speaking, it was not a missionary institution but its teaching hospital was run by the IMS who also maintained a hostel for its students.⁴⁰ Its funds chiefly came from private donations and the colonial government subsidies. It trained 128 Chinese doctors in the 1920s.⁴¹ It was typical British-style medical college, and the majority of Chinese medical talents in Hongkong graduated here.

(g) THE HANGCHOW MEDICAL TRAINING COLLEGE. The idea of forming this college was first discussed in 1908. Dr. Duncan Main in Hangchow had already had 60 students in training and appealed for £15,000 to establish a medical college. In 1910 this school was fully and efficiently equipped by the CMS, and it also included Pharmacy Training College, Maternity Training College, a Men's Nurses' School and Women's Nurses' School. Its training period lasted 5 years. The fees that the students paid met the running expenses but not the salaries of the staff. The diploma in 1921 carried with it government recognition.⁴² In 1924 there were 18 teachers (12 Chinese and 6 foreign missionaries) as well as 4 other missionaries for administrative work; it enrolled 68 medical students, 8 of whom were women.

³⁷CMS. G1 CH4/O 1921, File 1, No.110.

³⁸CMS.M/Y CH/4 1916-1920, M/Y CH/4, File 1, the letters from W.B. Van Taylor, Foochow, 12 Oct.1920 & 29 Nov.1919.

³⁹Alice Ho Miu Ling Nethesole Hospital Hongkong 1887-1967 (Chinese) (Hongkong, 1968), p.6.

⁴⁰See Choa's book.

⁴¹Alice Ho Miu Ling Hospital Hongkong 1887-1967, p.6.

⁴²CMS. M/Y CH2 1920, File 1, Chekiang 12, Memorandum of Notes of Interview between Dr. J.H. Cook and Bishop Molony, 26 May 1920; G1 CH2/O 1918-1922, File 2, G1 CH2/O 1921, No.45.

In 1926 a Chinese doctor was appointed co-dean with S. D. Sturton. In April 1927, the south government took over the college.⁴³ Although its history is short, by 1923 the Chinese doctors trained here had dotted all over Chekiang and the CMS hospitals in other provinces. In particular, the value of the foreign-trained midwives (a strong feature of its work) was being widely recognized.⁴⁴ It was an important medical educational centre on British lines in the 1920s.

SUMMARY. From the above examples, it can be seen that higher medical education had made tremendous progress in the 1920s. Firstly, the medical curriculum in these institutions reflected the high academic standards of their home countries and their own educational and professional background. They all stressed basic scientific and hospital-oriented clinical training in both laboratory and wards. Not only had these foreign trained Chinese doctors acquired both essential medical theoretical knowledge and valuable practical training, but also through their model role they had formulated the essential structure of Western medical curriculum for China. Secondly, more Chinese had been fostered in the higher scientific ideals and in the best tradition of Western medical profession. Thirdly, higher medical educational enterprises attracted woman students much earlier than other scientific departments in China. By the mid-1920s all of these colleges opened the doors to men and women on equal terms. The trend towards co-education was developing very quickly in China, breaking with the old ideas which opposed the education of the two sexes together in professional colleges. Due to their efforts, the number of women students in medical professional circles was far beyond those in other scientific fields during the 1920s, thus setting an important precedent for other Chinese institutions. Fourthly, in the 1920s heavily-expensive medical education had greatly developed in China due to the strong backing of the Rockefeller Foundation and mission funds. Thus, Western-style medical education entered upon a new era. Fifthly, nearly all major British missions adopted a policy of encouraging medical education. They encouraged mission middle school graduates to take up the study of medicine by providing bursaries and scholarships while offering their Chinese doctors more opportunities for further training.⁴⁵ This policy greatly promoted the development of medical educational work. In short, British medical missionaries mainly focused their attention on the above centres to train Chinese doctors, and with their American and Canadian counterparts, they constituted the major force in fostering the supply of fully-qualified doctors for China.

⁴³Hewitt, pp.270-271.

⁴⁴CMS. G1 CH2/O 1922, 36; G1 CH2/O 1923-1925, File 1, 1923, 10.

⁴⁵See each year's CMS medical Sub-Conference Reports; CEZMS's annual medical Sub-Conference estimates; WMMS, China Correspondence Hupeh 1916-1923, Box 961A, Hupeh Chairman 1918, the letter from J. W. Edge on 14 July 1918; WMMS, China Hupeh, Box 965, Wuchang General, 1929, Report of Sub-Committee on Proposed Constitution of Hospital Board.

(2) Research and Literary Work

Medical research and literary work in the 1920s became an important and integral part of the collective efforts of medical missionaries. The CMMA formulated uniform policies, powerfully led and effectively managed under its special committees. Their achievements in the 1920s far outstripped those in the former decades and their pioneering work in these fields laid a solid foundation for modern medicine to develop and flourish in China.

Pioneering medical research in China was begun as early as 1844,⁴⁶ but more significant contributions were made by missionary newcomers in the 20th century. In 1907 the CMMA appointed a Research Committee which in 1923 became its Council of Research. This organizational change signals the emergence of medical research as an independent field of missionary work.

The CMMA did its initial work on worm infections,⁴⁷ but its second project was a broader study of the physical and psychological standards of Chinese people as a basis for the investigation of the common diseases in China. This study became the centrepiece of missionary medical research, leading to important works such as J.L. Maxwell's Leprosy: A Practical Textbook for Use in China and his The Diseases of China as well as to more specialized studies such as Drs. J. Preston Maxwell's and H. G. Wyatt's papers: "Osteomalacia in China," "Further Studies in Osteomalacia," Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine and "Notes on Osteomalacia in North China."⁴⁸ The PUMC, which we have already discussed, also undertook many important research projects,⁴⁹ for example, a PUMC team played a key role in the discovery of the Peking Man which was one of the most famous archaeological achievements in human history. At Chou-k'ou-tien near Peking a fossilized tooth was discovered in an apothecary's jar in 1927. In 1929 this resulted in the discovery of an almost complete skull with a jaw. They were given the name of *Sinanthropus*.⁵⁰ This and other finds shed important light on the early stages of human evolution and marked that China's archaeology in the 1920s was not considered far behind the West because of

⁴⁶Balme, pp.156-157.

⁴⁷See the annual reports of the LMS's Tientsin hospital in 1917, 1920 & 1927, from LMS. North China, Reports; CEZMS. CEZ/C AC1/CH1 1924, File 1, Ch. FK. 24/19b, from J.L. Maxwell.

⁴⁸See Report for the Year 1926 at the Mackenzie Memorial Hospital, London Mission, Tientsin; Harold Archer Van Dorn, p.239.

⁴⁹The PUMC as the leading college in medical circles was also the organizer of several scientific societies and clubs. The important ones included: The Peking Chemical Society, The Anatomical and Anthropological Association of China, the PUMC Journal Club, and the PUMC Medical Society.

⁵⁰"A Preliminary Report on the Discovery of A Skull of Adult '*Sinanthropus Pekinensis*' at Chou Kou Tien," by Davidson Black, The China Journal of Science and Arts (March 1930), pp.163-164; Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tzu-tien (Who's Who among Foreigners in Modern Chinese History) (Peking, 1978), pp.42-43; J.Z. Bowers, Western Medicine in a Chinese Palace (New York, 1972), pp.96-97; see Y.C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West 1872-1949 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1966), p.381.

the great efforts of missionary scientists. Finally, the Henry Lester Centre was set up with funds bequeathed by the wealthy British architect, Henry Lester in Shanghai, which did important work on epidemics and was to occupy an important place in the development of medicine in South China.⁵¹ Research was also furthered by means of academic exchange, for example, the conferences held at Peking in 1921 and at Hongkong in 1925.⁵² In addition, the Chinese Medical Journal and Journal of Tropical Medicine founded an essential form for the diffusion of research results and medical academic exchange.

Despite these achievements, however, in fact, medical research work was still a weak link in medical mission work. In effect the PUMC, because of its large staff and resources, had become the focus of the whole national attention. Research work in other medical colleges and institutions was by force of circumstances restricted until they were adequately staffed and well funded, for busy medical healing work left little time or funds for research. Their main research work was largely limited to a few individuals. Hence, missionaries devoted themselves more and more to the most practical side so as to solve those urgent problems; the most valuable contributions of their medical research activities were related to China's common, local diseases and epidemics. Despite this situation, there was no strict divorce or definite division between the medical scientific and practical sides. Both medical care workers and medical educational staff had all shared this scientific task in practice. Finally, their medical research results were universally respected and usually able to be recommended and applied into the medical practice very quickly.

Medical literary work, an essential accompaniment of practice, began with missionaries' individual endeavours in the 19th century, for example, the work of B. Hobson, J.D. Henderson, J.H. Dudgeon and John Fryer as translators of medical works. Many smaller hospitals relied completely on their translations and publications to train their Chinese doctors. However, the 1920s' medical missionaries made more remarkable contributions than their pioneers.

The CMMA did the pioneering work in fixing uniform medical terms, translating standard medical works and publishing modern medical textbooks in the 1920s. Its Terminology Committee was established in 1890. In 1905 its Committee on Publications and Translations further reminded the missionary community of the important task of placing good medical

⁵¹Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tzu-tien, p.284; LMS. Central China, reports, see the annual report of Shantung Road Hospital for 1928; CMS. G1 CH2/0 1928, No.5; M/Y CH2 1931, File 1, Dr.S.D. Sturton to J.H. Cook of Sec., Medical Conference of CMS, CMS Kwangchi Hospital, Hangchow, 1 Jan.1931.

⁵²Wang Chih-hsin; BMS. China, CH/33, SCU Correspondence & Reports 1910-1928, The Rockefeller Foundation General Bulletin, 26 Oct.1921; China's Millions May 1925, p.77; UFS. Foreign Mission Committee, Index of Minutes, 28 May 1924-21 Apr.1925, p.28; See The Moukden Medical College - Reports for 1918, 1924 & 1927; FFMA. C/14 Minutes of Board of Governors of WCUU up to 1926, Report of the Senate of the WCUU to the Board of Governors, July 1926.

literature at the disposal of the future medical profession in China. Both committees were united in 1915, and in 1926 became the Council on Publications of the CMA.⁵³ Meanwhile, the Medical School of Cheeloo, as we have seen, a model of teaching Western medicine in Mandarin Chinese, provided many translations of standard works into Chinese, founding the Cheeloo Translation Bureau. Its work was carried on closely in cooperation with the CMMA, constituted the chief source of the CMMA's literary work. The bureau had a very special place in editing and publishing medical academic works in the 1920s. Its successive heads, T. Gillison and P.L.McAll, acquired an early mastery of Chinese and were greatly concerned that the best medical textbooks should be produced and be available in Chinese. Under their editorship, the bureau did valuable work, revising out of date books, and initiating standard terms, which became firmly accepted by all.⁵⁴

P.B. Cousland, between 1906 and 1930, had been concentrating on the most important task of translating and publishing medical books into Chinese and compiling a Chinese-English dictionary of medical and scientific terms. He translated William Osler and Thomas McCrea's The Principles and Practice of Medicine; E. J. Stuckey also gave another piece of translation work of G. Haxton Giffen's Medical Jurisprudence; J. H. Ingram produced his Principles of Medical Ethics. These 3 works together made a systematic exposition of the essential principles of medical ethics and medical philosophy. They were the most widespread new books in the Chinese medical circles on these topics. Publishing medical reference books was the most valuable work during the 1920s. In order to bring Cousland's English-Chinese Medical Lexicon up-to-date, McAll and Teh-Ching Leo together revised and re-edited this work, and they filled many gaps of knowledge. The CMMA and this bureau made tremendous contributions in preparing and revising university textbooks.⁵⁵ One piece of their significant work was that the bureau revised and enlarged Theodore J. K. Liu's Chinese-English Medical Dictionary. These two books and B.M.Read's English-Chinese Hospital Dialogue became the most useful medical references. They were widely used in medical schools and hospitals.

In view of Cousland's outstanding contributions, he was honoured by both the Chinese government and the University of Hongkong, which conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. In 1924 alone the bureau produced the

⁵³China's Millions July 1923, p.112; and CBMS, London, Asia Committee, E/T China, FBN 19, Box 409, No.12.

⁵⁴IMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1922, see Bernard Upward's letter to F.H. Hawkins, 13 March 1922.

⁵⁵See Report of the School of Medicine of the SCU 1924-25. For example, Systematic Anatomy translation of Gray's Anatomy Descriptive and Applied from the Twenty-Third Edition ed. by Robert Howden, second Chinese Edition, tran. by L.M. Ingle, assisted by Chen Tso Ting (Shanghai, 1929), see Preface to Second Edition; Walter J. Dilling, Materia Medica and Therapeutics, re-tran. by W.P. Pailing and Kuo-Hua Liu (Shanghai, 1937), see Preface to the Third Edition.

publications of over 6,000,000 Chinese characters.⁵⁶ It sold an average of 1005 volumes a month. Its sales in 1930 amounted to over \$50,000 gross, and \$41,000 net.⁵⁷ In view of the situation, we know that these Western scientific and technical books were warmly welcomed by the Chinese public. An immense amount of work was done towards the laying of literary foundations for the medical sciences by this bureau. From 1918 to 1932 this bureau and CMMA (later the CMA) cooperated with each other and in total edited and translated or revised 53 medical professional works.⁵⁸ British, American, Chinese medical staff and several students of Cheeloo together shared this work. But British doctors produced the largest number. Their chief contributions lay in unifying medical and surgical terminology and technical phraseology in connection with the nursing profession. They translated and published a complete set of higher medical educational textbooks in Chinese. Most of the up-to-date medical literature in Chinese before the mid-1930s was their work.⁵⁹ These books were of a very high academic standard and values. The contents touched on the most essential medical subjects.

The cooperation between Government and mission medical publishers was very close. In the early 1920s the Central Education Board and other official bodies appointed their own representatives to act with the Terminology Committee, giving official backing to these missionary translators' decisions. Government also gave practical support by defraying the cost of publishing this medical literature. After 1929 the CMA terminological work was turned over to the Government. The new union in terminology was composed of representatives from Christian missions and Government. Thus, uniform medical terminology now became a joint effort between missionaries and Chinese. Christian publishers in total produced more than 319 books on medicine between 1918 and 1932.⁶⁰ These publications met the different needs of all kinds of social classes. Medical missionaries were the chief source of producing modern medical books; their leadership and pioneering role in this field was indisputable. China still largely depended on the devotion of Christian publishers in producing medical books in the 1920s.

2. Nursing Training

⁵⁶BMS. Annual Report of BMS 1924, p.97.

⁵⁷LMS. South China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 26, Micro. 436, see A.L. Warnshuis' letter on 11 May 1931.

⁵⁸See the annual reports of Cheeloo in the 1920s.

⁵⁹CBMS. Area File, Asia, China, Medical FBN 19, Box 407, E/T China 61 (2), Micro.13. The foreign doctors in the MMC and WCUU's Medicine and Dentistry College also shared the work of getting hold of Chinese medical terminology and helped the CMMA to translate medical textbooks.

⁶⁰Ibid.

One of the greatest responsibilities which devolved upon pioneering foreign nurses in the 20th century was the urgent need to train an educated Chinese nursing profession. The few missionary nurses in China then were quite inadequate to deal with the work even in missions' own hospitals. Nursing itself as a profession, well known in the West, was certainly quite unknown in China. To prepare Chinese nurses to cope with the appalling volume of sickness in China, 8 British and American missionary nurses founded an association in 1909, which in 1912 was formally named as the Nurses' Association of China. The NAC was an international cooperative organization. In the 1920s British nurses bore a great deal of leading work here.⁶¹ Strictly speaking, it was not a missionary body and never had been. Although its initiators and the majority of its members were missionaries and mission-trained Chinese nurses, it was a professional organization of registered nurses.⁶² In 1922 it was accepted as a full member of the International Council of Nurses in Geneva, so a Chinese nurse was eligible for membership of the ICN as soon as he or she received the NAC diploma. The NAC began to train nurses in China according to the strict standards of the ICN. In 1927 the ICN accepted China's invitation to hold the next congress in Peking. In 1935 the NAC registered with the government and became the National Nurses' Association of China.

The first function of the NAC was to establish the status of the nurse in China by enrolling all those who had received a full course of training, whether foreign or Chinese. The second was to secure the best possible training for the Chinese nurses, who would be able not only to practise Western medical service with a Christian character but also to provide the best possible assistance for the medical profession in preventing diseases and restoring health. Thirdly, it sought to protect the standards of the new nursing profession which was being formed in China, by standardizing curricula and examinations and defining the minimum requirements for all training schools which desired to register themselves under the NAC's auspices and to secure its diplomas.⁶³ Its standard curricula for nursing training was eventually adopted by all the nursing training schools in China.⁶⁴

The NAC was one of the largest medical publishers. The Quarterly Journal for Chinese Nurses (started in 1920) was a bi-lingual magazine as the NAC's official organ. It not only travelled to nurses in all parts of China, but also went to nurses and Nurses' Association in other countries. Besides, the NAC prepared its own textbooks for Chinese nurses. Almost all

⁶¹Report for 1926 & 1927, by E. Hope Bell, LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 10-1927.

⁶²WMMS. China, Box 1091, W.W. China, Missionaries on Furlough, Wuchang District, My Opportunity to Thank My Nurse, 1928 (NAC).

⁶³Balme. China and Modern Medicine, p.147.

⁶⁴Goodall, A History of the LMS, p.193.

of its textbooks were published by the Kwang Hsueh Publishing House in Shanghai. The sales were over \$12,000 annually, and were gradually increasing.⁶⁵ From 1918 to 1932 the NAC totally published 57 books of medicine and nursing.⁶⁶ It prepared the most practical and uniform textbooks for all nurses' training schools and centres in China. These books were usually easily understood and introduced all kinds of subjects of nursing science in detail. These books met the most essential needs for nursing training work, providing the most standard teaching materials for nurses' training.

In the 1920s the number of special large nursing schools was very limited, whose supply of trained nurses for China was small while the demand was great. Thus mission hospitals and Christian medical colleges together shared this work. The former universally opened nurses' training classes, many of which by 1930 had been enlarged into small size nursing training schools. In China social customs did not permit women to attend men, so in the early 1920s mission hospitals still trained both male and female Chinese nurses. But after the mid-1920s medical missionaries paid more and more attention to training female nurses who were thought more suitable for medical work than those male nurses. The main aim of the curricula in these schools were to teach their students to care for the sick and prevent illness. Most nursing schools undertook teaching along British or American training lines through the medium of the Chinese language. Their course was exactly the same as that in the West,⁶⁷ lasting 3 or 4 years. In the late 1920s some larger schools even started new courses, such as Public Health Nursing, Industrial Nursing, Child Welfare and Maternity Services; some even made out a plan for post-graduate studies and provided special midwifery courses.⁶⁸ In order to ensure a high standard of efficiency, these courses emphasized both theoretical and practical training. Following the policy of London St. Thomas' Hospital, the Hankow Union Hospital and Yenching even provided a pre-nursing course respectively in 1928 and 1929 in order to increase the place of nursing training.⁶⁹ This three-month preparatory course demonstrated that nursing training had been further systematized.

The PUMC's nursing school mainly trained nursing teachers and hospital administrators. Its courses lasted 5 years. The middle school graduates

⁶⁵WMMS. China, Box 1091, Wuchang District, Missionaries on Furlough, Notes from Sister Gladys Stephenson's Letter to Mr. Andrews, 22 Jan.1928.

⁶⁶See A Classified Index to the Christian Literature of the Protestant Christian Churches in China, ed. by Kwang Hsue Publishing House (Shanghai, 1933).

⁶⁷WMMS. China Box 1091, Wuchang District, Missionaries on Furlough, the Union Hospital, Hankow School of Nursing prospectus, 1929.

⁶⁸Report of the Wuhan Union Hospital for 1929, LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 10-1929; China's Millions 1921, p.82.

⁶⁹WMMS. China Hupeh General, Box 965, Report of Committee on Nursing Policy, 1928.

first took two years' pre-medical training course at Yenching, and did an other three years' of professional studies here. Thus its graduates received both diplomas in nursing and a B.S. degree. The PUMC was the major training centre for post-graduates of nursing in China. A few other nursing schools also supplied the special courses of training post-graduate nurses. In Central China, the Union School of Nursing sometimes held Nurses' Post-graduates Weeks, or "Institute" from time to time. This was an attempt to help the head nurses in Central China hospitals.⁷⁰ The PUMC, Cheeloo and American Hiang-Ya Medical School mainly concentrated on nursing training for a higher educational degree as arranged by the CMMA. Meanwhile, others belonged to the nursing training centres enrolled junior middle school graduates for diploma study.⁷¹ The probationer nurses in all of these registered schools had to follow the syllabus and standard courses prescribed by the NAC, and took the required examinations. When the course was successfully completed, students would receive the Diploma of the NAC which qualified them to hold a position in any hospital.

British missionary nurses made an important contribution to training the earliest Chinese nurses. The first modern nurse in South China was trained by the LMS. The Alice Memorial and Affiliated Hospital was the sole training centre in Hongkong in the 1910s.⁷² In the mid-1910s the Nursing Training School in Shantung Road Hospital of Shanghai was initiated. Its size even outstripped that of special nursing schools in mission medical colleges. The School of Nursing at the Wuhan Union Hospital was the result of an amalgamation of 4 separate nursing training schools of the LMS and WMMS hospitals in this city in 1929. After its re-organization, this school rapidly grew into the largest school of nursing in China.⁷³ In the metropolitan schools, one main task was to foster Chinese nursing staff for those up-country mission hospitals.⁷⁴ This policy had undoubtedly benefitted those small mission medical institutions. By the late 1920s, some of them had been assigned as the model training centres for Chinese nurses.⁷⁵ Nursing training was also one major duty of up-country hospitals. The CMS Mienchu hospital in Szechuan even concentrated on training male nurses up to the standard of the Indian "sub-assistant surgeons,"⁷⁶ to

⁷⁰WMMS. China, Hupeh. See the annual reports of this school in 1929-30.

⁷¹Lutz, China and the Christian College, 1850-1950, p.159.

⁷²See the report of Shantung Road Hospital, Shanghai for 1923, from LMS; The Alice Ho Miu Ling Nethersole Hospital 1887-1967, pp.10-12, 21.

⁷³See the report of the hospital for 1929.

⁷⁴WMMS. China Correspondence Hupeh 1916-23, Box 962 Hupeh Chairman, IHT from Medical Secretary on 13 June 1923.

⁷⁵WMMS. China Correspondence Hupeh, Box 975, General, see the letter of H.B. Rattenbury, 9 Dec.1929.

⁷⁶CMS. M/Y CH8 1926, West China 18.

enable them to give medical aid in towns and country districts where there was no hospital. Thus, the qualifications of nursing students here were actually higher than ordinary ones. The number of the CIM nursing schools increased from 1 in 1920 to 5 in 1925.⁷⁷ Its students spent half the time in study and half in assisting the hospital work in these remote areas. By the mid-1920s The Nursing Training School of the Foster Hospital at Chowtsun, opened in 1924, had been more applications for admission than were available.⁷⁸ Many up-country hospital bore certain responsibilities for the training of nurses, but usually their training scale was much smaller. British mission nursing schools all registered with the NAC.

Despite a midwifery course as one of basic training for all nursing students, in order to meet the urgent need for a large number of maternity cases in hospitals, medical missions also began to train professional Chinese midwives after 1920. The establishment of these mission midwifery training schools enabled midwives to become a new and independent profession in China. Nearly all women's hospitals were in close cooperation with such a training plan. The Chuanchow and Swatow Women's Hospitals in 1920 and 1924 started regular midwifery training schools.⁷⁹ With the purpose of developing rural maternity work, the Midwifery Training School in St. Luke's Hospital at Hsinghwa became an important training centre. The UFS initiated midwifery schools respectively in Ashiho in 1922⁸⁰ and in Moukden in 1923.⁸¹ The BMS Women's Hospital at Taiyuanfu developed into the most important training centre for midwives. In 1924 it even became the only Post-graduate School in Midwifery for the NAC, thus its influence was extended to the whole of China.⁸² In the late 1920s some of Chinese nurses received the NAC midwives' diploma, which was equal to that of the Central Midwives' Board of London. Medical missionaries pioneered this professional education in the 1920s. By employing scientific methods they trained the first generation of modern Chinese midwives.

Mission hospitals mainly focused on basic medical educational work - training nurses and midwives. They were the most important centres of producing nurses outside of mission medical colleges. Their training method was very scientific, formal, systematic and detailed. Therefore, mission hospitals relatively fostered a larger number of nursing staff for

⁷⁷China and the Gospel - Report of the China Inland Mission 1924, p.35.

⁷⁸SPG archives.

⁷⁹EPM. Overseas, South Fukien, Individual, Box 21, File 7, W.M.A. Missionaries of the Amoy Mission EPM; EPM. Overseas Lingtung, Swatow, General Correspondence, Minutes, Reports, Correspondence, 1924, Box 33, File 5, Swatow W.M.A. Council, 22 Jan.1924, 49th Meeting.

⁸⁰UFS. Report on Foreign Missions: Submitted to the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland 1924, p.73; & 1926, p.76.

⁸¹Brief History of the Moukden Medical College, pp.70-71.

⁸²BMS. See the annual reports of BMS, especially in the second half 1920s; 1924 report, p.98.

hospitals than mission medical colleges, but the latter provided more teaching talents for the nursing training schools in mission hospitals and to a larger degree paid special attention to maintaining their training quality rather than quantity.

TABLE 3.1 THE PROGRESS & DEVELOPMENT OF MISSION NURSING WORK⁸³

Years	NAC Members		No. of Students Passed Exams	No. of Nursing Training Schools	No of Students
	Westerners	Chinese			
1914				1	
1915			3	36	272
1920	183	48		52	
Total	231				
1922				55	
1924				88	765
1927	437	972			
Total	1,409		553		
1929	2,000			125	1,600
1936	2,456			162	

The progress of Christian nursing work in China was considerable. For six months of 1927 there were no foreign nurses in Szechwan, Kweichow, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anhui, Chekiang, and Honan, but the nursing work in these mission hospitals was successfully carried on. Meanwhile, Chinese nurses had been appointed as matrons and nursing superintendents in 42 hospitals; if foreign nurses completely withdrew, they had now no fear as to the future of the nursing profession in China.⁸⁴ The forces of the Chinese nurses grew rapidly. In the early 1920s the system of thorough nursing training was carried on only in about 40% of mission hospitals; there were only 29 British missionary nursing schools with 295 students⁸⁵ (included those of New Zealand and Canada). However, according to the report of the Conference of British Missionary Societies, by 1935 all

⁸³WMMS. China Hupeh, Box 965, Wuchang Chairman, see Sister Gladys Stephenson's The Nurses' Association of China; WMMS. China, Box 1091, W. W. China, Missionaries on Furlough, 1929, see the questions of NAC; Chao hung-chun, *Chin-tai chung-hsi-yi lun-chen shih*, p.35; CBMS. Area Files, Asia, China, Medical, Box 407, E/T China 61 (2).

⁸⁴Report for 1926 & 1927, by E. Hope Bell.

⁸⁵*Chung-hua kui-chu*, pp.1201, 713.

British mission hospitals had already shouldered the responsibility of training nurses except 7 cottage hospitals.⁸⁶ The number of mission nursing schools was increased from 36 with 272 students in 1915 to 125 with 1,600 students in 1929 and 162 schools in 1935. In 1936 there were 234 nursing schools and 67 midwifery training schools in the whole of China. The NAC had only 231 members in 1920, but 2,456 in 1935.⁸⁷ The attendants at the early 1920s' NAC conference consisted almost entirely of foreign nurses, and English was the only language spoken, except for half a day (of the week) when Chinese was spoken, so foreigners held the platform. However, in 1924, foreign and Chinese delegates were about half and half; in the late 1920s the large majority were Chinese, Mandarin and English were both spoken.⁸⁸ The speed of progress was quite amazing. The number of women nursing corp surpassed men's in the late 1920s. The old taboo hindering women nurses from entering men's wards was being abandoned. The era when women nurses dominated this new profession had begun.

3. Training Hospital Technicians

Traditionally, it has been held that the training of hospital technicians by missions began only in the late 1930s or even later.⁸⁹ However, imperfectly trained and unqualified assistants frequently affected the efficiency of mission hospitals. In the early 1920s the CMMA proposed that a special institute be organized in which a standard training in different branches of hospital technical work should be taught, giving each student a specialized training in one or more technical subjects. Such training was more especially with a view to the benefit of the smaller and less wealthy up-country hospitals which were always run by doctors single-handedly.⁹⁰ In contrast to the long and arduous training for a doctor with heavy expense, this method was a shortcut to solve the serious lack in medical staff, for trained Chinese technicians could bear some of the responsibilities that had rested heavily on doctors' overburdened shoulders. Meanwhile, placing such technicians in hospitals had become necessary for the modernization of medical work. The running of an up-to-date hospital had entailed a further subdivision of medical work.

In 1920 a scheme for an Institute of Hospital Technology was put forward by Dr. George Hadden of the WMMS. This aimed at the rapid,

⁸⁶CBMS. London, Asia Committee, E/T China, FBN 19, Box 409, No.12, see the statistics of mission medical work, pp.1-39.

⁸⁷K'ung Chien-min, Chung-kuo i-hsueh shih-kang (The Outline of China's Medical History) (Peking, 1989), p.240.

⁸⁸LMS. Central China, Reports, Box 10-1930, Fold 5, Number of Document of this folder 45, Lester Chinese Hospital, Shanghai, Jan. 1931.

⁸⁹See the records of my interview with Dr. E.H. Patterson in London in Sept.1992.

⁹⁰WMMS. China Box 975, Misc. G. Hadden, For Information of Committee of Enquiry on Case of Dr.G. Hadden, 24 Nov.1933.

intensive, and centralised training of technicians and received the support of the CMMA.⁹¹ It began work at the ACM hospital in Anking in 1923, under the auspices of the CMMA but with Hadden in the lead,⁹² but owing to the shortage of funds, made little progress until it was moved to the LMS and WMMS Hankow Union Hospital in 1928.⁹³ Here its courses soon included laboratory, pharmacy, and anaesthetics training but its repertoire extended increasingly to aspects of hospital administration.⁹⁴ From the beginning it attracted students from a wide geographical range, admitting women from 1930, and by 1938 it had trained 483 students from 97 mission hospitals up and down the whole length and breadth of China.⁹⁵ Its 3 funding missions had borne a very heavy share of the burden. In the 1920s there was no such thing in China as the IHT, nor indeed anywhere in the world. It was really a new initiation.⁹⁶ Hence its existence was extremely important. Training hospital technicians had thus become an integral and distinctive part of missionary medical endeavours, although its work had been prefigured by the School of Pharmacy of the MMC at Moukden in 1917;⁹⁷ and its efforts continued to be supplemented by pharmacy schools as at the School of Pharmacy in the Hangchow Medical Training College, the PUMC Pharmacy Department, Cheeloo's Pharmacy Department (founded in 1929), the Department of Laboratory (1930) and Technique and the Department of Physiotherapy (1932).⁹⁸ Besides, the training was also undertaken within a few particular mission hospitals on a small scale in the 1920s.⁹⁹ However, the situation changed very quickly. By 1935 about 40 British mission hospitals had shared the work of training hospital technicians.¹⁰⁰ The 1920s' medical missionaries did vital pioneering work in training hospital technicians for China.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²WMMS. China Correspondence Hupeh, Box 962, Hupeh Chairman 1923, from Medical Secretary on 13 June 1923.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴WMMS. China Box 975, Misc. G. Hadden, IHT Director's Report Feb. 1930.

⁹⁵CBMS. London. Asia Committee, FBN 19, Box 407, Micro.18, "Institute of Hospital Technology;" CBMS, London, Asia Committee, China, Medical, FBN 19, Box 409, E/T China 63 (23), Micro. 41, see "Short Statement on the Work and Needs of the Institute of Hospital Technology," by H. Waddington.

⁹⁶WMMS. China Correspondence Hupeh 1923-1929/30, Box 963, Wuchang Chairman to C. W. Adrews, 23 Aug.1923.

⁹⁷But there was a long gap between its first student in 1917 and its second group (8 students) admitted in 1930. UFS, the MMC Reports for 1920 & 1930, p.4; Brief History of the Moukden Medical College, pp.75-76, 77-78.

⁹⁸Cheeloo Bulletin, 4 March 1933.

⁹⁹See Women's Work 1920-1930. Zenana Mission Quarterly. Irish Presbyterian Church.

¹⁰⁰CBMS. London Asia Comm., FBN 19, Box 409, No.12, pp.1-39.

4. Summary

The greatest contribution of mission medical education lay in training Chinese medical talents. It was common knowledge that fully qualified doctors and nurses called for a long and arduous training, both scholastic and practical. Year by year the medical missions produced many qualified Chinese medical talents. Above all, in the course of their medical educational activities, they had been inclined to promote native instructors, brought up medical teaching talents, and devolved authority and responsibility for medical education to Chinese themselves. These missionaries laid a solid foundation for Western medicine to go on developing and flourishing in China later. Of 108 members of the PUMC staff in 1927, there were 72 Chinese and 36 foreigners compared with 23 and 123 in 1921;¹⁰¹ Chinese staff became its majority in this best medical college in Asia. By the late 1920s the Chinese both on the MMC staff and on the board of management had become the majority.¹⁰² By 1929 the number of Chinese staff in Cheeloo had been able to outnumber that of foreign staff, 17 to 12. The proportion in the WCUU was 12 Chinese to 27 foreigners.¹⁰³ The growth of Chinese staff was extremely rapid. The tendency towards gradual transferring teaching duty to Chinese was very obvious in the late 1920s.

Furthermore, the achievements of mission medical education could be seen in thoroughly-trained native doctors and a nursing profession to take their stand beside their medical missionary teachers and to prepare for the day when they could rise at the call of their own country and staff China's own hospitals. A fine and lively esprit de corps of native medical forces was rapidly growing up. The Chinese medical assistants in mission hospitals had increased by 492% from 1907 to 1920 and were 9 times as many as missionary medical staff.¹⁰⁴ The number of Chinese doctors doubled between 1915 and 1920.¹⁰⁵ However, in the 1920s the great leap was far beyond that in the previous decade. In 1925 the CMA stipulated that there was to be no discrimination of race between foreign and Chinese medical workers.¹⁰⁶ This open policy expressed the spirit and principle of equality and cooperation between foreigners and Chinese in mission medical work. It also showed the gradual maturity of Chinese medical staff and the increase in their technical ability. By 1930 Cheeloo, PUMC, MMC, WCUU and Hongkong University had trained 744 medical doctors while there were still 587 students on

¹⁰¹Wong K. C. and Wu Lien-teh, p.552.

¹⁰²The MMC - Central Committee Minutes, Contributions in 1928.

¹⁰³The China Christian Year Book, 1931, see pp.365, 367, 368.

¹⁰⁴Chung-hua kui-chu, p.91.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p.96.

¹⁰⁶See CMA's Minimum Requirements for Registration of Hospital, 1925.

their campuses.¹⁰⁷ According to reports from 235 mission hospitals in 1931, 304 foreign and 401 Chinese doctors worked in these places.¹⁰⁸ The proportion between Chinese and foreign doctors in mission hospitals in 1920 was 55% to 45%, but in 1930 it became 67% to 33%. The medical statistics of 1915 showed that there were 119 Chinese doctors and 509 Chinese nurses in mission hospitals and dispensaries. Medical mission institutions employed about 410 Chinese doctors and 700 Chinese nurses in the year 1930-1931 but 634 Chinese doctors and 1,656 Chinese nurses in 1935.¹⁰⁹ Again, in 1920 there was only one doctor in China (foreign or Chinese) to every 200,000 people,¹¹⁰ but in 1931 one doctor to 80,000 or 100,000 people.¹¹¹ This meant that Western missions had engaged in training a native medical corps to a much larger extent in the 1920s than in the 1910s. After the mid-1920s, many of Chinese medical staff shouldered the main working load in mission up-country institutions.¹¹² Due to the anti-foreign movement, the sudden evacuation of medical missionaries in the spring of 1927 placed an unexpected responsibility upon the Chinese staff. Medical missionaries found much to encourage them in the work that had been maintained by their Chinese fellow-workers.¹¹³ Although the demand had always been far greater than the supply, especially in such a large country as China, the progress was apparent. British and American medical missionaries had already taken the most important share in medical educational work. In this very short period, through mission institutions, a mere handful of medical missionaries were able to train hundreds of competent and highly skilled health scientists.

Also, mission medical colleges were the backbone of modern medical education in China. In 1930 there were 24 medical schools teaching modern medicine, including 4 government medical colleges, 2 provincial medical schools, 13 private medical colleges. Of the 13 private institutions, 8 were missionary medical schools. If the Medical College of Hongkong

¹⁰⁷The China Christian Year Book, 1931, pp.365, 366, 367.

¹⁰⁸W.G. Lennox, "A Self Survey by Mission Hospitals in China," CMI, Vol.46, pp.484-534.

¹⁰⁹Chao Hung-chun, p.35; Wang Chih-hsin, p.332; W.G. Lennox's paper, CMI, Vol.46; K.C. Wong, Lancet and Cross, Preface.

¹¹⁰CMS. M/Y CH4 1920, File 1, see Dr.D.D. Main's Report of Hangchow Medical College, 27 Sept.1920.

¹¹¹K. Faber, Report on Medical Schools in China (Series of League of Nations Publications), III8, 1931, p.5; from Choa, p.99; The MMC Report for 1931, p.17.

¹¹²Minutes of BMS, Shansi Conference, 1924; WMMS. China, Women's Work Collection, China, Hupeh, Box 1100, Wuchang District, Chairman, Notes of Discussions and Conversations of a Preliminary Conference of Chairmen and Selected Representatives of the Seven China Districts of the United and Wesley Methodist Churches Held in Hankow, 1-5 June 1931; China's Millions 1928, p.69; UFS. ACC.7548/D/35-39, File 20, Church of Scotland Foreign Mission, see medical statistics; FFMA. China Committee, C/3, Letters from China 1920, (18) Chinese Delegate to the All Friends' Conference; China Committee, Friends Service Council and American Friends Service Committee, "Report of the Joint Deputation Sent to China and Japan in the Winter of 1929-30," II. West China, p.10; Band, p.407.

¹¹³Hewitt, p.260.

University was added to this list, the actual number of medical schools related to Protestant missions were 9. The medical advisor of Government, Prof. Knud Faber of Copenhagen University, thought that the PUMC was unsurpassed by any other institution in China; and that Cheeloo was of the highest standard among the mission medical schools; and that the MMC was doing the best work.¹¹⁴ All the first-class institutions were related to missionaries and also had very close connections with British missions.

Finally, most of the first, second, and third generations of modern Chinese medical talents were mission-trained. Most of the physicians-in-charge and principals or heads of China's large Western medical hospitals after 1949 were also mission-trained medical talents. For example, about half of the doctors and hospital principals in Ningbo came from the former mission hospitals.¹¹⁵ The medical missionaries' profound impact was still clearly felt even after the 1980s when China re-opened her doors. The majority of her first qualified medical visiting scholars doing further studies abroad had all graduated from the former mission medical institutions. Historical facts revealed that initiating and expanding medical mission education was the most effective strategy for encouraging modern medicine. These Christian medical colleges were at the key places in China; they achieved great success, especially in the 1920s. There was no medical profession in China before the mid-1910s. These colleges were the earliest modern Western medical educational centres. Medical mission education had the strongest influences in China among all types of medical mission work in the 1920s and mission-trained graduates became real leaders in Chinese medicine.

In addition, Protestant missions ran more medical colleges in China than those in any other countries where they worked. Missionary medical education overseas might be divided into 4 groups with distinct characteristics: in Africa, the work was in such a primitive state that locally qualified doctors hardly existed; in India, there were a large number of doctors with low grade qualifications, chiefly suited to subordinate posts; in Moslem lands, doctors were mainly government-trained and other standards were not permissible; but in China, there were steadily rising standards and the training was largely in Protestant missions' hands. "Knowledge is greatly respected in China."¹¹⁶ "The Chinese are quite capable of being trained up to a very high standard."¹¹⁷ The EMS invested

¹¹⁴K. Faber, Report of Medical Schools in china, series of League of Nations Publications, III8, 1931, p.11.

¹¹⁵"Chi-tu-chiao tsai Ningpo te kui-chi" (The Orbit of Christianity in Ningbo), by Hsu Ch'ang-ch'eng, Tsung-chiao (Religion), ed. by the Institute of Nanking University Religious Research (Feb.1990), p.106.

¹¹⁶PCI. The Women's Work 1920, the Zenana Mission Quarterly, p.151.

¹¹⁷Report for 1923 by Dr.A.C. Price, LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 9-1923.

in higher medical education only in China.¹¹⁸ This pattern had been formed since the 1910s. The cases of the UFS, LMS and CMS were quite similar to the EMS's.¹¹⁹ These missions in China played a decisive role of initiating higher medical education. In South India the teaching standard of the Missionary Medical College for Women started in the 1920s was not raised to the M.B. degree of Madras University from the original L.M.P. until 1944, and almost 40 missions took part in this union. But as early as the 1910s there had been more than 13 Christian medical colleges in China. Therefore, Protestant missions transplanted Western medical education in a much higher standard to China.

III. PUBLIC HEALTH

The earliest public health work in China can be traced back to 1805, when a medical officer of the British East India Company first introduced vaccination into China.¹²⁰ However, the establishment of the Council of Public Health in 1915 marked the birth of a mass campaign. In the light of those small beginnings the progress and development of public health in the late 1920s evolved into movements. Relatively, the importance of public health work was recognized by most missions but its popularity came later than that of other branches of medical work. It was comparatively recent origin in the 1920s. As compared with mission healing agencies, public health work had relatively small development in China, but the part played by the missions was large, becoming one of the most essential developments of their medical work in the 1920s. Both its immediate and permanent significance were quite profound.

1. Organizers

The CMMA in 1910 set up a central unit and appointed 3 members to prepare tracts and pamphlets on disease prevention. The YMCA in 1912 began to engage in this work and gave a series of addresses on public health among the public in Shanghai. But before the mid-1910s, curative aspects of medical work occupied medical missionaries' chief energies. Public health was only formally placed on the agenda of mission medical work in 1915. The Council on Public Health Education (CPHE) was founded in Shanghai and Balme (then the Dean of the Medical school of Cheeloo) was appointed the general commander in this campaign by the CMMA. He first put forward its great significance as one line of mission work at this CMMA's conference.¹²¹ Most medical missionaries gradually understood that public

¹¹⁸See the statistics of annual medical reports of the BMS, 1920-30.

¹¹⁹See their annual medical reports; Goodall, pp.514, 515.

¹²⁰Chao Hung-chun, p.34.

¹²¹Harold Balme, "Medical Missionaries in Conference," Chinese Recorder, Vol.56 (1915), pp.179-184.

health work would both benefit the people they served and reduce the medical missionaries' workload. In 1915 the CPH became a strong organizer, and the result of cooperation between the CMMA and YMCA, in 1916 it cooperated with the Public Health Committee of the National Medical Association in founding a Joint CHE (from 1920 the Council on Health Education). The YWCA, CCEA, NCC, and NAC also participated in this work which now involved 17 full-time and 8 part-time staff with a budget of \$40,000 in 1921, its work was carried on in 19 provinces.¹²² Thus, public health was becoming a new focus of mission medical work and regarded as a standard of the success or failure of each medical missionary.

With public health work accepted as an important medical strategy in the early 1920s, it was impressed upon missionaries' minds that much of the suffering around them could easily be prevented if a public awareness could be created to fight habits which were harmful to health. Thus, there was a growing conviction of the responsibility of the Church for the preventive phases of medical work, particularly in respect to preventable diseases. Furthermore, the NCC in 1922 and the CMMA in 1923 respectively emphasized the subject of preventive medicine with a view to the reduction of disease and mortality. Preventive medicine would afford a wonderful opportunity for benefitting larger numbers of people.¹²³ The National Health Council rendered a weekly newspaper service, which was maintained in 53 papers in 16 provinces. In 1926 the CHE began introducing the Five-Fold School Health Programme. It also provided the provincial branches of the CEA with this programme. For example, in 1929, the West China CHE was formed and supported by 9 missions. The work of these local branches involved the preparation of health tracts, charts, and textbooks on hygiene, the organization of baby clinics, physical examinations in schools, and the organization of public health campaigns. There also existed similar organizations in some provinces. In addition, the CHE set up close contact with such existing health centres as the Manchurian Plague Prevention Service in Harbin and the Health Demonstration Centre in Peking. Among the Government Boards of Health, it was in close relationship with the Health Commissions in Hangchow, Nanking, Harbin and Shanghai. Public health work necessitated a good deal of coordination, so most activities of mission public health were launched and engaged in through the forms of missionary cooperation. Under these organizations' auspices and missionary experts' leadership, public health campaigns were launched and reached their first climax in the 1920s. In the late 1920s the movement was propelled into the missionary rural stations. Unusually, both medical professional and non-professional missionaries were involved in this work, as medical preventive work achieved an unprecedented importance in the 1920s. Much of this work

¹²²Chinese Recorder Vol.54, No.6 (June 1923), see H.Balme's article.

¹²³China's Millions July 1922, p.112; Wong K. C. & Wu Lien-teh, pp.531, 534.

was necessarily directed towards the eradication of disease as we now see.

2. Fighting against Plague and Epidemics

China had been called "the source of epidemic diseases,"¹²⁴ responsible for an enormous toll of health and life. Many epidemic diseases which had been controlled abroad, were, to a surprising extent still prevalent in China. Their ravages were appalling and Government had not yet adopted effective measures to control these calamities. The foremost British missionaries involved in plague control were the doctors of the UFS, who cooperated with Dr. Wu Lien-teh to fight against plague and epidemics in Manchuria in 1911.¹²⁵ In the early 1920s another Black Death epidemic appeared again in the same regions. Preventive measures were at once taken, and it seemed to be stamped out, but in January 1921 it broke out again. Dr. Wu now sought the help of the MMC. Their fight against the spread of infection was so successful that cases were few in comparison with the outbreak of 10 years ago.¹²⁶

There was a large number of typhoid, para-typhoid and beri-beri cases. With the weapon of Anti-typhoid Inoculation within the CIM doctors' reach, for instance, there was a marked reduction in the number of cases, and no more deaths. Inoculation, if not able always to prevent the contraction of the disease, ensured a milder attack and, in nearly every case, prevented a fatal disease.¹²⁷ The missionary doctors paid special attention to the control of the beri-beri cases, and instituted a new diet with very satisfactory results. Many patients who had almost entirely lost the power of both arms and legs recovered gratifyingly.¹²⁸

Cholera was also unchecked in China. Medical missionaries employed different scientific healing methods. For instance, during the cholera epidemic in Kuangtung, the EPM doctors at the Suabue Hospital obtained excellent results with intravenous saline solution.¹²⁹ In the early 1920s the PCI doctors in Kirin area cared for many cases. There were 700 cases treated by the "saline infusion treatment" only in its Hsirminfu hospital.¹³⁰ Dr. Greig's special services in Kirin won for him decorations

¹²⁴Chung-hua kui-chu, p.977.

¹²⁵E. Christie, Jackson of Moukden (New York, undated).

¹²⁶UFS. The Moukden Medical College - Report for 1920, 11th Annual Statement.

¹²⁷The China Inland Mission Monthly 1920-1924, ed. by the CIM (Shanghai, 1925), see Aug.1921, p.2.

¹²⁸See the 76th Annual Report of the Chinese Hospital, Shantung Road, Shanghai, for the Year 1922, from LMS.

¹²⁹Band. p.362.

¹³⁰PCI. Reports of General Assembly 1920, PCI Foreign Mission in China, pp.12-14.

from Government. He was the best-loved doctor in the province.¹³¹ In 1927 the modern methods of treatment were successfully employed in the BMS Chowtsun hospital, with a recovery rate of about 86%, an encouraging figure.¹³²

Another precautionary measure was against measles. It meant vaccinating Chinese babies or pupils in order to prevent the spread of smallpox. Other preventive inoculations were given to all. In almost each hospital certain vaccine was bought from Britain or Hongkong ready for use by the Chinese people. The Dr. Annie Gillespie Memorial Hospital in Changchun was a very much smaller scale medical centre, but in 1924 its doctors vaccinated 126 children against small-pox.¹³³

Medical missionaries also spent a great deal of time to control Kala-azar. The SPG medical workers in the St. Andrew 's Hospital examined house to house for this epidemic in Hokien city of Chihli. The Foster Hospital of the BMS at Chowtsun accepted a large number of such cases in 1925, these patients coming from a district 100 miles away. Besides, there were a lot of dysentery cases during the summer seasons in South China, mostly bacillary, and many very acute. Malaria was far more common among the Chinese than many had supposed, but mission hospitals took effective measures and put it under control. In Shansi Dr. Watson was the chief bulwark against the threatened encroachment of the terrible pneumonic plague. In 1930, when the costly government plague fighting forces arrived on the scene, he had already wiped it out.¹³⁴

With several years' experience, British missionary doctors summarized an effective preventative method, i.e. using vaccination and inoculation to control these terrible epidemics. Nearly all missionary doctors were corresponded with on the subject. More and more services of missionary doctors were available, so improvements were made quickly. The figure of vaccinations and injections in Swatow General Hospital was 2,025 from October 1922 to September 1923.¹³⁵ The Nethersole Hospital in 1923 vaccinated 1,209 cases.¹³⁶ The CMS Hangchow Hospital in 1920 also vaccinated 189 persons.¹³⁷ Epidemic diseases in the statistics of all mission hospitals constituted a very high percentage, and doctors and nurses vaccinated

¹³¹The Missionary Herald of Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1926, p.255.

¹³²BMS. Annual Reports of BMS 1925 & 1927, pp.104, 18.

¹³³PCI. Zenana Mission: Reports of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions 1924, see p.25.

¹³⁴BMS. See his personal file.

¹³⁵EPM. Overseas Lingtung, General Correspondence, Swatow, Report, Minutes, Letters, 1923, Box 33, File 4, see the statistics of hospitals; Band, p.407.

¹³⁶LMS. South China, Reports, Box 5-1923, Report of the Alice Memorial & Affiliated Hospitals, Hongkong in Connection with LMS for the Year 1923.

¹³⁷CMS. M/Y CH2 1920, see Dr. Main's report.

everyone who came in local communities. In 1930 it was reported that "no serious epidemics occurred," or such diseases "were found occasionally," or "became infrequent."¹³⁸ Medical missionaries were thus the main source and the earliest leading group in combating the ravages of plagues and epidemics.

3. Demonstrations, Exhibitions and Lectures

The CHE also carried out many demonstration projects to promote public health awareness.¹³⁹ There were lectures, public health exhibitions, national health lantern slide shows, and health education literature. Some missionary schools also organized these important activities.¹⁴⁰ In October 1923, the Shanghai National Health Council appointed Dr. V. Appleton to hold a two-week health demonstration in Shansi.¹⁴¹ Many British up-country hospitals cooperated with local churches in organizing medical demonstration centres.¹⁴² In May 1929 the CHE organised health exhibitions in many strategic places. Its West Lake Exhibition in Hangchow gave considerable amount of money and attention on health materials.¹⁴³ Many mission hospitals and medical schools had their own small medical museums. Besides a teaching purpose, they also acted as an important means of disseminating public health knowledge. These medical museums daily drew greater and greater crowds of visits and sightseers.¹⁴⁴ The hygienic section in Cheeloo museum was the most valuable and instructive part; it was an important centre for disseminating knowledge of public health.¹⁴⁵ By disseminating preventive medicine and the ideas of hygiene, missionaries affected public opinion considerably.

From the mid-1910s more and more medical missions began to open special courses of public health and gave lectures to local Chinese communities. In large medical centres special health training summer schools for teachers in Christian institutions were conducted. During the summer of 1926 two courses in health education were given to more than 100

¹³⁸The China Year Book, 1929-30, p.123.

¹³⁹CBMS. London, Asia Committee, CCC/NCC, China, FBN 1, box 348 E/T China 2(3) 1926-1927, Micro.12, see Iva M. Miller's "The NCC Annual Report - 1926-1927."

¹⁴⁰Band, p.367.

¹⁴¹BMS. English Baptist Mission, Shansi, Report for 1923, p.19.

¹⁴²Annie Gray, pp.49-50.

¹⁴³CBMS. London Asia Committee, China Continuation Committee? NCC, FBN 1, Box 348, E/T China 2(3) 1928-29, Micro.16, see NCC Annual Report 1928-29.

¹⁴⁴WMMS. Report of Hance Hodge Memorial Hospital 1924; Report of Hill Memorial Hospital 1925; and Report of Hankow Jubilee Women's Hospital for the Year of 1926, from Synod Minutes-China, FBN 4, and Women's Collection, FBN 5.

¹⁴⁵BMS. The Tsinanfu Institute.

teachers in the summer schools in Foochow by the CHE.¹⁴⁶ The education of public health became one of the most important by-products of mission hospital work. They locally launched a social service campaign with lectures on public health and sanitation. In 1920 the Board of Education of Lanchowfu local government invited Dr. G. E. King of the CIM to give lectures in 7 important local colleges.¹⁴⁷ In 1930 health talks were held by 62 mission hospitals.¹⁴⁸ The NCC, YMCA, American Red Cross, and Government Educational Board bore the major burden of public health lectures through their joint efforts. For years "Swat the Fly" had been their slogan, but they also conducted crusades against other diseases. Missionaries travelled through the country, giving many demonstrations and lectures on the necessity of sanitation.

4. Literary Work

Writing and editing the textbooks, pamphlets and tracts on hygiene and public health were another important means by which missions supported public health campaigns. In 1920 the CCC recommended the preparation of literature on hygiene.¹⁴⁹ The CHE did a huge amount of pioneering work in preparing lantern demonstrations, posters, and literature. Its publications systematically introduced causes and origin, modes of propagation, the methods of prevention, the features of all kinds of epidemics and plagues. The CHE in 1926 began to promote the use of health literature and posters, and making the "health" magazine popular. Meanwhile a few of its staff served on the editorial board of the Chinese Recorder regularly and attached to the board of the Christian Advocate, a Methodist organ. In the latter, a column named "Health Programmes" was in each issue. The first book of a series of manuals for teachers on methods of imparting health to the students - First Steps in Health Teaching. Book I was published and widely circulated in 1927.

Christian publishers published over 30 kinds of the most popular propaganda materials, such as Commoner's Hygiene, the Road to Health, Personal Hygiene, Cleanliness and Medicine and Hygiene. Preparing health textbooks was one of important contents of their publications, these books were recommended as major teaching references for school health curriculum, such as Short Talk on Hygiene I, II, III and Health for Little Folks. They also produced 16 types of publicity materials about education for motherhood. Many nurses in mission hospitals prepared many posters to spread common hygiene knowledge, such as Preparation at home for the Birth

¹⁴⁶CMS. M/Y CH2 1931, File 1, CMS Pakhoi Hospital, 1930 & 1931.

¹⁴⁷The CIM Monthly Notes 1920-1924, Aug.1920, p.2.

¹⁴⁸Band, p.376.

¹⁴⁹FFMA. CH/3, Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the CCC, Shanghai, 3-7 May 1920.

of a Baby, Suitable Diet for Baby, Suitable Diet for Baby When Weaning, Feeding Baby and Timing by the Sun and the Table of Food Nutritious Portion.¹⁵⁰ These posters and tracts were very easy to understand and of very high popularity and were often distributed from house to house.¹⁵¹

The C(P)HE was one of the three largest publishers of medical books in China. Between 1918 and 1932 the CHE turned out 119 books in all.¹⁵² All of its publications were centred around health education, gave a widespread social involvement and prepared public opinion for the campaigns of public health. Thus imbuing health and hygienic ideas to the whole nation and popularizing the common public health knowledge were its major task so that it could launch this campaign on a larger scale. Its books emphasized popularity and suitability for ordinary people's taste rather than specialized academic works. Its literature directly pushed and stimulated the public health movement in China.

5. Child and Student Medical Welfare

In public health work, the emphasis was also put on children and students. The contents varied, such as regular physical examinations, school medical inspections, setting up clinics inside schools, offering the lectures on public health and inoculation and vaccination.¹⁵³ In many schools they set up students' health records; published the standards of right height and weight for boys and girls; distributed vision charts for school and examined pupils' sight regularly. Medical missionaries volunteered to look after both state and mission school students' health locally. For instance, the eye-clinic at Kang Wa Shih in Peking was very famous in doing eyesight tests for students and disseminating the methods of protecting sight.¹⁵⁴ They set up the system of physical examination in many schools.¹⁵⁵ Sometimes a special nurse was arranged to be responsible for local school medical work.¹⁵⁶ Many pupils were also vaccinated for smallpox.¹⁵⁷ They even investigated the diet of the students to determine whether it was well-balanced and adequate to their needs. They kept an eye on the kitchen, dining room, and latrine to see that hygienic conditions

¹⁵⁰Annie Gray, pp.47, 48, 49, 89.

¹⁵¹See the MMC - Report for 1918.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Report of the Medhurst College, Shanghai, 1923, from LMS.

¹⁵⁴LMS. North China, Reports, 1921, Box 8, see Newsletter from Dr. and Mrs. Stuckey, London Mission Peking, March 1921.

¹⁵⁵CMS. WCUU Senate Minutes June 1924.

¹⁵⁶Report 1924 - Girls' Central Boarding School, Hanyang, M. Blenkley, LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 9-1924.

¹⁵⁷LMS. Central China, Reports, Box 9-1925, Report for 1925 - London Mission Girls' Central Boarding School, Hanyang.

were maintained. Systematic daily health knowledge in every grade in mission institutions was being taught. All medical welfare activities among Chinese students aimed at keeping them in good physical condition. The system of students' health protection and care in China was initiated by these medical missionaries.

6. Summary

Due to this significant public health campaign of the Church in the 1920s, mission medical work centred much more on socially educative functions than before. It related itself to community life as a centre for health education, providing information and lectures. Each mission hospital was, in fact, a centre for the new philanthropic activities, from which Western medical ideas on sanitation and prevention of diseases were spread. Mission hospitals were very tidy and in good order, making themselves good examples for the public health campaigns. Mission hospitals were increasingly being made educational centres to the rising generation along Western lines of medicine, surgery and public health. By the demonstration of these mission medical hospitals, Western medical health knowledge finally settled its position in the Chinese mind.

However, most medical missionaries did not realise the profound significance of large-scale disease prevention rather than small-scale cure until 1920. But in the 1920s public health education became an increasingly important factor in their medical services. This work both benefitted Chinese people themselves and largely reduced medical missionaries' workload. It was also considered an important method to increase medical working efficiency. In the tabulation of results in 1930 it was assumed that the majority of mission hospitals had in varying different degrees engaged in public health work. Of 119 questionnaires returned, there were reported 17,407 physical examinations of well persons, 5,792 typhoid inoculations, and 62,406 smallpox vaccinations. The proportions of persons served in these three ways were examinations 20%, inoculations 7%, and vaccinations 73%. In addition, some hospitals furnished the main incentive and technique for widespread smallpox vaccination campaigns. Of the 119 hospitals, 34 stated that all students in local mission schools were given physical examinations. An additional 7 hospitals reported that over 80% of the students were examined. Only 5 reported no examinations.¹⁵⁸ The CHE concentrated its work on revising and improving all the materials for health exhibition and promotion; recommending illustrated lectures and conferences, especially in schools and Christian organizations; and conducting research on practical health education problems. By 1935, over 30 British mission hospitals reported that they were involved in the public

¹⁵⁸CBMS. See the CHE in the NCC annual report for 1930-31.

health work.¹⁵⁹ In fact, each British mission hospital and dispensary as well as clinic assumed more and more tasks as centres for disseminating public health.

However, relatively speaking, the preventive work and public health still lagged behind primary medical work and medical education; despite such endeavour made by these missions, particularly in the late 1920s, most of the British mission health work was still curative rather than preventive in the 1920s and even later. This was because some medical missions still persisted that they would rather have good mission hospitals for the treatment of the sick to display to China and the world, but had not enough money to build such public health and preventive enterprises, nor staff sufficient to man them.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, the public health programme was seriously handicapped by lack of financial resources. In spite of these causes, the clear tendency was for Protestant missions to strengthen this work. They emphasized the propaganda value of public health and their efforts became well known to society. All missionaries had the broad education, fresh idea, ready perception and quick sympathy to see the importance of public health work to China. More and more Chinese were ready to listen to their ideas and values, and many of them strove to help missionaries in enlarging the campaigns of public health. The CHE was invited to join the Committee by the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Health for the discussion of School Health Programmes and Textbooks. The government had welcomed and been grateful for help extended by medical missionaries, because Government itself had no offices or departments of public health before 1929.¹⁶¹ The missionaries helped Government to design blueprints and pave the way for the future public health drive.

IV. CONCLUSION

Medical mission work showed more progress during the 1920s than ever before, and British missionary societies had many reasons to be proud of their achievements. Even during the most unsteady stages of the anti-foreign movement most institutions still managed to carry on and cope with the greatly increased volume of work, and steadily to improve its quality. The general features, place and influence of mission medical work will be respectively narrated.

1. General Features and Changes of Medical Services

The medical mission work in the 1920s had many new features. Continuing to extend primary medical work and increasing medical

¹⁵⁹See the statistics of mission medical work, pp.1-40, CBMS, London, Asia Committee, E/T China, FBN 19, Box 409, No.12.

¹⁶⁰WMMS. China Correspondence Hupeh, Box 964, Wuchang General, Our Hupeh Hospitals in Transition, Hankow, 11 Feb.1927.

¹⁶¹Petty, Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, Vol.V, pp.479, 480.

educational quality were major characteristics. Much higher qualifications of medical missionaries also greatly promoted the development of medical work. Broader cooperation between the different missions was seen. Further clearer division between primary and secondary medical work marked the new progress of medical work. Medical missionaries' public-spiritedness and high ideas were very noticeable. The Chinese attitudes towards medical mission services also changed. Finally mission medicine in China assumed a special importance in comparison with other continents and countries.

Medical missionary work was a most important factor in bringing foreigners and Chinese into a better relationship by removing misunderstandings and breaking down Chinese people's prejudices and hostility to the Christian religion. Hence medical work in the last century was justified, as reinforcing evangelism and opening door after door for the Christian message, as the most powerful instrument for the spread of the gospel and "an opening wedge," paving the way for Christian proselytization.¹⁶² However, the early role of medical work did not exist in the 1920s. Statistics revealed that the Chinese people understood Western medical values better than before. The medical work of the Church were welcomed and appreciated wherever they had been established. The appeal for hospital work from Chinese society was strong. Thus, medical work had already been universally acknowledged as an essential and permanent part of the Christian message, becoming in particular a high priority in British missions.¹⁶³ Medical work thus began to separate from evangelistic work as an independent branch rather than an accessory of evangelistic work.

This new emphasis upon the importance of medicine was reflected in the Medical Committees formed by some missions in the 1890s, and gradually most missions acquired their own distinctive medical branch.¹⁶⁴ Even the more-evangelistically inclined missions, such as the CIM, gradually saw the vital importance of medical work.¹⁶⁵ As a result, there developed home medical organisations with their own finances, and officers, able to raise funds and enthusiasm at home, and to direct work in China, both through the formulation of policy and through inspection on the ground. There was also growing cooperation between missions in London, as signalled by the Association of Medical Officers of Missionary Societies (established in 1904), whose work was succeeded by the Medical Advisory Board of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland in 1916.

¹⁶²Moorshead, pp.206-207; Jerome Ch'en, China and the West: Society and Culture 1815-1937 (London, 1985), p.129.

¹⁶³CMS. G1 CH2/O 1920, Precis Book, No.39, Statement by T. Gaunt.

¹⁶⁴Margaret Dewey, The Messengers - A Concise History of the USPG (Oxford, 1975), pp.87-88.

¹⁶⁵Its Medical Auxiliary was set up in 1922 and later than most other major British missions. See China's Millions 1922, p.52.

But this was matched by growing local district cooperation. Within this framework, medical work in primary care but increasingly in education and research was to be vastly expanded in the 1920s as medicine became the most important aspect of missionary enterprise in China.

In the 1920s the central focus of this work was in the expansion and diversification of hospital provision. The number of mission hospitals had grown from 289 in the late 1910s to 326 in 1920 and to 350 in 1928.¹⁶⁶ But the main aim was now to improve the quality of medical education rather than simply expand provision, for the key to progress was now identified in educating Chinese doctors and so laying the basis for permanent but self-supporting provision, for in the long run it was impossible for the missions alone to supply and finance the medical system of China. This large-scale education of both doctors and nurses was supplemented by research provision and above all by the supply of adequate materials in both Chinese and English. In turn, of course, medicine began to overlap with the essential tasks of public health provision in China. In all these aspects of missionary endeavour, a vital part had been played by the CMMA.

In successfully developing the role of missions in medical education, it had proved of utmost importance that highly qualified missionaries should be recruited for China. This had been achieved partly through initiatives such as the Students Christian Movement in Britain with its publication, Medical Practice in Africa and the East,¹⁶⁷ and by the significant campaign of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (EMMS) in the 20th century.¹⁶⁸ The London Medical Missionary Society (LMMS) was also proved highly important.¹⁶⁹ In addition, missionaries in China were encouraged to improve their own qualifications and keep abreast of latest developments through advanced courses when on leave in Britain, funded in part by the CMA or their home missions.¹⁷⁰ According to the records of mission archives, over half British medical missionaries on leave engaged in advanced studies.¹⁷¹ These capable medical missionaries provided

¹⁶⁶See R.C. Croizier, Traditional Medicine in Modern China: Science, Nationalism and the Tension of Cultural Change (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p.38; "Medical Missions," by W.G. Lennox, in Petty, Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, Vol.V, p.454; Chung-hua kui-chu, p.665.

¹⁶⁷WMMS. China Correspondence Hupeh 1916-1923, Box 962 Hupeh Chairman 1923, from Medical Secretary, 13 June 1923.

¹⁶⁸The EMMS set up special medical scholarships for those candidates who would definitely go to China and India in near future to study in the Medical College of Edinburgh University. See EMMS archives and the records of my interviews with Drs. Findlay, Garven and Littlewood.

¹⁶⁹It was founded by Dr.J.L. Maxwell. See BMS, China, C/14 Dr. Henry Genge Wyatt 1925-1938.

¹⁷⁰Meanwhile, the CMB generously supported not only American but also British medical staff for further studies. Some British doctors, who felt inadequate to undertake the responsibilities of mission hospital work, obtained fellowships from the CMB and completed courses of further study.

¹⁷¹The Herald of the BMS 1920, p.125; China's Millions 1921, pp.83-84; EPM. See Dr.G.D. Whyte personal file; UFS. Report on Foreign Mission: submitted to the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland 1926; Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee May 1920 to April 1924, p.439; R. Fletcher Moorshead, pp.214-216; China's Millions 1922 and 1928, pp.123, 105.

important guarantees for the higher quality of medical services in China.

A distinctive feature of the 1920s was the policy of separating medical training from primary care. Initially, doctors had been trained, often in small numbers, within mission hospitals. Later small medical schools had developed but the training they offered had been hampered by the demands of manpower, often hit by absences on leave, civil wars, Red Cross work and famine relief. In order both to relieve medical staff within hospitals and to improve the quality of training, specialist medical colleges were set up, which assumed virtually the whole responsibility for Chinese doctors. By 1927 only such training was recognised by Government, so further encouraging this separation, although the training of nurses was often still undertaken in hospitals. In this way, the missionary movement provided China with a medical profession trained to a higher standard, while fulfilling its own aspirations towards philanthropy of a high and demanding quality.

For mission work continued to be strongly motivated by the traditional desires to serve China by meeting its people's physical and spiritual needs, informed by mottoes such as "service, devotion, and sacrifice", "healing the sick", and "not to be served by the people, but to serve the people."¹⁷² Yet their work was often carried out against heavy odds, not only of losses of missionaries' lives through diseases¹⁷³ but against the background of shortages of staff and funds.¹⁷⁴ Strong demands too were made of women missionaries who continued to undergo sacrifice and hardship in order to fulfil their vocation, combining Christian philanthropy with professional skills of the highest order.¹⁷⁵ Here was an example of public spiritedness and higher idealism which could not but impress the bulk of the Chinese people.

As a result, while on the one hand, missionaries might be considered uninvited guests and agents of Western imperialism, on the other, the Chinese people readily contributed to their medical funds, providing up to 65% of income in 1920. This was a far greater Chinese contribution than in other fields, for example, 31% of the Evangelical working funds and 46% of mission educational income from Chinese.¹⁷⁶ Medical work also gained the support of the state. For medical work appeared non-sectarian, non-political, supra-national and genuinely altruistic,¹⁷⁷ thus gaining the

¹⁷²See the Brief History of the Moukden Medical College, p.78, this was the motto of Moukden General Hospital.

¹⁷³See J. C. Keyte, Andrew Young of Shensi (London, 1924); Goodall, p.195.

¹⁷⁴UFS. The MMC - Reports from 1920 to 1930.

¹⁷⁵See H.H. Tsai's paper in Scottish Medical Journal (1992:37); see Fulton, pp.396-399.

¹⁷⁶Chung-hua kui-chu, p.95.

¹⁷⁷Zenana Mission: Reports of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions of P.C.I. 1931, p.34; the Report of the Shantung Road Hospital for the year Ending 1922, from LMS.

support of the Chinese, against the grain of the supposedly prevailing anti-British movement of the time. Thus there was no hostility shown against missionaries, quite unlike their experience during the Boxer movement, 1899-1901. Medical work seemed genuinely to have won over the Chinese to the benefits of the missionary presence, and they even overcame much strong hostility to Western medicine, especially in the larger cities. The far-reaching achievement of the missionaries was thus acknowledged by Dr. Yen Fu-ching, "British prestige had been established through medical missionaries and Chinese physicians educated at British universities."¹⁷⁸ His opinion could fully represent the common sense of Chinese people.

2. The Place of Mission Medical Work

An interesting comparison between mission medical work and that of the Government provides strong evidence that Protestant missions were the major source of modern medical services (both direct medical care and secondary medical work) in modern China, a dominant position they did not lose until the late 1940s.

Thus, for direct medical care, the overall survey of mission medical work in 1932¹⁷⁹ demonstrated that Protestant medical missions had their largest stake in China. They accounted for 61% of the doctors and 32% of the nurses in China. In the mid-1930s, of the total 38,000 hospital beds in China 20,000 were in mission medical field. 268 mission hospitals in 1937 had about 75% of the total civilian beds.¹⁸⁰ In 1941 Protestant missions were still responsible for 51.3% of all hospital beds in China. Also, the medical missions had 8,669 beds more than the government, or 79.5% more.¹⁸¹ Whether in the devoted spirit of medical staff, or medical service quality, or hospital reputation the government failed to compete with missions.¹⁸² The distinctive services of medical missions were well-known, because of the Christian character, rendered better medical and nursing care than elsewhere available care of patients as individual personalities.¹⁸³ It is obvious that the medical missions played a very important part in direct medical care in China.

In indirect medical care work, the missions were still major forces.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁸Moorthead, "Heal the Sick", p.168

¹⁷⁹Lennox's paper.

¹⁸⁰Helen Foster Snow, Women in Modern China (Paris, 1967), p.77.

¹⁸¹H. B. Chu, "New Trends in Christian Medical Work," The Chinese Recorder, Vol.72, No.2 (1941), pp.65-68.

¹⁸²Christian Voices in China, ed. by Chester S. Miao (New York, 1948), see pp.169, 171, 172.

¹⁸³See W.G. Lennox's paper in Petty's book, pp.500, 501.

¹⁸⁴Weng Chih-lung, "Chung-kuo teh hsin-i-hsueh" (The New Medical Science of China), Wen-hua chian-she (The Cultural Construction), Vol.1, No.2.

In China special state medical schools in 1919 were as sparse as the morning stars. In the 1920s the general conditions were lack of modern medical teachers, no proper textbooks and teaching references, and no uniform fixed Chinese medical terms; there was neither any Chinese medical scientific magazine nor reference. Many of state medical institutions had little or no laboratory equipment, and in some of them practically all the instruction was given by the lecture system. Thus, the students' knowledge of the human body was largely restricted to what they obtained from pictures in their textbooks.¹⁸⁵ Among 13 schools in 1930, actually 8 were run by the Christian missions.¹⁸⁶ They still constituted 58% of the medical schools in China in 1932.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, in 1934 China had only 26 medical colleges, of which 14 were missionary-run,¹⁸⁸ while the missions had 140 schools of nursing education in 1943.¹⁸⁹ Christian education first introduced Western medical science into China. Their colleges were the most advanced medical enterprises in China.¹⁹⁰

Meanwhile, the general tone both of Chinese people and government had been of growing appreciation for missionary medical help.¹⁹¹ At least the first three quarters of the century, medical education and service were undertaken as private enterprises, largely by foreign medical missionaries. They had helped to lay the foundation of modern medicine in China and to carry on this work so faithfully all these years.¹⁹² The place of medical missionaries as advisors, experts of Western medical science were never suspected. They were able equally to cooperate and coordinate with the Chinese government in many ways. Therefore, all the facts proved that the Christian missions did not lose their dominant position in Western medical work until the late 1940s or the early 1950 when Western missions were forced to withdraw from China entirely.

3. General Influence

Since the 1850s medical missionaries had been involved in medical literary work in China. From mainly the 1910s onwards, the mission medical

¹⁸⁵The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference Held in Shanghai, Tuesday, May 2, to Thursday, May 11, 1922, pp.122-123.

¹⁸⁶K. Faber, Report on Medical Schools In China, IIII8, 1931, p.5, from Choa, pp.99-100.

¹⁸⁷Lennox's paper in QMJ, p.534.

¹⁸⁸Jerome Ch'en, China and the West: Society and Culture 1815-1937 (London, 1985), p.133.

¹⁸⁹See H. F. Snow, Women in Modern China (Paris, 1967), p.77.

¹⁹⁰The Chinese Delegate at the World Christian Conference in Jerusalem in 1928, "Chi-tu chiao chiao-yu tsai Chung-kuo teh ti-wei" (The Place of Christian Education in China), Chiao-yu chi-k'an (Educational Review), Vol.4, No.3 (Sept. 1928), pp.23-24.

¹⁹¹"Hsiang-ya i-hsueh chuan-men hsueh-hsiao kai-k'uang" (A Survey of the Ya-li Medical School), Hsin chiao-yu (The New Education), Vol.1, No.5 (Aug. 1919).

¹⁹²F.C. Yen, "Medical Education in China, Past and Present," QMJ, Vol.49 (1935), pp.934-937.

work had entered an all-round development period, apart from the primary medical work, medical higher education, medical research and literary work, public health were all launched in China, Their medical contributions in China surpassed all those in other parts of the world where they rendered medical services in depth, width, standard and quality.

In sum, it is true that "missionary medicine is an important starting point for any studies of Western health care in developing countries,"¹⁹³ for without exception China's development of Western medicine was closely connected with Protestant missions. From the 1830s to the early 1950s Western medical missionaries had been the major force of modern health care and carried the major burden of medical services in China. They had also been the major source of advisory, material and technical assistance to the Chinese government's effort towards the building and development of a modern health care system. Nobody should suspect their domination during this period. The 1920s was the golden period of their medical work, and they laid the solid and durable foundation for the continuing development of Western medical science in China, and they made Western medicine take its root, sprout, blossom and bear fruit in China.

It was publicly admitted that these fully trained missionary doctors and registered nurses constituted only about 10% of the whole missionary forces in China,¹⁹⁴ but they achieved the greatest successes in the 1920s. British missions were much more involved in medical work than American ones. They had a larger share in introducing a new concept of Western medicine; transplanting a new science, a new medical education, a new philanthropic cause; importing a new medical moral standard and a new sympathy. They helped China design the modern administrative framework of health care and the health system in China through their own models, and their medical education nurtured many of the outstanding leading talents of medical administration for China. However, their actual contributions and real cross-fertilization were far beyond what anyone is able to describe.

¹⁹³Yue-wah Cheung & Peter Kong-ming New, "Toward a Typology of Missionary Medicine: A Comparison of Three Canadian Medical Missions in China before 1937," Culture (Journal of Canadian Ethnology Society) III (2) (1983), p.32.

¹⁹⁴LMS. Central China, Incoming Letters, Box 34-1923 (Apr.-June), Fold 2, see the letter from H. Fowler, 6 Apr.1923, Shanghai, "Medical Mission Policy."

CHAPTER 4: EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Today, the Chinese government operates the world's largest education system. However, the origin and development of modern education in China were closely linked with many missionary educators, for their impact was most powerful. There were 3 clear-cut periods in the educational work of missions in China. Before 1907, evangelistic education was their major concern, and elementary schools accounted for the major part of mission educational enterprises. From 1907 to the early 1930s missions' secondary and higher education work expanded greatly. From the early 1930s mission educational work tended towards integration into the national educational system while continuing its own development and consolidation. The present chapter is devoted to the achievements of missionary education in the 1920s, in which China was still open to foreign educational influences.

In 1915 the establishment of the China Christian Educational Association (CCEA) directly resulted in greater unity and uniformity in mission educational work. It had 8 branch associations in the whole of China.¹ Its 4 secretaries were responsible respectively for elementary and secondary education, higher education, adult education and religious education. An Association of Christian Colleges and Universities in China was organized in 1919 and later named the Council on Higher Education (CHE) to help coordinate the work of the colleges and to make a united appeal for funds in the West. The main functions of the CCEA and CHE were to determine uniform educational policy for all mission institutions and to render valuable services in the standardization of educational work and in bringing about cooperation between Chinese and foreigners. Many British missionary leaders also clearly saw that they must take their share with other Christian bodies in secondary and higher education.² The 1920s' mission educational cooperation endowed their educational work with greater potentialities than before; such harmonious cooperation secured the fullest benefit and greatest economy.

Education was the most potent factor in the course of China's modernization. The skills of Western-style education were still one of the most urgent needs throughout China in the 1920s. Thus, "Christianity," Christian leaders appealed, "can never win any nation until it wins the intellectual classes. This is more true of China than of almost any other nation. It is high time to make an appeal to these classes. The demand is accentuated by the intellectual awakening which is spreading all over China."³ Protestant missions answered this call and were keenly alive to

¹China Mission Year Book 1916, p.258.

²Thompson, p.683.

³The Missionary Herald of PCI, March 1922, p.258.

the new situation; their schools tended to develop in their students a sense of the morals and character of a good Christian rather than offering direct conversion. They aimed to provide such educated laymen and to develop a public opinion, a feeling of responsibility to the community and a change in the essentially selfish outlook of so many of the people sufficient to free the country from the many forms of bondage.⁴ They wanted their students both to develop as individuals and to contribute to society in the future.⁵ This broader educational ideal led Christian institutions to train practical invaluable talents for China.

During the 19th and early 20th centuries the mission educational role was underlined by its pioneering nature. However, in the 1920s the wave of modern schools surged through the whole of China from the central to the local and from large cities to remote countryside as well as from peripheral to coastal regions. Facing the state educational situation just like bamboo shoots after a spring rain, missionaries predicted that unless they were able to make achievements in certain ways which would be more outstanding than government schools, they would inevitably lose the important premise on which their existence depended. How to maintain effectively existing Christian schools became more and more a poignant issue. Keeping Christian institutions at a much higher standard than ever before was henceforth taken as their most important task. In 1921, the Conference of Representatives of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, held at Swanwick, stressed: "The ideal educational central aim should be the highest possible quality in the work done, with a probable necessary concurrent diminution in quantity".⁶ Thus, the goal was a uniform educational system, which although comparatively small in extent, would be superlative in quality. For the sake of this, Christian educational leaders spent more time and threw more energy into thinking and planning educational strategies for the Church as a whole, and in particular how they could distribute the results of such a plan to every school and teacher through good organization. In view of this special policy, we cannot evaluate mission education only by surveying their expansion in number. Quantity is not the sole standard of measuring their success. Indeed, the expansion of the quantity of their educational causes was not on a large scale, in particular, in the second half of the 1920s (owing to the anti-foreign movements). But the increase in quality was quite conspicuous. Missionary educators paid attention principally to their role as educational models in China by increasing educational quality and

⁴The National Christian Conference held in Shanghai, 2-11 May 1922 (Shanghai, 1922), p.119; LMS, North China, Incoming Letters, Box 24, From George B. Barbour, Peking, 10 Feb. 1924, p.4.

⁵"Chiao-hui hsueh-hsiao teh t'ek-hsin," (Characteristics of Christian Schools), Chi-tu chiao-yu (Christian Education), Vol.3, No.2 (June 1925), p.40.

⁶Ibid.

perfecting new scientific subjects. The definite policy in secondary and higher education was to increase the academic standards and efficiency. The value of their schools mainly lay in transplanting the British model of primary and secondary education into China while strengthening their involvement in higher education through inter-missionary cooperation.

This topic cannot be separated from the larger context of the missions' links with the complicated political situation, the general development of modern Chinese education and the difficulties involved in adjusting the curriculum to the requirements of Government. All of these had to be faced by the missions. By the late 1920s and early 1930s Christian institutions, through registering with Government, had become an important integral part of Chinese educational system rather than independent one. Thus, the nationalization of Christian institutions made them obtain legal status and was greatly beneficial to their permanent development in China. It was a good thing both for the Church and Government. Thus, the campaign of restoring educational rights to the Chinese did not mean the absolute decline of mission education in China after 1926 as the traditional point of view held by Western historical circles,⁷ but it was great social progress.

In the following part, the new role and position of British and joint mission educational work in the 1920s will be examined in detail. The arrangement in this chapter follows logically from elementary to higher education, with assessing the position of the devolution of educational control, and general place of Christian education in China.

I. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Elementary schools constituted the largest number of British mission schools, and this pattern did not change in the 1920s, though the number declined in the late 1920s, this did not however mean their elementary education lacked development and progress. British societies paid more attention to rural schools, expanding many 4-year schools into 6-year, and developing mission central schools as models of elementary education. Meanwhile, the methods of elementary educational management were changed, and the number of Chinese teachers was greatly increased.

⁷See Footnote 3 in Chapter 1.

TABLE 4.1 THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS & PUPILS OF MAIN BRITISH MISSIONS IN 1920⁸

Missions	Infant Primary Schools				Junior Primary Schools			
	Sch.	Boys	Girls	Total	Sch.	Boys	Girls	Total
CMS & CEZMS	321	5,580	2,694	8,274	42	706	1,053	1,759
SPG	58	844	417	1,261	12	197	107	304
BMS	225	3,000	715	3,715	14	278	205	483
LMS	161	3,313	2,082	5,395	23	992	344	1,336
UMC	157	3,372	411	3,738	10	331	128	459
WMMS	114	1,737	908	2,645	17	342	188	530
CSFM	9	101	142	243	2	72	110	182
EPM	274	5,499	2,079	7,578	26	875	287	1,162
PCI	87	1,335	799	2,134	15	180	132	312
UFS	99	1,391	1,375	2,766	12	139	127	266
CIM	375	6,262	2,608	8,870	58	657	245	902
FFMA	34	954	241	1,195	7	188	27	215
CM	7	187	63	250	1	26	9	35
CMML	32	399	363	762	4	35	52	87
NEM	6	58	62	120				
SYM	2	19	2	21				
TSM	2	26	17	43				
CI		72		72				
Total	1,963	34,149	14,978	49,127	243	5,118	3,014	18,132

Most British missions' primary schools in the last century aimed to educate Christian children, but after about 1910, they were open to the whole of society. Firstly, four-year primary schools were mainly dotted round the countryside. In most cases these schools were regarded as the centres of evangelistic work, and often under the control of missionaries or local Chinese churches. They were usually located outside mission residential stations in the form of day schools. It was a very common

⁸Chung-hua kui-chu, pp.1194, 1197; see elementary educational statistics in *China Mission Year Book 1920* and the archives of major British missions.

phenomenon that as more elementary schools of this type were established they could not all be adequately developed, and many remained weak and small. They mainly depended upon local financial support. However, compared with the previous period, British missions in the 1920s paid more attention to developing elementary education in remote and inland areas. Some missions set up rural educational funds to develop rural primary schools.⁹ Such elementary schools in farming villages often became centres of mission agricultural experimentation or demonstration, aiming to provide specific vocational agricultural training. In Pinghsiang the CMS even erected many colliery schools specially for miners and their children. Secondly, a full six-year school was always situated at a mission residential station (in a city or town) with boarding accommodation and worked up to higher primary grade. Sometimes a kindergarten was attached to it while it was also taken as a feeder of local mission secondary school. Greater progress was seen in these schools than in four-year schools. Many of them were founded in the 1920s, for instance, the BMS from 1920 to 1924 built 4 such boarding schools.¹⁰ These central schools were regarded as elementary educational models and did useful work; they had more ample funds and more favourable circumstances. But while in 1920 there were 57,259 pupils in the primary schools of major British missions, pupils in junior primary education accounted for only 14.2% of the total. 85.8% of pupils did not continue their study after graduation from infant schools (see Table 4.1). Until the late 1920s this remained the pattern of elementary education, with infant primary schools representing quantitatively the main part of missionary efforts.

Exceptionally, the CIM concentrated almost all its educational efforts on primary education, its schools retained more features of traditional mission elementary education in the 19th century; it had an almost equal number of Sunday school pupils as that at boarding and day schools.¹¹ The CIM gave much more attention to religious education than other British missions. The number of its pupils in the late 1920s was still the same as it in 1920.¹²

The anti-Christian movements and the campaign of restoring educational rights in the mid-1920s¹³ directly led to the decline in the number of British mission elementary schools in the late 1920s. However, their achievements were still seen in many respects, such as appointing Chinese principals, standardizing primary school examinations, and providing

⁹See Financial Committee reports, distribution of grants, each year of North China, LMS.

¹⁰BMS. Minutes of the Fourth Inter-Provincial Conference, 1924.

¹¹China and the Gospel 1925, p.30.

¹²China and the Gospel 1925 and 1931, p.30.

¹³See its detail in Part IV of this chapter.

scholarships from their primary schools into middle schools. Village schools and boarding schools also still sprang up in many villages and towns for the progress of some missions never stopped. For instance, in 1921 the WMS in Central China had 17 schools with 535 pupils.¹⁴ But in 1928 the number of its Primary schools in the Wuchang District alone had increased to 39 with 67 teachers and 1,195 students; in 1930, there was further progress up to 48 schools, 85 teachers and 2,241 pupils.¹⁵ Some of mission elementary schools were very large, such as the Light of Grace School of the CMS in Yunnanfu, in 1927 still the only Christian school in the city; the numbers of its pupils by 1931 had reached 480 in the kindergarten, 280 in the infant section, and 40 in the junior. The EPM had 18 primary schools with a total of 360 pupils in the Hakka Region in 1911; the number grew to 55 schools with 1,593 pupils in 1925. Meanwhile in Swatow district it had 60 primary schools with 2,000 pupils. The number of the UFS higher primary schools increased to 18 in 1923 from 15 in 1920.¹⁶ Generally speaking, before 1926 the enrolment of many existing British mission primary schools was larger than that previously.

Next, one of their major achievements was embodied in training Chinese teachers. In the mid-1910s, missionary educators investigated why Chinese education had failed to solve the problems of primary education. It was attributed to the deficiencies of teachers, both in numbers and qualifications. Thus almost all missions adopted positive measures to solve this problem. In top classes of their primary schools teachers specifically turned pupils' attention towards the study of teaching methods and class management. Some graduates from their junior primary schools were remained as teachers in infant departments and kindergartens.¹⁷ This became a popular shortcut. Besides, some trained educational inspectors dispatched by the missions regularly visited the four-year schools in remote areas(, which were maintained with considerable difficulties and where there was a strong call for more help from missions) and guided their teaching and administrative work. This system became a temporary supplementary measure in solving the problem of the lack of qualified teachers.

¹⁴See Report-A.J. McFarlane, Central China, 1920-21, from LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 8-1921.

¹⁵WMS. Veneration of ancestors and Christianizing the Home Movement - Hankow, 1931, Wuchang Chairman, Box 966.

¹⁶UFS. Foreign Mission Committee, Index of Minutes, 28 May 1924 - 21 April 1925.

¹⁷LMS. Fukien, Report, Box 5, General Report for South Fukien Area for the Year 1922.

TABLE 4.2 PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHING STAFF OF MAIN BRITISH MISSIONS IN 1920¹⁸

Missions	Foreigners		Chinese	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
CMS & CEZMS	2	59	367	331
SPG		11	57	28
LMS	15	14	206	133
UMC	2		196	14
WMMS	6	13	147	58
CSFM	1	4	12	17
EPM	13	9	264	134
PCI	1	4	72	48
UFS*			138	
CIM	*	*	438	140
FFMA	3	5	69	10
CM			10	
CMML			19	7
SYM			2	1
CI		2	4	8
Total	43	121	2,001	929
		164		2,930

(* No report or incomplete figures)

From Table 4.2, we can see that among 164 British missionary educators in China in 1920,¹⁹ woman missionaries made more outstanding contributions

¹⁸Chung-hua kui-chu, p.1195, 1197.

¹⁹The actual figure should be higher than this owing to incomplete statistics.

than their male counterparts. The CMS and CEZMS allocated the largest number of women missionary teachers in China, almost half the total. Generally, missionary educators took a direct part in the teaching work of six-year boarding schools. In some cases before the mid-1920s, they were the principals of these boarding schools. Conversely, of 2,930 Chinese school teachers in 1920, two thirds were men, and one third women; however, Chinese teachers now constituted 94.7% of the total so that by 1930 teaching work in these schools was carried out nearly completely by mission-trained Chinese staff.

Also, most missions did not confine their educational work chiefly to an elementary level but regarded primary education as an important integral part of the entire mission education. British mission primary schools were regarded as not only preparatory institutions leading up to secondary education but also as a place for instilling Christian virtues. These schools emphasized training in basic knowledge and continued to strengthen their traditional artistic and physical training courses, such as music, drawing, dancing, handwork, games, drill, gymnastics. Public health as a new course was added to the curricula of all mission schools. Meanwhile, apart from ensuring students studied government courses, British mission schools felt that those subjects alone did not provide the best possible training for the majority of pupils who could not continue to study in middle schools and entered life direct from elementary education. It was necessary to have taught them practical subjects. Thus many British missions began to offer definite training in some vocational and handicraft education as the basis of industrial training and to spread this new comprehensive training programme in their primary schools. These subjects were of the greatest value to young children facing their futures. Its effect was striking. It was one of the newest and most important features of British mission elementary education.

Mission primary schools were more seriously hampered by lack of funds, often maintaining a somewhat precarious existence, because they were not an investment priority for mission educational establishment in the 1920s and more emphasis was put on their educational work at higher levels. Compared with American missions, however, primary schools constituted a larger proportion in British mission education. Although progress was obvious in some respects, in contrast with mission secondary and higher educational work, primary educational progress was less quickly developed. In 1920 there were 6,391 schools, but only approximately 3,000 in 1936.²⁰ The number of mission elementary schools had declined,²¹ as Government took over the major responsibility for elementary education. However, there were 99,000,000 children in China old enough to go to school, and yet less than

²⁰The Chinese Recorder, Vol.61, p.469.

²¹The China Year Book, 1931, p.317.

4% of these were able to do so.²² Under these conditions the mission elementary education provided an important supplement to insufficient government education. Christian missions had shouldered part of the elementary educational responsibility the Chinese themselves were unable to do.

II. SECONDARY EDUCATION

Between 1900 and 1920 the secondary schools of British societies still constituted the weak point in their education. But in the 1920s it was unanimously recognized by British missionary educators that middle schools were the backbone of Christian education and even of the Christian community. The students who did not reach this level of education would be inadequately prepared to be leaders. Though the leaders of the Church at large, its educators and moulders of public opinion, came from the higher educational institutions. They had of necessity first to pass over this bridge - the secondary schools, and then they might largely attain the professional classes. The qualified teachers of primary schools also came from the schools of this grade. It was thus evident that the maintenance of the right kind and number of these schools was the focus of the educational problem. British missionary educators thought that in the past the whole task had received too little attention in proportion to its importance. For reasons mentioned above, in the 1920s they paid more attention to the supreme importance of maintaining more and better middle schools as their essential educational strategy and policy. Investment in secondary schools constituted the largest percentage in their educational work. These schools became the pivots of their educational work and were strengthened in staff, equipment, and buildings. British missions did not found their own universities in China, but they set up quite a number of fine secondary institutions of British "state-school" style. These schools developed links with Hongkong University or Oxford or Cambridge, for whose matriculations or examinations their students worked. "The syllabus offered was completely based on British norms."²³

²²CIM's Young China, No.1 (Jan.1921), p.4.

²³China's Education and the Industrialized World Studies in Cultural Transfer, ed. by Ruth Hayhoe & M. Bastid (Armonk, New York & London, 1987), p.47.

TABLE 4.3 THE SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS OF MAIN BRITISH MISSIONS IN 1920²⁴

Missions	No. of Schools	Boys	Girls	Total Students
CMS	17	842	132	974
SPG	10	113	76	189
BMS	3	85		85
LMS	9	461	37	498
UMC	3	195		195
WMMS	4	169	20	189
CSFM	1	8	8	16
EPM	10	497		497
PCI	6	120	17	137
UFS	6	262		262
CIM	5	83	14	97
FFMA	1	55		55
Total	75	2,890	304	3,194

As we can see, the CMS, EPM, and LMS were major forces in running British mission secondary schools. Compared with American missions, British societies had 2 dominant areas in secondary education. Of 16 middle schools in Manchuria, the UFS and PCI operated 12 and played a leading role in this area.²⁵ The CMS, UMC and CIM essentially controlled the mission middle schools of Yunnan as well. Mission secondary education can be roughly divided into 4 types: Large City, Small City, Town-Village and Union Schools which will now be reviewed.

²⁴Chung-hua kui-chu, p.1195; also see the archives of major British missions. The figures were only the statistics of main British mission secondary schools, actually, in 1920 there were totally 80 British mission middle schools in China.

²⁵The others belonged to the DHS (3) and YMCA (1).

Generally, large city type of schools included both junior and senior departments and provided full six-year secondary educational courses. Some of them even had pre-college departments or departments of a college standard. English was adopted as the teaching medium, and the missions always maintained a larger number of foreign staff in these schools than other types of middle schools. Normally they had much better teaching equipment and facilities, and more highly qualified teachers. They were almost all in the form of boarding schools. Their most obvious character was as feeders of Christian universities. They also prepared candidates for official departments and commercial circles. Quite a number of their students found profitable careers, such as the customs, the salt bureaus, post offices and government departments. Their graduates inevitably turned city-wards and because the teaching language was usually English, this secured a large number of candidates for them. They carried out a policy of high tuition fees, and constantly raising fees was thought to be desirable. This resulted in the majority of their students coming from wealthy and official class families, so the proportion of students from Christian families gradually decreased. These British model secondary schools developed much more quickly than junior middle schools, and they were well-known in the whole of the country. They had acquired very high reputation.²⁶ For instance, in 1923, 270 boys of the Griffith John College came from 14 provinces in all.²⁷ These six-year middle schools were most famous as British-style state schools in the districts.

Small city middle schools usually took a boarding form. They were always located at the mission residential stations. The majority possessed only junior departments, and some were unable to offer senior middle school courses until the late 1920s. English was taken as a subject in these junior middle schools, but not as a medium of instruction. Their lack in English, as compared with the first type, was very striking. Hence the vernacular was used as the medium of instruction, and Chinese teachers accounted for the majority of the staff. But the work was always undertaken under the guidance of missionaries. The provision of vernacular-trained non-collegiate teachers became their second major feature; many of their graduates became the teachers in mission primary schools. These schools always had due regard to the provision of various types of workers needed in the country districts and smaller towns. This was a clear-cut difference from the first type. The Hwangpei Middle School of the LMS belonged to this type. Such junior boarding middle schools stressed agriculture rather than English. Especially in the second half of the 1920s they were increasingly specializing in rural subjects, and it should be said that this kind of educational work was still in its experimental period. Compared with the

²⁶WMMS. The Wuchang District Report 1931.

²⁷See LMS. Central China, Report in 1923.

previous years, these schools made relatively greater progress.

The third category - The "Town-village" type school actually denoted special rural boarding schools, some of which provided only two-year middle school courses. They mainly trained teachers for village primary schools. This type was well-suited to rural conditions. According to the practical needs in these areas, they did not aim to go beyond the junior middle school standard. In order to increase the mission educational standard in the up-country areas or smaller towns and to overcome financial difficulties, British missions developed a new strategy, namely, establishing middle school departments inside existing higher primary schools. These departments attached to mission primary schools also belonged to the town-village type. In this way the scale of mission secondary education was enlarged, and this became an important educational expansion policy. Hengchow and Yungchow primary schools in Hunan of the CMS contained such a school system.

Joint or union middle schools of British and American missions was another important supplementary measure for missions to enlarge secondary education. The WMMS established many primary schools but had no secondary schools of its own in Hunan. In the late 1920s, it joined the work in the Yali Union Middle School at Changsha. Obviously, in a number of areas and provinces educational cooperation with American missions became the major method for British missions to participate in secondary education.

In the early 1920s there were totally 80 British mission middle schools, but of them only a minority offered the full secondary courses, and the majority provided only junior middle school courses. Most of the British high schools included both elementary and secondary educational departments, and there were far fewer students in the latter than in the former. The WMMS's Haigh College in Kwangtung, in which in 1929, of 192 students in total, only 48 attended the high school courses, 144 were in fact primary school pupils.²⁸ As yet the top classes were usually small with few exceptions. Most of them were still in their infancy, apart from a few very prominent British mission secondary schools. Generally speaking, the educational standard of British middle schools kept up and progress was conspicuous.

The teaching quality of these secondary schools was greatly increased. The majority of their principals had very high academic backgrounds, for example, Samuel Lavington Hart in the TACC (1902-1929) with a first-class in the Cambridge Natural Science Tripos, a London D.Sc., a Fellowship at St. John's College, Cambridge, a lectureship in Physics.²⁹ The Amoy Anglo-Chinese College also secured quite a number of British and Chinese university graduates as their scientific teachers, thus strengthening its

²⁸WMMS. See Statistical Returns for South China District for the Year 1929.

²⁹See "Dr. Hart's farewell - Affecting Ceremony at Anglo-Chinese College," *Tientsin Times*, 27 June 1929.

scientific side. The Westminster School also recruited some prominent young teachers, such as L. Kingsley Underhill, who specialized in chemistry at Oxford, G. F. Mobbs, a Cambridge graduate. These highly qualified British staff were not only efficient teachers of their own subjects but made great endeavours to raise the scholastic standards of mission schools.

Furthermore, in 1922 the new training programmes were also worked out by the CCEA. On completing the second year, students were at liberty to select one of the three courses: (1) General; (2) Vocational; (3) University. British mission middle schools strictly carried out the uniform educational schemes. At first, their emphasis was on the general course in humanities and sciences, which became one of the major distinctive characteristics of these British "state schools". Before 1911, the curriculum of most mission middle schools chiefly included Chinese, English, Bible and other religious course, Latin, Greek and mathematics. Chiefly after 1920, a large number of secular and scientific courses were added, such as English literature, Western history, Western philosophy, elementary psychology, primary sociology, elementary ethics, all kinds of natural sciences, experimental courses of physical sciences, and public health, physical education. For instance, the Ying Wa College of the IMS in Hongkong provided lectures in interesting Nature Study. Its science courses included Hygiene with simple physiology, introduction to chemistry and elements of inorganic chemistry; both its Chinese and international history from the ancient world to present were given.³⁰ The Peking Boys' School had a very good Physics and Chemistry Laboratory in the early 1920s. The geography course in the TACC was very challenging one, it included political, mathematical and physical geography. The Wesley College gave special attention to its scientific courses and had a very sound Science Department with its independent laboratory. Its scientific equipment and apparatus belonged to the top rank both among mission secondary schools and the government ones. Their teaching curricula exactly copied those in typical British schools.

Secondly, vocational training was given special attention, including business, engineering, teacher training, pre-medicine, agriculture and industrial training. A middle school with a commercial or teacher training department was one of the targets which British societies aimed at. Their courses represented the more specialized lines of instruction and training, especially the curricula in senior middle schools which were divided into 2 groups. Apart from preparation for the students who intended to continue their study in colleges, preparation for the students who wanted to go straight into a practical social life (vocational training) provided a variety of careers to which young Chinese aspired. Providing teachers for the up-country schools became an important part of vocational training.

³⁰IMS. South China, Incoming Letters, Box 22, see Prospectus of Ying Wa College, Hongkong, 1921.

Many secondary schools were able to do a great deal of such work. The usual way was to open a small lower primary class inside their middle school so that each student in the graduating class might try his or her hand at teaching by studying half-time and teaching half-time. British teachers often found opportunities to break away from the set texts and gave some teaching in pedagogy and other special lectures to students. Missionary educational leaders also suggested that courses should be offered in industry in city schools and in agriculture in country schools.³¹ In both cases the principles underlying the occupation were taught and skills developed in the process. Thus, experiments were undertaken by these mission schools in ways of making farming and industrial life more attractive to educated young men, and in showing the opportunities that they afforded for Christian service.³² For example, in 1930 the Gotch-Robinson Middle School began definitely to emphasize its industrial character and to function as an experimental centre.³³ Similarly, the Haigh College at Fatshan (an industrial city) began to offer a course in Elementary Technology in 1920. The LMS Peking Boys' School from 1923 began to provide two-year commercial courses; practical office work in business methods was also available.³⁴ In South China schools such as, Union Middle School of the CCC for teacher and business training; the Holy Trinity College for theological training; and the Commercial Institute of the YMCA at Canton for business training, they were all asked to do special work in different fields so as to avoid duplication. The Senior Middle School at Moukden added optional courses in Science, Literature, Commercial Training, and special courses in Educational Training from the mid-1920s.³⁵ All the mission secondary schools welcomed the assigning of special courses to their institutions, which were in line with their purpose to emphasize science and the practical type of education that was needed by many of their students.

The senior students' courses in these schools were often regarded as a preparatory course for Christian colleges and universities, and this formed the third features of secondary curricula. This course gave prominence to the main aim of these mission middle schools which were to be feeders for Christian universities. The course ensured a greater number of university candidates and stimulated the prosperity and development of mission universities. The Junior College Department of the TACC in 1923 began to provide arts with economics, science with economics and commerce

³¹The National Christian Council Conference in Shanghai, 2-11 May 1922, p.299.

³²Ibid., p.299.

³³BMS. Minutes of Foreign Conference held in Taiyuanfu, 24-25 March 1930.

³⁴LMS. Reports, North China, Box 9, Peking Boys' School Report 1923, by W.F. Dawson.

³⁵UFS. See the Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee.

with economics; and teacher training to prepare professional teachers. All the courses lasted 2 years. A number of the most outstanding schools were even able to demonstrate the value of the collegiate phase of education and to provide a part or even full higher educational courses, covering the first or first two-year university studies. The TACC gave full collegiate courses for 4 years in the early 1920s, and the Wesley College had its own two-year collegiate department too. The Manchuria Christian College (MCC) aimed at giving an educational equivalent to that represented by the pass B.A. of a British university, and was for a time the only institution offering advanced education in this district. It provided the first two years' university courses, including pre-medical, pre-theological and teacher education.³⁶ The academic standard of these schools had been higher than ordinary middle schools but lower than formal Christian universities. Though they might be called university preparatory departments, they indeed provided many higher educational courses. Perhaps we can call them the special institutions which were on the way towards being real higher educational colleges.

As the missionary educators accumulated more experience, this new teaching system became more mature in the 1920s. It reflected the essential requirement of Chinese educational reforms to a large degree, and also demonstrated the progress of Christian education. The above 3 types of secular courses made mission middle schools become even more important centres for enhancing the Chinese understanding of Western science and civilization, thus creating a more receptive attitude toward missionaries in China.

Mission secondary education was regarded as the very centre of the scholastic edifice. It served as a link between the fundamental interests of primary education and the specialised interests of higher education. Many British secondary schools immediately affiliated with mission colleges or universities and became their important feeders. Many of them kept the Hongkong Matriculation as their leaving examination while they drew more into line with the curriculum of the government middle schools in China. The LMS through the Ying Wa Boys' College and the Ying Wa Girls' School and a hostel for Hongkong University provided a series of stepping stones to higher education. Even the Ts'ui Wen Boys' Middle School in Peking was also being considered as a feeder of this university and the Peking centre for its examinations in the early 1920s.³⁷ The Griffith John College reported in 1921 there were 5 students who passed the Hongkong Matriculation Examination.³⁸ The T'ung Chi School of the LMS and the Wesleyan Middle

³⁶UFS. Minutes of Foreign Mission committee, 1922.

³⁷LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1922, see W.G.Dawoon's letter.

³⁸LMS. Central China, Reports, see Report of C.W. Knott for the year Ending of 1921, Jan. 1922.

Schools in Fatshan for both boys and Girls were really feeders of Lingnan. The Amoy Anglo-Chinese College of the EPM was able to maintain high scholastic standards. Its graduates were admitted without examination to Edinburgh and Hongkong Universities. The Gotch-Robinson High School made an extraordinary contribution to Cheeloo from 1919-1926 and was its largest feeder.³⁹ The Boys' High School of the FFMA in Chungking was enlarged into a six-year institution in 1926 and became an important feeder of the WCUU. By providing more and more candidates, British mission middle schools made more important contributions to promoting the prosperity and development of mission universities in the 1920s than in the 1910s.

Christian missions made great efforts to raise the enrolment of their secondary schools in the 1920s. The growth was very marked. The numbers of the schools and students were respectively 291 and 15,000 in 1919; 321 and 15,093 in 1920;⁴⁰ 245 and 45,000 in 1931;⁴¹ and 249 and 50,000 in 1935.⁴² The figure of mission middle schools had declined by 1935 compared with 1919, but the number of students was larger than before. Meanwhile, it should be noted that the percentage of secondary students accounted for 7% of the entire mission education in 1919 but 24% in 1935. Mission secondary education in the 1920s was largely strengthened. British mission schools universally reported that the number of their students was increased. Their middle schools in ports were particularly strong. By 1923 the Westminster higher middle school enrolled 530 students on its campus. In the Anglo-Chinese College at Swatow, the number of the students reached 292 in 1925 and 700 in 1928. The TACC continued to enlarge its student body and it rose to 541 in 1930.⁴³ The number of the EMS' middle schools was increased to 6 in 1930 from 3 in 1920. The CMS had 26 middle schools (6 senior and 20 junior) in the same year, compared with 17 in 1920.⁴⁴ But 30% of them were six-year middle schools.⁴⁵ Thus, junior secondary schools constituted the major part at this level.

By contrast, few students in state schools went beyond infant lower primary level. Of those who went on to complete junior primary, only 5% entered middle school. Secondary education remained a weak link in state school system throughout the republican period. Government put most of its effort into elementary and tertiary education. This left secondary education as the special preserve of missions. They had a great share in

³⁹BMS. Minutes of Inter-Provincial Conference, p.79.

⁴⁰Paul Moncros, *China, A Nation in Evolution*, pp.278-306.

⁴¹*The China Year Book*, 1931, pp.317-318.

⁴²*1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China*, P.167.

⁴³IMS. Annual Meeting of the Court of Governors of TACC, 22 Oct.1931.

⁴⁴See their reports in 1930.

⁴⁵Wang Chih-hsing, *Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao shih-kang*, p.315.

secondary education with Government; China still to a much larger extent relied on mission institutions at this level. As educational models, their higher teaching quality was well-known locally. The MCC set a good example in Northeast China.⁴⁶ The Griffith John College in 1930 was taken as a centre to organize an Exhibition of school-work for the whole Province of Hupeh.⁴⁷ In the winter of 1931, the government educational authorities in Chungking district held an examination for all graduating classes in middle and senior primary schools. The FFMA's small class with only 9 boys turned out to be the best one.⁴⁸ This school in the mid-1930s attracted the highest admiration and reputation from Nanking Government as the best middle school in the province.⁴⁹ 4 of the leaving students at the PCI Boys' Middle School in Kirin in 1930 obtained entrance to the MMC; 1 took first place in the entrance examination of the newly established Kirin Government University, and 2 obtained second and third places in the government teacher training school.⁵⁰ The TACC as the best known school in North China became the first candidate in the investment plans of the British Boxer Indemnity Funds. These results showed that mission secondary schools were still well known models in the late 1920s.

Their influence cannot be underestimated. Through these British-Chinese secondary schools British missionary educators brought in their own ideals of British culture and methods of education; at considerable cost, they undertook the building of some admirable institutions. These secondary schools had been conducted strictly on the lines of a British state middle school. They were the most outstanding British mission secondary educational enterprises in China and were able to give a sound general education in Chinese scholarship and Western learning. Whatever the arrangement of the various classes in these schools, or the strength of the staff, both foreign and Chinese, or the tutorial system and encouragement given to athletics, or other special features of school life all were first-class at that time. These institutions were the most productive fields for creating a body of professionals or business people. They provided a healthy core of Christian education and were depended on by Christian universities for the best candidates. These British secondary educational models embodied the prestige and influence of the British educational policy. Their major educational achievements in the 1920s were seen at this level.

⁴⁶The Missionary Herald 1920-22, PCI, p.152.

⁴⁷LMS. Report of C.W. Knott - 1930, Griffith John School, Hankow, 30 Dec.1930.

⁴⁸FFMA. CH/6 Letters from China 1928-31, Alfred Davidson to H.T. Silcock from Chungking, 2 May 1931.

⁴⁹Charles Tyzack, Friends to China: The Davidson Brothers and the Friends' Mission to China 1886 to 1936 (York, 1988), p.187.

⁵⁰The Missionary Herald of the PCI, 1930, p.99.

III. HIGHER EDUCATION

The traditional understanding of British missions in China is that they paid inadequate attention to higher education. In fact, several British missions had been involved in higher educational work since the early 20th century and especially in the 1920s, the higher educational cooperation among Protestant missions had been seen in a few institutions. Of course, the major partners in these universities were American and British missions. Despite this progress, the outstanding accomplishments of American missions in higher education often nearly submerged British missions' influence in most union universities.

In attempting to secure adequate financial support for the carrying out of a programme which was educationally efficient, it was unanimously thought that mission funds should be concentrated upon the maintenance of a few colleges and universities in which the educational quality should be of the highest. In 1921 the foreign mission boards of North America and Great Britain, at the request of missionary leaders, sent to China a strong Educational Commission. It indicated the direction which further cooperation in higher education would take. In face of growing demands for specialized courses besides the traditional ones and of the mounting costs of all education, such coordination had become an urgent necessity. In the late 1920s this was finally achieved not only by combining smaller institutions but also by coordination of courses and departments in a common programme for all colleges; expensive duplication of specialized work was avoided, each college took a only certain courses and assigned certain departments which need not be provided in all institutions.

During the 1910s most Christian universities and colleges were still in the initial stages, and their feeder schools were few. The colleges grew slowly and with very poor equipment and laboratories. Enrolment was small. However, all of these aspects took on a new look in the following decade. In the early 1920s higher education became the focus of the whole Christian educational work; missionary educational leaders declared that the major task of college training was to meet the specific needs of modern China.⁵¹ Thus the concrete principles, such as professional training, research work, and teacher training demands were separately worked out. Professional training commenced as a rule for the last 2 years of higher education, with the first 2 years devoted to more general studies. Raising academic standards became an integral part of the new educational pursuit. These institutions prepared students for broader academic careers. As a result, Christian colleges and universities in the 1920s were the most powerful loci of new knowledge and Western culture in China - as the following study of the leading ones will show.

Firstly, the West China Union University (WCUU) was established in

⁵¹The National Christian Conference held in Shanghai, 2-11 May 1922, p.300.

1910,⁵² Although British missions had a very small financial share.⁵³ But in materials, the FFMA built a permanent University Middle School (with a British architect). In personnel, many British missionary educators shouldered important teaching and administrative responsibilities here.⁵⁴ One of the biggest shortcomings of the WCUU was that its feeders were pitifully weak. Thus many of its first year's students came from government schools but in the early 1920s 21% of its freshmen came from British mission secondary schools in Szechwan.⁵⁵ In West China it was a most excellent university, including 5 faculties, i.e., Arts, Science, Medicine, Education, and Religion. It also gave lectures in Archaeology, Rural Sociology, Parasitology, Organ and Music, Ethics, Logic, Psychology, Sociology and Economics. The WCUU as an academic institution made encouraging progress. In 1920 it had 75 undergraduates and 6 post-graduates under the guidance of 47 teachers; but in 1930 the number of the students was 285 of whom 21 were post-graduates under the guidance of 110 teachers.⁵⁶ The local government colleges were still in their infant period and their scales were very small. Thus the WCUU was the leading higher educational model in West China, training teachers not only for mission schools but also for government institutions.

Secondly, the University of Hongkong was established in 1912. It was not a mission institution, but the LMS and CMS shared its work from the very beginning.⁵⁷ The CMS was also requested by the university authorities to take charge of undergraduates.⁵⁸ The Church of Christ in China also assisted in running this university in the late 1920s. Missionary educators remained here for their whole careers. In January 1930 the new university building was opened, and the LMS spent over \$3,000 on its physics laboratory and were planning to build up a chemistry laboratory. Its Education Department was rapidly progressing, and students gained brilliant results in public examinations.⁵⁹ Its financial resources mainly came from local Chinese, foreign businessmen and the colonial government. In 1922 it also gained a large amount of valuable financial help from the Rockefeller

⁵²The WCM, ABF, MEFB and British FFMA were its original founding missions; the CMS participated in this union in 1919.

⁵³FFMA. China Committee, 11/VIII/20, see University Budget for 1921; CMS. G1/CH3/L3 1926, Minutes of Committee of 15 Dec. 1926.

⁵⁴See the FFMA and CMS archives in West China in the 1920s; the WCUU annual reports; and "A Missionary in China," Birmingham Post, 15 Sept 1930.

⁵⁵See the annual report of the WCUU for the year 1920-21.

⁵⁶FFMA. See annual reports of the WCUU.

⁵⁷LMS. South China, Incoming Letters, Box 22, Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the South China District Committee, 1922.

⁵⁸CMS. G1/CH1/P4, 6 Nov. 1923, No.67.

⁵⁹LMS. South China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 27, the article in Hongkong Post, 25 Jan.1930 - "Opening of a New College".

Foundation.⁶⁰ But about half of its endowments had been given by Chinese, so it attracted considerable private benefactions. Its major faculties included arts, medicine, and engineering. It was specially strong in its engineering department. The growth of the university was very slow before 1922, in which it graduated only 28 students. However, there was rapid growth later. In 1930 the number of its student body was increased to 340.⁶¹ It was the only higher educational institution on purely British university model in China. However, owing to the fact that Hongkong was a British colony, after 1925, many mission-trained secondary school graduates in the mainland China under the influence of the strong nationalist feelings declined to study here. Its influence was largely confined within the colonial areas and it never had a substantial impact upon China's higher educational direction. But it turned out a number of highly educated teachers, businessmen, skilled doctors and qualified engineers who had been of great value to the increase of educational standards and the economic development of the colony. It also brought in certain numbers of overseas Chinese talents, who mainly came from the countries in Southeast Asia. Thus its actual influence was not limited to Hongkong.

Thirdly, in 1915 the Canton Christian College (CCC or Lingnan) started to carry out its higher educational programme.⁶² It was maintained by an undenominational board of trustees, while serving all the churches of South China. Its second distinct character was that it was strongly rooted in Chinese life, drawing a larger measure of support from Chinese sources than any other Christian college. Its income also partly came from American commercial circles. Lingnan received no support from the denominational boards. Each mission cooperated in the college by providing its own staff's salaries. For Canton was the place in which the Southern Chinese Government was located, it received a large amount of attention from the Southern Government with a view to enlisting the active support of the Chinese staff and students for its particular policies. Next, its teachers and students seemed to live in a garden city. They had their own infirmary, their own post office, bookstore, bank, library, and printing press. They also had a farm supplying daily milk, nursery garden, water-pumping station, tennis club, and even a telephone exchange. There were Saturday night entertainments got up by the students, monthly lectures for members of staff on general topics. Hence the sphere of its educational activities went far beyond formal higher educational activities. In 1924, of 44 foreign staff only 2 were British members.⁶³ A. Baxter of the LMS - Vice President

⁶⁰Ibid., pp.45-47.

⁶¹B. Harrison, University of Hongkong: The First 50 Years, 1911-1961 (Hongkong, 1962), pp.51, 53, 57.

⁶²The LMS was one of its founders; the WMS joined it in 1923.

⁶³LMS. South China, Incoming Letters, Box 23, A. Baxter's letter on 12 Aug.1925.

(appointed in 1924) - became Acting President of Lingnan after the mid-1920s and was the actual head for a few years. The Chinese teachers also played an important part here. However, the expressed aim of the college was to be really international in staff and outlook. English was the teaching medium. Courses offered were in general arts and sciences, and were developed in the following special departments: Agriculture, sericulture, engineering, medicine, education and business administration. In 1931, Lingnan had 284 students and 38 graduates as well as 1,254 students in its Summer School.⁶⁴ It was a real educational model in South China.

Fourthly, the Fukien Christian University (FCU), opened in 1916, was supported by 4 church bodies, namely the British CMS, American ABCFM, MEFB, and RCA. It regarded teacher training as its focus. British mission middle schools in Fukien and Kwangtung became its most important feeders,⁶⁵ in this way they made a special contribution to the FCU. But more university funds came from the American side.⁶⁶ Its size was smaller than other union universities, and there were only 109 students in 1924 and 174 undergraduates and 20 graduates in 1929.⁶⁷

Fifthly, the Central China University (Huachung) was founded in 1929 by 4 Christian institutions in Central China, which were the Central China University in Wuchang (where the ACM, WMMS and LMS cooperated), Yale-in-China in Changsha, Huping College in Yochow of the RCA and the Lutheran College in Yiyang. The two British missions contributed much larger sites to the university than other missions.⁶⁸ The feature of its faculty was that the Chinese staff constituted the majority. The American missions mainly chose Chinese as their representatives to share the work here. Thus, its foreign staff composed more British than American teachers.⁶⁹ Huachung consisted of the School of Education, the Science Faculty, the Arts Faculty, and the Library School. The university courses were distinctly vocational, preparing for teaching, business, and library management. The Library School was very successful, and fostered the first generation of professional librarians for China. It was the youngest mission university

⁶⁴LMS. South China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 27, see the letter from O.D. Wannamaber, 26 March 1931. Each academic year Lingnan ran this school twice.

⁶⁵In 1924 56% of the FCU Freshmen came from the above British mission middle schools, while 35.5% from American higher middle schools, another 10.7% from the YMCA institution; in 1927 40% from British schools and 33.5% from American ones as well as 13.87% from the YMCA school. See CMS archives.

⁶⁶CMS. G1/CH4/O 1929, No.6.

⁶⁷CMS. G1/CH4/O 1929, No.19, FCU, 18 Feb. 1929; No.4, FCU, 17 Sept.1928, Report of the Assistant Dean 1927-28.

⁶⁸LMS. Correspondence files in/out Box 25, see Minutes of Annual Meeting Supervisory Committee China Union Universities Central Office, 3 Oct.1928, New York.

⁶⁹WMMS. See Central China College, Wuchang, China, President's Report for the Year 1932-1933.

in China, its enrolment was small, but its student body increased from 36 in 1929 to 74 in 1931. Its establishment influenced and promoted the higher educational work in Central China. Even in 1933 it was still one of the only 3 institutions doing university work in Hupeh. Thus its pioneering role was very obvious.

Sixthly, the Shantung Christian University (SCU or Cheeloo) as the first union higher educational institution, was established in 1904 by the BMS and PN. It was a unique union university where a British missionary educator took the position of President (1921-1927). It was also the second union university where British missions were able to have an equal share with their American colleagues in personnel. The BMS played an extraordinary role in initiating, developing and constructing the university.⁷⁰ Until 1935 half the cost of the College of Arts and Sciences of Cheeloo was still borne by the BMS. It had been the only contributor to the extension department. Cheeloo was also the only union university granted a charter by Act of the Parliament of Canada.⁷¹ The university consisted of the School of Arts and Science, School of Theology, School of Medicine, and Extension Department. Unusually too, while the majority of Christian colleges chose English as a teaching medium, the SCU used Mandarin Chinese as the medium of instruction. It thus set an example by using the national language to teach Western learning in China. Its students were encouraged to assimilate all branches of knowledge in their own tongue. It was the only union university which specially trained all kinds of higher educational talents for rural areas. In 1931 there were 325 undergraduate and 35 postgraduates.⁷²

The Peking Christian University (Yenching) was founded in 1909. Its Board of Trustees composed of members from the PN, ABF, MEFB and LMS. A majority of its trustees were American citizens. The British missions here took only a very small share.⁷³ Yenching was located in China's educational and political centre and was the largest Christian university. One of its most important developments took place in the early 1920s, it had an ideal new site in the northwestern suburb of Peking on which construction was proceeding rapidly. It was moved from its cramped quarters within the city to the new campus in 1924.⁷⁴ The faculty consisted of 52 foreigners and 28 Chinese holding degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Dublin, Harvard, Princeton, Columbia and Cornell. Apart from this regular faculty there were also a number of honorary lecturers. J.B. Tayler of the LMS exercised a

⁷⁰BMS. See the budget for the fiscal year of 1924-25 of SCU.

⁷¹It happened in 1924; in April 1925 the Board of Governors was organized in New York. See SCU annual report for 1924-1925.

⁷²BMS. SCU Student Body Statistics for the Fall Semester 1926.

⁷³H.P. Thompson, p.683.

⁷⁴LMS. The report of the North China committee for 1924.

wide influence through his studies and lectures in social science.⁷⁵ In the 1920s Yenching mainly sought to furnish the best quality of intellectual and religious leadership for China as its most important target. It represented an attempt to share the finest ideals and the most thorough-going practical knowledge that the West possessed with China at this time of China's reconstruction. Its graduate students' training programme was able to be enlarged to include all major subjects in the late 1920s. Its student body in total numbered 430 in 1922,⁷⁶ 747 in 1929 and 808 in 1930 which included 94 postgraduates (but only 66 in 1926).⁷⁷ Its Chinese Institute, gathered many famous Chinese scholars together at times, was unique in all Christian universities and paid special attention to translation and facility in the writing of the new Chinese literary style. Its academic results were very remarkable, editing more than 60 famous works (yin te) in Chinese academic circles. Yenching cooperated with Harvard University and set up "Harvard-Yenching Society" which emphasized research on Chinese traditional culture. Yenching attempted to encourage its students to give equal attention to both Western learning and Chinese knowledge.

Yenching also provided special courses in sociology and social work. After 1929, it started some other special short courses, such as Leather work, Social Service, Kindergarten and Pre-nursing. The university began to provide a kindergarten training course in its Arts College. Training kindergarten teachers in the higher educational institutions was initiated by this university. Its action reminded the people of paying attention to this most neglected training. Starting the course on leather work aimed mainly at solving the technical problems in the traditional leather manufacture of North China. Concerned Yenching educators wanted to offer scientific and valuable help through this course. These courses were of highly practical value, and they partly met the urgent needs of China and filled the scientific gaps.

Yenching's research work and achievements, especially in humanities, were nationally-famous. In 1928 social investigations in the countryside were launched by its sociological department while it carried out the policy of popular education and agricultural reform. A School of Applied Social Science was developed, providing for both undergraduate and postgraduate work in Political Science, Sociology and Economics. In 1929,

⁷⁵He was a professor from 1917 to 1933 and the Head of the Economics Department from 1921-1932. In the early 1920s he was the Secretary of the university staff executive, the Secretaryship of the Board of Managers and its Executive. From 1933 onwards he held a series of appointments owing to his leading position as an authority on Chinese economic questions, including the chairmanship of the Committee on Rural Improvement of the CIFRC, the chairmanship of a Commission on Social and Economic Research in China established by the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York, the Secretaryship of the North China Industrial Service Union, and service with the Sino-British Indemnity Fund Board of Trustees and the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives.

⁷⁶LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1922, see F.H. Hawkins' letter.

⁷⁷See Yenching annual reports, 1929-31.

a Statistical Laboratory connected with its Economic Department was erected and began pioneering statistical work. The research projects in its Political Science Department specially dealt with a series of political problems in the border areas and "Chinese Experience of Parliamentary Government in the Last 25 Years."⁷⁸ Its journalism department was well known. Almost all of the journalists in the leading Chinese news agencies abroad graduated from this department, which in today's Peking University (originated from Yenching) is still the most prominent department in China. Yenching's research results in social scientific fields played a pioneering role in China, and all its projects highlighted solving practical social problems. Its experience indicated one of important directions, i.e. universities were both training centres and academic bases.

Christian higher educational enterprises in the 1920s made greater progress than in the 1910s. They were well-equipped. Most of their faculty members gave full-time to teaching rather than part-time. The curricula showed much higher academic standards. They were able to attract larger numbers of superior students than before. These mission institutions in the late 1920s amalgamated foreign and Chinese staff together, teaching in Chinese, following the government educational system as much as possible. In organization and purpose the institutions strove towards an ideal more similar to that of Chinese ordinary educational institutions.

From the above brief view of missionary university education, the following features of British participation are striking, at first, the British missions rarely operated higher educational enterprises by themselves, but put personnel and materials into cooperative institutions. Some British societies began to show more cordial interest in higher education in the same period, especially the LMS, EMS, CMS, WMMS, FMMA, and SPG. However, American missions took a dominant place in most institutions. Yenching, FCU and Lingnan and Nanking and Ginling universities (where the LMS had a very small share in the late 1920s) were almost entirely American so far as Western members of staff and funds were concerned. British commitments to higher educational cooperation in the late 1920s was still confined to a small scope in general. In most union institutions British missions, owing to more serious financial problems, were unable to bear the same financial burden as their American colleagues; the number of British staff was smaller than American one. In 1930, of 17 Christian colleges, only 7 had any substantial cooperation on the part of British missions. American ABCFM, MEFB, PN, and British LMS carried a great deal of the burden of funding the union universities. British missions sometimes offered a financial contribution only in very strategic places. However, the fact was that British missions were the second largest participant in mission higher education among the Protestant community. They had made

⁷⁸LMS. North China, Reports, Box 10-1930.G.B. Barbour, Peking University Report, 1 Jan.1930.

greater efforts to strengthen their involvement at this time than previously.

Secondly, the non-denominational characteristics of these joint institutions has been seen. There indeed existed special American educational models in these cooperative institutions though there were different degrees of participation in personnel and finance by the missions. However, it was a public fact that these cooperators enjoyed a harmonious non-denominational atmosphere.⁷⁹ For instance, the CCC had no church organization on the campus and was careful to allow perfect freedom to every student in the matter of church membership and respected the students' choice. In Cheeloo 14 missions (of which 7 were British) worked together and was the largest Christian cooperative adventure. In these institutions British, American, Canadian, Irish, and Chinese all did their utmost to build up Christian higher educational enterprises, working together as a real collective. Their cordial personal relationships helped them towards mutual commitment and cooperation. The wisdom of the policy of mission concentration on a limited number of union universities in China indeed provided a larger opportunity for educators to influence Chinese society and the direction of its educational development. They were able to provide for strong professional departments, especially in the field of research. Their cooperation and coordination also made it possible to pursue much higher academic standards. Mission higher educational development in the 1920s reached a milestone because of the great expansion made possible by cooperation.

Thirdly, these universities shared another common distinctive feature, in seeking very high academic standards. The men and women who studied in these places were prepared for leadership in the professions rather than only training clergymen, such as education, commerce, agriculture and engineering. Purely religious training constituted only a tiny percentage in the whole of university teaching programmes. This policy resulted in a much larger non-Christian student body than Christian one in almost all mission universities in the late 1920s. Christian universities were coming more and more before the mind of the Chinese public. Whether graduates from Chinese, or mission own middle schools, all looked to these Christian higher educational institutions for further education. Their social reputation was particularly high.

The progress of Christian higher education was very conspicuous in many aspects. Above all, the quantity of students had constantly increased and the institutions had been solidly founded on a basis of general respect and confidence on the part of the people of China. There were 898 students in the Christian colleges and universities in 1910, 2,103 in 1916, 1,689

⁷⁹See the records of my interview with Tom Hawthorn (who had ever worked in Huachung for many years) in Birmingham on 16 Nov. 1992.

in 1920, 3,341 in 1925, 4,516 in 1930, and 6,696 in 1935.⁸⁰ They were still able to double their enrolments between 1925 and 1935 despite the radical anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements. There were 13 Protestant colleges and universities with more than 15,000 graduates in 1936.⁸¹ It was estimated that the general number of students in Christian universities during the 1930s and 1940s was 12% to 20% of the whole student body of universities in China. After 1947, the applicants were 10 times as many as the number that could enrol.⁸² The progress was unquestioned.

In addition, the qualifications of the teaching staff in Christian universities were higher than those in the state ones. Of them 70% graduated from the universities in the West.⁸³ The percentage of teaching staff in the former was smaller than that in the latter, but the scale of their operating enterprises was larger than the latter. Hence Christian institutions were of higher working efficiency and more economical.

Next, the facilities, teaching equipment, laboratories, revenues and some other aspects in Christian universities were better than those in Chinese institutions in most places. E.g., the equipment and library in Lingnan was far beyond those in Chungshan University, and even better than those in the University of Hongkong. In 1927 the numbers of Christian universities and their student body both accounted for 12% of the whole Chinese higher educational forces, however, the percentages of their facilities, funds and books in the libraries were all far beyond the above figure. The collections of books in mission universities and colleges were extremely rich and constituted a quarter of the number of books in all higher educational libraries in China. Thus in the latter ways mission higher institutions occupied a dominant place. More income in Christian universities was spent upon essential construction.

Furthermore, the period from the mid-1910s to the 1920s was the most important development phase of Christian colleges towards comprehensive higher educational institutions, they were able to offer courses in all modern subjects. The institutional development of the powerful new knowledge took place especially in the 1920s. In the previous decades these new subjects were introduced into China only through missionary and some Chinese publishing and translating work. By the mid-1920s, almost all Christian universities tended towards a spread of multi-subjects, leading to the development of a comprehensively high standard. Western history,

⁸⁰See the statistics of Christian higher education in The China Year Book and The China Mission (Christian) Year Book for these years.

⁸¹The Chinese Recorder, Vol.64, p.396; Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China, Annual Report, 30 June 1943, p.2; Teng Yu-ming (ed.), Erh-shih shih-chi Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao wen-t'i (The Chinese Christian Question in the Twentieth Century) (Taipei, 1980), p.58.

⁸²Varg, Missionaries, Chinese and diplomats, p.280.

⁸³"Chi-tu-chiao ta-hsueh tsai wu-kuo kao-teng chiao-yu chung chih ti-wei" (The Place of Christian Universities in Our Higher Education), by T'an T'ien-k'ai, Chiao-yu chi-k'an (Educational Review), Vol.13, No.4 (Jan.1938).

literature, philosophy, ethics, psychology, sociology, statistics, English, Latin, political and economic science were all the strong points of Christian universities. Industrial and commercial administration, agricultural economics, agricultural politics, agricultural chemistry, sericulture, veterinary science, agronomy, banking, accountancy, international trade, and chemical engineering were all first started by mission universities. The great academic effort and creativity made them well known in China. They were the earliest institutions to establish completely modern subjects in the liberal arts and sciences while few public Chinese universities offered these courses. Through these departments missionary educators trained the first generation of China's own experts in these fields. Hence, these new knowledge began to take root in China just from the 1920s. Missionary educational workers played a crucial role in the institutional development of these sciences, not only because of the introduction of these courses but also the efforts to establish these departments in China. The institutionalisation of these new scientific disciplines were new instruments to promote Chinese people to further understand Western culture at a much higher level.

Consequently, the quality of knowledge of their graduates was, fairly speaking, higher than the government's, because of their comprehensive training target. The requirements of teaching standards were generally much stricter in mission institutions than those in the national ones. The general principle was to put more emphasis on increasing the quality of higher education, and the university candidates had to pass very strict entrance examinations.⁸⁴ Teaching systems, such as examinations, registering students' marks, going up to the next grade or repeating the years' work and discipline were all quite stringent. Academic standards were guarded by their incorporation in the Western universities. Graduates were accepted without question for advanced study by the universities in the West.

The general tendency was that mission higher education moulded the American educational style, and even the state educational system also modeled its work after American institutions. Despite existing defects, the achievements of Christian higher education contributed principally positive influences to China.

IV. EDUCATIONAL DEVOLUTION

The 1920s were the important turning point for Christian missions in transferring educational administration to Chinese control. Conventionally, it has been thought that this transfer in the late 1920s was a compulsory action.⁸⁵ However, the real causes were actually more complicated than this

⁸⁴CMS. The annual report of the FCU in this year.

⁸⁵Most of the textbooks of modern Chinese educational history written by Chinese hold this standpoint.

simple conclusion.

Many mission schools had started to approach the new government educational system both before the anti-foreign movements (1925) and the campaign of recovering educational rights (1926). In 1922 Government Educational Commission made recommendations to implement the new 6-6-4 educational system (namely, primary school for 6 years, middle school for 6 years and general higher educational for 4 years except medical colleges).⁸⁶ British missions immediately made an active response to this change. The Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland first introduced a similar educational principle.⁸⁷ The aim was to ensure that its British missions in China should follow the new system as soon as possible. As early as January 1920 the BMS at the Inter-Provincial Conference had defined its own new educational policy - conforming to the government curriculum at all school levels, with the addition of distinctly Christian subjects and such other Western subjects as might be practicable. Thus, this system was put into effect in all its primary and secondary schools after 1924.⁸⁸ In 1923 the CMS also decided to abide by the new system with as little delay as possible.⁸⁹ In West China the course of study in British institutions was almost the same as the governmental one in many respects in 1923.⁹⁰ The Manchurian Christian Education Board prepared and published uniform curricula for elementary and junior middle grades in line with the latest developments in Government education in 1923 and this policy was confirmed in 1924.⁹¹ Before the mid-1920s, the government curricula were, in fact, generally followed by these mission institutions; the mission educational work had thus been re-organized by adopting the system of grading used by Government. Around 1924 and 1925, Christian institutions were recording most encouraging progress. The more they approximated to state schools in their programmes and their standards the better they were, because the competition between the government institutions and missions' conversely promoted the development of the latter under this uniform curriculum. The standard of mission school courses was rising in harmony with the new government system. Though mission institution were not an integral part of the governmental educational system, their scheme was never in any sense hostile to the

⁸⁶See W.F. Dawson's Annual Report 1921, Peking in LMS.

⁸⁷LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1922, see the letters from W.G. Dawson, Peking, 21 Apr.1922.

⁸⁸See BMS Provincial Minutes and Provincial Reports in 1924.

⁸⁹CMS. G1/CH2/O 1923, No.35, Recd. 8 Jan.1923.

⁹⁰FFMA. 1924 China Committee, Letters from Missionaries, Report of E.W. and M. Swadon for the Year 1922-1923.

⁹¹UFS. Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee, 1923; Foreign Mission Committee, Index of Minutes, 28 May 1924 - 21 Apr.1925.

government system, but supplementary to it. Also, missionary educational plans were an attempt to meet real needs and give assistance in the huge educational task confronting China.⁹² More importantly, mission institutions either consciously or unconsciously prepared certain conditions for educational devolution in the course of the implementation of the 6-6-4 school education. Thus, the voluntary movement of Christian missions towards the new educational system was in fact one of the most important elements by which mission schools were able to merge themselves into the national educational system after the end of the 1920s, contrary to the traditional views that the anti-foreign movement and the campaign of restoring educational rights were the direct and only cause.

It was a fact that Christian and state schools formed two independent systems of education in China before the late 1920s, though it was not doubted that Christian education had relation not only to the Church but also to the system of government education in China. Both Chinese people and foreign missionaries acknowledged this reality. Particularly, between 1900 and 1920 mission schools were not yet curbed by Government. Mission educational enterprises could freely develop and extend outside the government system. They were accepted as advanced educational models and thought to be a strong factor in educational progress in China. However, at the Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Education held by Government in Nanking in July 1924, it was recommended: (1) That all schools established by foreigners should be registered with the government, and be under the educational laws of China; (2) that foreigners must not use their schools to propagate religion; (3) that schools which were not qualified to register should be closed after certain period; (4) that schools conducted by foreigners should be transferred to Chinese control after a certain length of time; (5) that from the time of the announcement of these new regulations foreigners should not be allowed to start any new educational enterprises.⁹³

The most essential meanings were expressed very clearly by these regulations of registration. Firstly, Government, in its attempt to lay the foundation of a national system of education, was faced by a chaotic state of affairs. It had to exercise some kind of control over these private schools and colleges. Secondly, the regulations must be carried out more stringently by all private institutions. This educational devolution contained three major elements: Registration with the government; development of Chinese leadership and transferring administrative rights to Chinese responsibility; and voluntary religious education.

However, before Government imposed these regulations on mission institutions, for some time missionary educators had on many occasions

⁹²WMMS. South China, Chairman, 1933, Box 943, A Letter from E. Dewstoe on 23 Aug.1933, Part II. Education, (1) Past Policy in Christian Education.

⁹³Ibid.

demonstrated their willingness to transfer educational control to Chinese Christians. Their method was to accelerate training and securing capable Chinese, which would hasten the day when the leadership of the Christian movement should pass into the hands of members of the Chinese churches. In 1922 missionary leaders proposed that "Teaching and administrative positions must be filled by Chinese as rapidly as Christian men and women with requisite ability can be secured. Chinese membership on boards of management of schools should be very largely increased and should eventually displace foreign missionaries entirely."⁹⁴ They added, "Foreigners should be employed only for services for which there is as yet an inadequate number of competent Chinese, and the foreigners who are thus employed should be thoroughly qualified for their specific task."⁹⁵ Meanwhile, a concrete measure of devolution was also devised,⁹⁶ namely, the number of Chinese teachers and administrative members in mission schools had to be increased to a half of the whole staff; afterwards, this figure should be gradually added to till the time when Chinese staff would replace foreigners. "Taking Chinese staff as the main force and foreigners as assistants" became an essential principle. Before the mid-1920s, the desirability of bringing the Chinese leaders into more responsibility for shaping and carrying out the whole educational policy of the missions and its importance were admitted by many missions.⁹⁷ British missionary leaders were adjusting their sense of the value of some of the present work and keeping their eye open for qualified Chinese successors. They hoped that the Chinese themselves could finally carry on their educational work without missionary educators' help. Obviously, missionaries were ready to face radical changes in their methods, as they believed that China did not need foreigners forever. Thus they always studied Chinese education in detail with a view to transfer the Christian educational enterprises to the control of the Chinese.⁹⁸ Their inclination towards educational devolution had been made clear in the early 1920s, although the speed of handing over control to the Chinese varied from place to place.

There were many evidences of the conscious endeavour of some British missions to devolve part of the educational duties to their Chinese staff. Since the early 1920s, most British missions more or less had begun their educational devolution, and in various ways they had tried as much as

⁹⁴E.W. Wallace's address, "The Work of the China Educational Committee," from The National Christian Conference held in Shanghai, 2 - 11 May 1922.

⁹⁵Ibid., p.373.

⁹⁶"Chi-tu-chiao chiao-yu chih tsung-chih yu ching-shen," (The Purpose and Spirit of Christian Education), Hsin chiao-yu (New Education), Vol.5, No.1-2 (Aug. 1922).

⁹⁷IMS. Memorandum of Evangelistic and Educational Policy in the East China District, 1923.

⁹⁸"Chi-tu-chiao hsueh-hsiao tsai Chung-kuo chiao-yu hsi-t'ung chung so-chan ti-wei" (The Place of Christian Schools in the Chinese Educational System), Hsin chiao-yu (New Education), Vol.4, No.3 (March 1922).

possible to transfer responsibilities of one kind or another on to the members of the Chinese staff. In order to train Chinese headmasters, they sent a minority of Chinese educational leaders to study in Britain. Some mission-trained Chinese were appointed to Christian universities on the same basis as missionaries, the missions being responsible for salaries, houses and other expenses. The Board of Governors of the WCUU in cooperation with mission boards set up a reserve fund for Chinese members of the university staff. The general tendency in these universities was to employ more and more Chinese staff. The British Joint Board of the SCU in 1923 had suggested securing a larger proportion of Chinese professors.⁹⁹ As early as 1920, the authorities of the MCC instituted a new policy that the senior Chinese teachers should be admitted to the membership of the faculty.¹⁰⁰ In 1923 Chinese principals were appointed respectively in the EPM's largest middle school, Westminster College, and its Yunchun Boys' School.¹⁰¹ By 1925, the WMMS had evolved a scheme of devolution of the control of its educational work to the Chinese church in South China.¹⁰² But in these missionaries' judgement, their Chinese successors were not yet sufficiently strong or mature to take on the heavy and difficult problems of administering large educational institutions by the mid-1920s. Thus, the missionaries thought that the best method of dealing with this problem was by the method of evolution. According to this scheme, they had transferred their elementary schools to the direct Chinese control by the early 1920s; and around the mid-1920s the plan for devolving their secondary schools was worked out; part or a half of mission secondary schools came under Chinese control. In certain areas special efficient boards of control in which Chinese constituted the majority were established. However, the devolution to Chinese both in the other half of mission secondary schools and higher educational institutions took place after the Campaign of Restoring Educational Rights, this was therefore a compulsory action.

Even religious education and activities in some mission institutions had already been set on a voluntary basis before the issue of governmental regulations. Some missionary educators felt vaguely that they could force students to surrender to Christianity, but they could not win their hearts. They could probably get hypocrisy, but not true conversion. Thus, instead, they organized voluntary Bible classes or discussion groups held on Sundays or outside school hours, voluntary attendance at church services and morning and evening prayers in school, at which attendance was also voluntary. Lingnan authorities at the end of 1924 made religious services voluntary. In March of 1925, The North-China Herald reported that Yenching

⁹⁹LMS. C.G. Sparham to F.H. Hawkins on 11 June 1923, Shanghai.

¹⁰⁰The Missionary Herald of the PCI, 1920-1922, p.28.

¹⁰¹EPM. See Amoy Council Minutes July 1922.

¹⁰²See the educational report of the South China District for 1925.

followed the example of Lingnan. Religious work in the TACC was also of a non-compulsory character. This was a very important change in the religious policy of these Christian institutions.

On the one hand, therefore the mission educational devolution had partially raised its head before the mid-1920s; and such preparation for transferring educational control to Chinese was much earlier than the Campaign of Restoring Educational Rights. In view of the above facts one cannot say that the devolution of the whole mission educational institutions took place entirely under the pressure of Government and nationalists; it was not true that missionary educators did not want to withdraw from China's historical stage and preferred to control the educational system forever. However, it was a fact that a large number of missionary educators did not think in the early 1920s that they had the potential for over-all educational devolution. The key matter which missionary educators mostly concerned was their preference to choose their own trained Chinese Christians as ideal successors. Hence the realization of missionary educational devolution in the late 1920s was also due to the result of missionaries' own willingness, apart from the result of Chinese nationalist pressure. On the other hand, of course, the missionaries' view of the evolution of educational devolution conflicted with Nationalists' radical educational reform in the campaign of restoring educational rights. Missionaries maintained taking careful actions in such devolution. Conversely, after the May 30th movement in 1925, radical nationalist feelings made it impossible for the Chinese to patiently wait for missions' evolution. Thus, the conflict between the two sides seemed to have been inevitable.

Firstly, quite a proportion of the Chinese people denounced mission educational work as a subtle form of Western propaganda, designed to advance the cause of Western civilization and to bring about the destruction of Chinese culture, the most precious heritage that China possessed. The Chinese also believed that missionaries would be able to counter all these damaging objections; and that all Christian educational work was simply to advance the cause of Christ. Many Chinese did not like to give up their traditional culture.¹⁰³ Secondly, Christianity and religious education were thought to be remote from China's actual needs. It was particularly irksome to China that missionaries taught religion to Chinese children who were too young to make informed judgements.¹⁰⁴ Hence the anti-foreign movement aimed particularly at mission schools. It developed into a general anti-religious movement. Some of the most influential and active leaders held the view that education in China should

¹⁰³Paul Monroe, "Chinese Attitude Toward Western Culture," North China Standard, 22 Jan. 1929.

¹⁰⁴CBMS. London, Asia Committee, China: Education, FBN 20, Box 410, E/T China 64 (1) No.1, "The Registration of Mission Schools and Colleges with the Chinese Government," by F.H. Hawkins of the LMS (London, 1926).

be entirely secular.¹⁰⁵ Such statements met with a wide response throughout the country. Thirdly, the remission of Boxer Indemnity Monies became a matter of great public interest. Suggestions by individuals that Indemnity money should be given to Christian education resulted in much propaganda against Christian education.¹⁰⁶ It was understood by many Chinese that Christian institutions wanted to enlarge their colonial education in China outside of Government's control. Radical nationalists would absolutely not put up with this. Fourthly, towards the late 1920s Chinese people became more and more convinced that China could hope for nothing in the way of sympathy and support in her struggle for independence from Western nations. Both the KMT and CCP were the most important advocates of the anti-imperialist movement. Naturally, British mission schools thus became the focus of Chinese nationalists' criticism. Fifthly, while modern state education was only in its early period and Christian schools were able freely to develop. But after World War I, the state institutions had developed adequately enough to challenge foreign schools. The May 4th Movement (1919) was also a tremendous boost to Government. China was reluctant to tolerate the existence of a parallel school system operated by foreigners. Any independent nation would not permit foreign schools, which obviously injected powerful political and other propaganda, to remain outside its authority. The foreshadowed change was inevitable. The nationalists wanted to build up China's own institutions, and through educational knowledge to gain national dignity. But they could not expect this under foreigners' control, for when foreigners dominated education they moulded it to suit their own ideas but not Chinese nationalist ones.

They thus launched two movements - anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements and the campaign of restoring educational rights, both which led to inestimable changes in China. The new nationalist spirit was a common denominator of these movements. However, its influence did not affect the whole of China until the May 30th of 1925, when the anti-imperialist upsurge came in the wake of the shooting of Shanghai student demonstrators.¹⁰⁷ Because the educational and academic impact of Roman Catholics lagged far behind Protestant missions', naturally the latter's institutions became the focus of the campaign of restoring educational rights. Government began to exercise control over both Chinese private and mission schools. In 1925 the Ministry of Education began to insist that foreign-run schools must register with Government. The KMT government imposed even stricter regulations.

Also, the Chinese members' attitude in mission schools towards

¹⁰⁵I.M.S. South China, Incoming Letters Box 24, see I.M.S. China Advisory Council. Report on the Situation in South China, 1925.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Latourette, A History of Modern China (London, 1954), p.136.

registration played an important role. The trend of adopting Chinese language as teaching medium led to the inevitable increase of the number of Chinese on the faculty of mission institutions. However, many British missions reported in the 1920s a serious loss of their Chinese staff. Usually, a Chinese teacher's salary was much less or equal only to one-third of his missionary colleague's. This discriminatory payment policy provoked strong feelings of dissatisfaction among Chinese staff. A common Chinese staff's attitude to mission education was that it was a foreign place, it was owned and run by foreigners, while the Chinese had little say in its management. These foreigners showed the Chinese by their manner of life and action and the mode of running the institutions that they meant to remain masters of the situation. Many Chinese teachers complained about these kinds of unequal treatment and about their uncomfortable position as accessories.¹⁰⁸ According to this strong national feeling, the missions began making certain efforts to make their institutions a part of the great work of the Chinese Church; they tried to make what was a delicate exotic educational enterprise into an indigenous plant. But some missionaries still thought that it was a thing apart and ordinary church members knew little and were careless about Christian education. Thus they still considered the opportunity for complete educational devolution immature. Quite a number of them consciously and subconsciously were still inclined to look upon the Chinese as rather an inferior race. The attitudes on both sides made it more difficult and complicated to break down the barriers between Chinese and foreigners. These constituted one of the main causes which led the Chinese staff to nurse grievance.

Another reason why British missions applied for registration was that it seemed advisable for them to accede to the demands of Government freely expressed by the Chinese members in their institutions. Meetings were held in many parts of the country to protest against the Christian religion and mission institutions. The minds of Chinese teachers and students in many mission schools became unsettled, and, in some, there were organized outbreaks against discipline. The Chinese Christians and Chinese staff in mission institutions sympathized with nationalist aspirations and saw the matter differently; it was a betrayal of national loyalty for them to refuse to register. The majority of the Chinese teachers did not want to teach in non-registered schools, as they would not like to suffer under the stigma of being unpatriotic, and acting as agents of "foreign imperialism." The practical unanimous opinion of Chinese staff was in favour of registration. Stronger and stronger pressure was brought to bear upon the missions by both Government and their students and Chinese staff. Also according to Government regulations, graduates of unregistered schools were not entitled to the privileges and rights of recognized graduates - it was impossible for their students to get legal certificates. What was still

¹⁰⁸Fairbank, The Great China Revolution, p.196.

worse was that unless they registered it would be impossible for them to send their students to registered mission universities or Chinese ones. The strength of the nationalist feeling then so widely current in student circles rendered impossible the position of a foreigner as principal after 1925. Public opinion was also strongly against any school that did not register. Chinese Christians' opinion was overwhelmingly in favour of registration in spite of possible difficulties.¹⁰⁹ It revealed that the Chinese-foreign staff's divisions over registration also accelerated the educational devolution and made it imperative to transfer administration to Chinese teachers.

However, responses to questions about registration with Government revealed considerable variation among missionary respondents in some aspects. The initial reaction of some British missions was to resist registration. Many missionaries refrained from seeking recognition fearing restrictions on the Christian character of the schools.¹¹⁰ Two sessions of Conference of the China Association for Christian Higher Education was held in February 1926 to discuss the registration of the colleges. The limitation of religious teaching in the rules of the government's registration still caused their very deep concern.¹¹¹ Generally missionaries agreed to registration in principle but claimed the right to give Christian teaching to children of Christian Chinese. However, Government ultimately did not make any concession.¹¹²

All these facts showed that it looked as if the missions would not be able to continue their educational work very long without registration. Thus the time really came in the late 1920s for them to face the clear-cut issue of either registering with Government or closing their schools. Christian educational enterprises had experienced the period of free development after the fall of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1911-1925). However, in the 1920s the growth of Chinese nationalism spurred increasing demands for control of mission-run schools. This campaign reached its high tide after 1927. Under the heavy pressures of anti-imperialism mission schools suffered from serious attack. Many of them were forced to move towards national and secular education. Educational devolution in mission institutions was further accelerated.

The national spirit penetrated every mission school. Actually, each mission institution rose or fell mainly in accordance with whether it appreciated or not for the national spirit. Facing the political situation, many mission leaders recognised that "the position of foreigners as leaders

¹⁰⁹CBMS. London, Asia Committee, China: Education & Government, Box 410, E/T China: 64 (1-3), No.2, see F.H. Hawkins' article.

¹¹⁰BMS, CH/64, Wilson to Rowley, 20 Sept. 1927; EPM. Overseas Lingtung, Swatow, Individual Correspondence, H.C. Wallace, Box 44, File 4, 30 June 1927.

¹¹¹LMS. South China, Reports, Box 6-1927, see "Report for Year 1927" of the LMS D.C., p.9.

¹¹²The Missionary Herald of the PCI, 1926, p.5.

in education in China was becoming increasingly difficult. It is critically important that we should have the services of Chinese Christians as leaders of Christian schools.¹¹³ The missionary educators who acted as principals of the various institutions resigned and Chinese successors were appointed. Most mission institutions thought that registration was absolutely essential, for Government then fixed a time-limit before which all schools must be registered, or at least had applied for registration. Despite this split in opinion, in 1926, as far as the government control was concerned, there was a widespread recognition among missionaries that it was perfectly legitimate for Government to exercise general control over what was being taught in the schools of the country.¹¹⁴ Most British missions agreed to register their schools with Government in the late 1920s. However, on the one hand, missionaries had some fear that the recognition of this right might be used as an excuse for too rigid control of schools and interference for political reasons. On the other hand, their Chinese staff, for the most part, were confident that Government could be trusted. The principle of missions was either to reopen the schools where the Christian character could be safeguarded, or to close down the schools where religious education could not be continued.¹¹⁵ Many Christian schools were closed for more than a year. In the year 1927-28 probably not more than one hundred mission middle schools were able to carry on. The figures for the year 1928-29 were 172.¹¹⁶

Under the pressure from all directions, the main share of the responsibility for carrying on Christian education had to rest on the shoulders of Chinese teachers. The majority of missions took substantial steps to listen to the definite opinions of the Chinese staff who would be responsible for mission schools in the late 1920s. A rapidly increasing number organized Chinese boards of directors and elected Chinese principals and deans. Yenching was the earliest Christian university to respond to Government's registration policy in 1926.¹¹⁷ The greatly strengthened Chinese staff body appeared in the late 1920s. In 1930 of its 143 staff, 92 were Chinese.¹¹⁸ Nanking completed its registration in 1928, Ch'en Yu-kuang became its president.¹¹⁹ In 1930, the Senate of the WCUU comprised a

¹¹³WMMS. Correspondence, South China, General, Box 940, Arthur N. Bray to Mr. Andrew, the Haigh College at Fatshan, 19 Oct.1924.

¹¹⁴LMS. South China, Reports, Box 6-1930, see Decennial Report, from T.C. Brown.

¹¹⁵EPM. Foreign Mission Committee, Report on the Anglo-Chinese College, Amoy, Aug.1927.

¹¹⁶T.Z. Koo, "Religious Life in the Colleges and the National Student Christian Movement," *Educational Review* Vol.16, No.2 (Apr.1924), p.169; CBMS, London, Asia Committee, E/T China, Box 417, Middle School Education, p.7.

¹¹⁷LMS, North China, Incoming Letters, Box 25-1927, J. Leighton Stuart's letter on 7 Jan.1927.

¹¹⁸See Yenching Faculty Bulletin (2 Oct.1930) in LMS.

¹¹⁹Wang Chih-hsin, p.317.

majority of Chinese, and it was preparing to register with Government; Lingnan and Ginling registered with Government.¹²⁰ The FCU and Huachung registered in 1931.¹²¹ Li Tien-lu became Vice-President of Cheeloo in 1927,¹²² finally Cheeloo registered with Government in 1931. Registration of the EMS institutions in Shansi and Shensi followed in 1928. K'un Kuang and Shu Te Schools at Moukden in 1929 took a forward step in devolution by entrusting the management of the united school to a School Council with Chinese members in the majority. The EPM Fukien middle schools all applied for registration in 1931.¹²³ Many mission institutions secularized their curriculum in the face of growing anti-foreign and anti-Christian sentiments. The years of 1922-1931 showed a marked increase in the self-confidence of Chinese educators, who were anxious to run their own educational system. In 1923, the ratio of Chinese to foreigners in mission institutions was one to one; in 1932, two to one; in 1936, four to one. The late 1920s was the turning point of this radical change. In spring 1929, 85.2% of Christian middle schools had Chinese principals; in the early 1930s about 90% had. By 1933, all but one of Christian colleges complied with these new regulations.¹²⁴ This marked the eventual successful restoration of educational sovereignty for the Chinese.

The 1920s was a transitional phase. It saw quite a definite educational devolution into Chinese hands. It was a fact that the anti-foreign movement in 1925 and subsequently the campaign of restoring educational sovereignty demolished Christian educational development scheme. After registration, the system of Christian education no longer paralleled that of Government. But mission institutions obtained a permanent status in China; Christian education was taken into the orbit of the national educational system. It was greatly beneficial to the uniform standard of modern Chinese education. The value of Christian schools was recognized and their continuing existence was legally encouraged by Government and throughout Chinese society rather than discouraged. This devolution was beneficial to their continuous development and progress as well as to the exchange of talents between mission schools and Government ones. The development of mission schools in China was more organic and premeditated. As an important integral part of Chinese education Christian institutions were able to wield more power in promoting the transformation

¹²⁰FFMA. China 1927, CH/5/4, Letters from Missionaries, A Brief Report of Our Christian Educational Institutions, 1 June 1927.

¹²¹Wang Chih-hsing, p.313.

¹²²LMS. Correspondence file in/out, Box 28-1930, P.L. McAll to F.H. Hawkins, the Secretary of LMS, 20 March 1930.

¹²³EPM. Overseas General Correspondence, South Fukien, 1931, Box 12, File 2, Minutes of Amoy Mission Council, 3-13 Feb. 1931.

¹²⁴The one dissenter, St. John's University in Shanghai, did not register with Government until 1948.

of Chinese society.

The control of educational and administrative policies of these institutions, formerly governed by their foreign trustees or boards of governors with a majority of Westerners, now gradually passed into the hands of local boards with a majority of Chinese members. It was very obvious that foreigners had become a minority on the Boards of Trustees; and that no foreigners could be a principal or headmaster. However, almost all posts of their Chinese principals were secured by mission-trained graduates, so this fact demonstrated mission educational achievements from another angle. Also, missionaries were welcomed as experts, advisors, cooperators and even ordinary employees in these institutions, from the absolute leaders as in the previous years.¹²⁵ They were free from the burden of administrative responsibility. This permitted them to spend more time in improving class-work. In fact, the situation of mission schools in the late 1920s and early 1930s had two elements in the administration - one was Chinese and the other was Westerners. The management of these institutions embodied the mixture of Chinese and Western ideas; the general situation showed an interesting combination of Chinese and Western attitudes. In concrete work there was cordial and harmonious cooperation between Chinese and Western educators. This new arrangement and pattern usually worked efficiently. By completing educational devolution, mission institutions more or less avoided alien and foreign characteristics, and the patriotic and national atmosphere and influences increased under the leadership of Chinese Christians. They were able to cooperate with Government in more practical ways and on a much larger scale. Although Government achieved administrative control of mission schools, these institutions still to a large extent depended on mission funds to maintain themselves.

From a long-term point of view, the nationalization of the Christian education was a necessary result. Mission educational contributions in China had been most memorable and permanent. The progress and efficiency of Christian institutions were much more rapid from 1927-1937 than previously.¹²⁶ They continued to produce practical and useful talents for China. Even today many of the most famous professors in the best Chinese universities, who are able to command both Chinese and English fluently and are major educational leaders, are mission-trained graduates. Indeed, Christian education had a "setback" around 1927-1929, but it was only a temporary phenomenon in the course of the radical historical reform, and mission educational work essentially recovered after this. Thus, either the devolution of educational control or volunteering religious activities in these institutions did not become the obstacle of mission educational

¹²⁵"The Claims of the New China" in The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal (London), New Series, Vol.68, no.67 (1927), p.391.

¹²⁶Yuan Po-chiao, "Chi-tu-chiao hshueh-hsiao yu chiao-shih" (The Christian Schools and Teachers), Chiao-yu chi-k'an (Educational Review), Vol.3, No.2 (June 1937).

development and progress.

V. PROGRESS AND LIMITATIONS

The missionary purpose of running educational enterprises had changed significantly in the 1920s, in comparison with the motives of the last century. "Serve the nation" and "providing more educational chances" became their slogans. But evangelism belonged to merely the second order activities. Mission schools set up a uniform curriculum and were able to provide sound and comprehensive scientific courses. Local dialects gave way completely to Mandarin as the medium of instruction. There was keen competition between them and state schools. Christian schools were no longer free, free things became the exception. Many fundamental changes had happened.

Financial difficulties in British mission schools was the most perplexing and the greatest problem, apart from the political crisis, which missions faced. The increase of living cost in China and the introduction of higher academic standards were creating further financial problems to their enterprise. An educational deficit was thus a common phenomenon in almost all British missions. Although mission education was developing towards financial self-support, its speed was much slower than that of mission medical work. But in their treaty-port schools fees became a major source of income, so the degree of self-support was relatively higher. A large number of small city and town-village schools to a much larger extent relied on mission grants, because their students mainly came from poorer families. The fees in these schools accounted for only a tiny percentage of the total income. Hence, the degree of their self-support was extremely low. In all union universities the fees constituted a very small percentage of the total income. For instance, the fees of the SCU in the year of 1924-25 accounted for only 5.6% of its total income; 68.6% came from foreign missions.¹²⁷ Christian missions and relevant foreign sponsors (such as the Rockefeller Foundation) bore the major financial burden of mission colleges and universities. Of all the types of mission work, educational grants from mission home boards had been in the top place in British missions' budgets in the 1920s and much higher than that of their evangelistic work. Income from student fees ordinarily formed far too small a proportion of their current receipts.¹²⁸ For instance, in 1920, 61% of the UFS educational income came from mission funds; in 1924, its home grants even amounted to 75%.¹²⁹ The proportion of the total cost of the elementary and secondary schools of the EMS in Shantung borne between the parents and the mission

¹²⁷BMS. See the Annual Report of the SCU for 1924-25.

¹²⁸Women's Work - 1928, Zenana Mission Quarterly, PCI, p.37.

¹²⁹UFS. Abstract of Station Accounts for 1920, 1924.

was 48% to 52% in 1921.¹³⁰ In 1920 20% of the total LMS educational expenditure in Hupeh came from Chinese and 80% from LMS source.¹³¹ In order to stress this vital branch of mission work, many societies also set up special educational funds, such as the FFMA's Jubilee Funds, the CMS William Charles Jones Fund. Until the mid-1930s, of the whole 211 Christian middle schools reporting on finance, only 63 (mainly located in treaty ports) had no income from missions.¹³² In 1930 the British home missions were still the economic mainstay of their schools in China; the home boards' grants accounted for about 60% of the entire mission educational income. Thus, mission funds provided the most essential guarantee for the 1920s' Christian educational development and progress.

TABLE 4.4 A COMPARISON BETWEEN GOVERNMENT & CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS IN 1922¹³³

	Government % of Total Students	Christian % of Total Students
Infant Primary	86.1	74.6
Junior Primary	9.2	15.7
Middle	1.6	7.3
Normal & Industrial	2.5	1
College & Professional	0.6	1.44

Under home missions' strong financial support, Christian institutions made great progress in the 1920s. Table 4.4 shows that the mission educational enterprises attained a better balance than government ones, and that government secondary education was particularly weaker than the Christian one. It also demonstrates the relative Christian preponderance in the more expensive kinds - junior primary, secondary and higher education, i.e. top-heavy educational system (more emphasis on secondary and higher education) characterized Christian education. But Government concentrated on mainly infant primary education and its educational work was still very backward, though China had founded her modern educational system in 1905. This proportion between Christian education and government's seldom changed before 1928, and actually, the obvious

¹³⁰BMS. Minutes of Shantung Provincial Conference, Tsinan, 25-29 Jan. 1923.

¹³¹LMS. Central China, Incoming Letters, Box 31-1920, A Letter from A. J. MacFarlame, Hanyang, 10 Aug. 1920.

¹³²1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China, PP.166-183.

¹³³This excludes Bible-schools, orphanages, schools for the blind & deaf. See CBMS, the report of the NCC in 1922.

achievements of the educational reform of the new government were seen after 1930. This pattern of mission education located their contributions to China chiefly at higher levels.

The 1920s saw a marked growth in the quality of Christian schools. They became more popular and better established. The fact remained that no other schools were able to rival the lasting influence of missionary institutions in modern China. Even in the 1920s, their educational standard was at least the equal of state schools in the same town and district, but in most cases mission standards were higher than those of Government. Usually mission schools were in a fine airy building, looking fresh and clean and the pupils bright and cheerful. They always had their own fine libraries, and playing fields. In Chinese schools standards were usually low and discipline poor.

The progress in the essential construction of mission schools was very prominent. In 1920 alone the BMS allocated \$73,000 for new school buildings excluding the expenditure of the SCU.¹³⁴ The Ying Wa College in 1921 opened its chemistry laboratory. The St. Stephen's Boys' College and St. Stephen's Girls' College and Preparatory School had their new buildings in 1924, 1928 and 1929 respectively.¹³⁵ The Boys' High School in Chungking built its new accommodation block in 1925. The Medhurst College erected its laboratory, the entrance to the college and a new library in the 1920s. The Manchurian Christian College¹³⁶ and the Haigh College had their new Science Blocks built. The Boys' School of the PCI in Kirin built up its new teaching block and dormitory section in 1929.¹³⁷ British mission home boards made extraordinary contributions to strengthening the essential construction both of their own and joint institutions. Normally, mission primary school buildings were much simpler and more inexpensive, but with abundance of light and ventilation, with plenty of blackboards and modest furniture. Mission middle schools in large cities had very fine buildings and equipment; but those in towns or remote areas were given simpler treatment. The higher institutions were housed in substantial and well-equipped buildings, many of which were in good combination between beautiful Chinese and Western styles.

The trend chiefly after the mid-1910s was for the newly-arrived and university-trained missionaries to take the place of the old-fashioned missionaries as teachers. The universal increase of missionaries' qualification provided the greatest guarantee for them to render educational service in higher standards. Hence mission education developed

¹³⁴BMS. See its financial statement for 1920-1921.

¹³⁵George B. Endacott, & Dorothy E. She, The Diocese of Victoria, Hongkong - A Hundred Years of Church History 1849-1949 (Hongkong, 1949), pp.158-159.

¹³⁶UFS. See its Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee in 1924 and 1925.

¹³⁷The Missionary Herald of the PCI, 1930, p.99.

into well-organized, cooperative, uniform, systematic, and sophisticated phase in the 1920s from the ill-organized, scattered, independent, simple, and preliminary period of the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the 1920s the preaching style professors and masters was abandoned by the professional university-trained newcomers.

Of course, the most important standard by which to judge whether Christian education made important contributions to China or not is to watch the kind of persons produced by their schools. This has become the accepted uniform standard by which to assess mission education.¹³⁸ The early Christian institutions produced more church leaders but fewer secular talents. The training direction of mission schools had greatly changed in the 1920s. Mission-trained graduates were found in many kinds of business, education, the professions and government departments.

By 1930, of the students who graduated from the MCC, 44% entered a university or technical schools for further study, 37% were school teachers and 19% took up other occupations.¹³⁹ Of 300 former students of the Central China Teachers' College in 1923, 90% were teaching in mission Schools.¹⁴⁰ By 1923 Christian universities and colleges had trained 848 teachers (45.6% of the total graduates), 248 in business and industry (14.2%), 241 in ministry (13%), 184 physical doctors (9.9%), 74 social workers (4%), 57 government servants (3.6%), 38 office workers (2.4%), 31 workers in agriculture and forestry (1.7%).¹⁴¹ Nearly half of their graduates were engaged in education. By 1926 of 3,922 college graduates, 41% had engaged in teaching work, and 13% did business work as well as 9% were medical doctors.¹⁴² By the late 1920s, 4,000 mission-trained university graduates were found in all parts of the country. Until the mid-1930s there were 10,000 alumni of Christian universities, while another 10,000 were studying in these places. These institutions turned out more and more new-style graduates, who quickly demonstrated the great advantage of a trained Chinese leadership. Although non-Christian educators sometimes showed hostility to Christian education, it was a fact that the missions, by their higher education, did more than any other organisations for creating vital leadership for the Chinese nation.

Missionary educators had been keeping their eye open to select Chinese staff. After the early 1920s, choosing teaching work as a future career became the first drive of mission trained graduates. Mission schools were

¹³⁸Chu You-kuang, "Chi-tu-chiao chiao-yu tui-yu kai-tsao Chung-kuo teh t'ek-shu kung-hsien" (The Special Contributions of Christian Education to Reforming China), Chiao-yu chi-k'an (Educational Review), Vol.1, No.4 (Dec.1925).

¹³⁹The Missionary Herald of the PCI, 1930, p.21.

¹⁴⁰WMMS. See the CCTC annual report for 1923.

¹⁴¹From FFMA. Minutes of the Committee for Christian Colleges in China, the Committee of Educational Counsel and Committee of Financial Counsel Joint Meeting, 1923.

¹⁴²Handbook of Christian Colleges and Universities, 1926.

sufficiently well-staffed. By the late 1920s the Chinese teachers in all Christian universities had constituted absolute majority.¹⁴³ The Chinese teachers employed by British mission middle schools were almost all mission trained university graduates.¹⁴⁴ Much stronger teaching forces made the mission institutions able to provide a sounder and more advanced curriculum than before. Through their long-term educational efforts, they prepared enough native forces for the all-round educational devolution around the late 1920s and early 1930s. Hundreds of highly mission-trained "Chinese are being found who are capable of replacing foreigners as teachers in many departments, and are in some cases doing better work than their foreign predecessors."¹⁴⁵

Meanwhile, many of the foremost citizens of China were also mission-trained graduates. 65% of the officials in the Canton KMT government were Christians and the alumni of Christian schools.¹⁴⁶ There were 105 college graduates in Who's Who for China of 1925, 29 or 27% had studied in Christian institutions.¹⁴⁷ In 1929 the cabinet of Government included 10 ministers, 7 of them Christians, and 2 of them former YMCA secretaries. Most of them were mission-trained political talents.

These mission institutions had a long and notable history and had many distinguished names on their list of alumni. The historical records amply demonstrate the vast amount of important work that was carried on by mission school graduates.¹⁴⁸ The great contribution in training all kinds of top and professional talents they had made to China was unquestioned. The late 1920s was the season of the new-style talents' all-round harvest of mission education, and this was the most brilliant achievement in mission education.

Good health had been one of the major emphases of mission schools, which involved fostering their students' sports interests, habits and understanding.¹⁴⁹ The traditional Chinese education gave attention only to the training of the brain, but ignored the training of the whole body. The old-style intellectuals' images were: "their shoulders are unable to bear the heavy burden and their hands are unable to lift the baskets"; and these pedants looked extremely pale. But mission educational value was to develop

¹⁴³CMS. Report of the Governors of the WCUU 1930.

¹⁴⁴See Annual Meeting of the Court of Governors of TACC, 22 Oct.1931, from LMS.

¹⁴⁵FO405/252B, 124565, p.7, R. S Greene, a former United States consul-general in China, later the Director of the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation.

¹⁴⁶Wang Chih-hsin, Chung-kuo chi-tu chiao shih-kang, p.242.

¹⁴⁷Ka-Che Yip, The Anti-Christian Movement in China, 1922-1927, with Special Reference to the Experience of Protestant Missions (Columbia University, Ph.D. thesis, 1970), p.22.

¹⁴⁸O.A. Petty, Vol.V, p.542.

¹⁴⁹Ch'en Tu-hsiu, p.58.

scholars' moral nature, intelligence and health at the same time.¹⁵⁰ Thus, they paid special attention to physical culture and the improvement of health through games and athletic sports, and to development of such qualities as courage, self-control, and cooperation which were so much helped through athletics. The sports activities in mission schools were quite variable and enjoyable. British missions recruited many versatile teachers. They played an important role of livening up the atmosphere of life on campus.¹⁵¹ Not merely did physical training become important courses in mission schools but sports were one of the most welcomed extra-curricular activities. They held regular sports meetings and had more adequate equipment for physical exercises than state schools. They trained their students to be able to compete in track and field, football, tennis, cricket, baseball, volleyball, badminton, squash, boxing, fencing and gymnastics. Some schools introduced a simple series of graded tests, and a mark was given to each student who could pass each test.¹⁵² There were 3 kinds of sports training in the Christian universities: a required physical-training course, daily sports activities, organized morning drill.¹⁵³ Many extraordinary sports achievements revealed the extremely flourishing scene of mission athletics, and there were a galaxy of athletic talents. Mission institutions took a leading place in sports competitions,¹⁵⁴ and set an example for state schools. These missions trained a corp of Chinese students not only in Western education but in the British tradition of sportsmanship and fair play. The images of mission school students and pupils took on an entirely new look. Sports built up their strength so that they could easily bear the heavy burden of study.

However, in the 1920s China still had no sports theory, and some schools simply imitated the old-style German walking training and the most essential actions with military apparatus. There were scarcely any ball competitions or any other kinds of games in Chinese schools.¹⁵⁵ The students lacked correct attitudes towards sports, and there were much more onlookers than participants. Not only did school authorities have no enthusiasm to advocate sports but parents also had no definite sense of the importance

¹⁵⁰"Chiao-hui he-i yao she hsueh-hsiao," (Why Does the Christian Church establish Schools?), Chi-tu chiao-yu (Christian Education), Vol.6, No.2 (Feb.1925).

¹⁵¹Norman Goodall, History of the London Missionary Society 1895-1945 (London, 1954), p.182.

¹⁵²LMS. Central China, Reports, see report of Bernard Upward, Principal of Griffith College, 17 July 1924, p.34.

¹⁵³BMS. CH/33, the SCU Correspondence and Reports, Report of the Dean of the School of Arts and Science of the SCU 1924.

¹⁵⁴LMS. North China, Reports, Box 8-1920, Annual Report of TACC 1920, from A.P. Cullen; Box 9, Peking Boys' School Report 1923, by W.F. Dawson; Central China, The Medhurst College Report for 1923, by H. Bunce; the article on TACC, The Tientsin Times, 27 June 1929.

¹⁵⁵Hao Keng-sheng, "Shih-nien-lai wo-kuo chih t'i-yu" (The Conditions of Chinese Sports for Ten Years), Ch'ing-nien chin-pu (The Association Progress), Vol.102 (1927).

of sports. in the late 1920s mission schools were still the cradles of physical education in China. The YMCA and YWCA and mission schools were the most enthusiastic advocates of sports;¹⁵⁶ They made the Occidental sports become popular here.¹⁵⁷ The significance of physical training and sports activities in China was increasingly recognized. Missionaries were real pioneers of physical training.¹⁵⁸

Worthwhile use of leisure time became one of Christian educational objectives. The life on mission school campus was extremely vigorous and colourful. The mechanical and boring teaching methods and rigid, stagnant and lifeless study atmosphere were seen in many Chinese schools. Missionary educators paid attention to fostering scholars' interests and hobbies and developing individual creative abilities. The YMCA and YWCA played an very important role in the out-of-school occupations of boys and girls. A varied programme of activities of recreational, social, educational and religious interests was strongly sponsored by the missions and the student associations of mission schools. In many mission schools teachers and students shared the work of administrating their libraries. Some institutions showed interesting films regularly. English clubs gave more practice in conversational English to their students. All kinds of the natural science associations drew many students and further stimulated their interest in scientific matters.¹⁵⁹ Literature, education, international relations, sociology and radio clubs were also organised.¹⁶⁰ The system of students' self-government was first established in mission schools and was considerably extended, such as matters connected with entertainments, dormitory discipline and the general maintenance of cleanliness and order in the students' quarters. The Committee on Sanitation and Mess Committee in Cheeloo, the Music Committee in Lingnan were all good examples.

That mission-trained students were able and efficient was popularly acknowledged by Chinese society.¹⁶¹ These sports and other extra-curricular activities not only enriched students' life and their artistic imagination, further promoted students' intellect development and widened fields of vision, but also strengthened scholars' health and raised their sense of social responsibility.

¹⁵⁶Ti-i-tz'u Chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien, Vol.3, pp.886-888.

¹⁵⁷Harold Archer Van Dorn, p.252.

¹⁵⁸Chung-hua chi-tu-chiao ch'ing-nien-hui wu-shih chou-nien chi-nien-ts'e (The Autograph Book of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Young Men Christian Association of China) (Shanghai, 1935), pp.59-60.

¹⁵⁹BMS. CH/33, the SCU, Report of the Dean of the School of Arts and Science, 1924.

¹⁶⁰See President's Report for the Year 1932-33.

¹⁶¹Yu Jih-chang, "Chi-tu-chiao-hui chih kao-teng chiao-yu chih t'ek-se" (The Distinct Character of Christian Higher Education), Chung-hua chi-tu-chiao-hui nien-chien (The China Mission Year Book), No.1 (1914), p.76.

Mission educational work in the 1920s continued to enlighten the Chinese's scientific spirit. British mission and union institutions played a vital part in forming the minds of recent generations of Chinese. Owing to higher academic standards and the good reputation of Christian institutions, many young people longed to study Western learning at mission schools. These institutions were still the most ideal places where young people yearned for new knowledge and new thoughts. Mission institutions still led the way in introducing Western science and civilization. They were the best hives of the Western learning.

Apart from many achievements, there still existed certain limitations in mission education. Although missionary educators made substantial efforts to lessen the exotic character of mission schools, there still existed the strong nature of foreign cultural enterprises. Generally speaking, Christian institutions did not pay enough attention to Chinese subjects, and thus cultivated students' habit of detesting Chinese subjects. This was one of the focuses of Chinese criticism of mission schools at that time.¹⁶² In addition,, the religious purpose of mission schools was to develop Christian personalities whose character was built up through years of careful training, and also were firmly rooted in their Christian life.¹⁶³ Thus their scholars' thoughts were, to a certain extent, bound up and the religious atmosphere was inevitable. Next, many mission students looked forward to employment only in cities where there were better chance of money-making and advancement.¹⁶⁴ Many of them had "no appetite" for their rural work; and "very few would be willing to specialise in such work."¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, mission educational theories and teaching methods influenced China greatly, but they often were more suitable for the national political and economic needs of Britain and America, particularly for their religious working needs. If one copied mechanically in disregard of specific Chinese cultural quality, political and economic conditions and national character, these theories and methods would conversely hinder the development of Chinese education.

In absolute quantity, Christian education in the 1920s was but a small part of education in China in comparison with the national one, though that was patterned to a great extent after mission ones. In 1926 mission schools constituted only 7.65% of the whole national schools; and their students

¹⁶²Wu Lei-ch'uan, "Chiao-hui hseh-hsiao teh i-wang chi chiang-lai" (The Past and Future of Mission Schools), *Chiao-yu chi-k'an* (Educational Review), Vol.3, No.1 (March 1927); Yang Cheng, "Chi-tu-chiao chiao-yu chih chiang-lai" (The Future of Christian Education), *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu* (The Association Progress), No.93 (1926).

¹⁶³The National Christian Conference held in Shanghai, 2-11 May 1922, p.301.

¹⁶⁴FFMA. Many Wen Feng Ta High School students got this kind of future plan.

¹⁶⁵LMS. North China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 28-1930, see P.L. McAll to F.H. Hawkins, 22 March 1930; LMS. South China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 25, Micro. No.430.

5.14%.¹⁶⁶ During the years of 1911-1931, the number of state colleges and universities rose from 4 to 84; the high schools from 86,318 to 261,264. Altogether there were 43,519 higher educational students, 403,134 secondary school scholars, and 11,667,888 elementary pupils.¹⁶⁷ From 1916 to 1925 the number of Chinese own universities increased 10 times, the figure of students 6 times, and educational investment 12 times.¹⁶⁸ Thus it was obvious that Christian institutions were no longer the main force in modern Chinese education, but only an important supplementary force for it. The ambitious Nanking government in 1928 set itself up to tackle its tremendous problems of national reconstruction and put forward an comprehensive educational policy.¹⁶⁹ It also founded the Academia Sinica as a central research agency on the European model.¹⁷⁰

However, endless political movements made state schools suffer from more disturbances than missionary institutions. There were more students' strikes and unacademic activities in the former places, where the damage was far beyond the latter's. Besides, before 1928, over 80% of China's revenue was spent on wars and administration and this terribly high percentage again showed the general chaotic situation in China, and that pitifully small sum spent on education and social services.¹⁷¹ Thus under the abnormal condition, relatively speaking, mission institutions were more steady and suffered less than state schools. The competition between the state and mission institutions promoted and accelerated the development of modern Chinese education.¹⁷² Christian educational features were well known in China: A practical and realistic style of work; strict teaching and administration and having much fewer drawbacks than sticking to old ways and doing work perfunctorily; having regular educational grants and steady income; organizing systematically; the work being in charge of special persons; using Christian moral standards as educational basis.¹⁷³ Mission

¹⁶⁶The Educational Scientific Institute of Educational Department of East China Normal University (ed.), Chung-kuo hsien-tai chiao-yu-shih (Contemporary Chinese Educational History) (Shanghai, 1983), p.56.

¹⁶⁷Walter Freytag, Spiritual Revolution in the East, tran. by L.M. Stalker (London, 1940), p.115.

¹⁶⁸Ti-erh-tz'u Chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien, Vol.14, p.4.

¹⁶⁹The Nanking Government, Ch'uan-kuo chiao-yu kung-tso-hui chi-lu (The Records of the National Education Working Conference) (Nanking, May 1928).

¹⁷⁰Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985, p.192.

¹⁷¹LMS. North China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 28-1930, see Miss Bent's letter from Peiping, 5 Aug.1930, and the figures came from Yenching students' investigation.

¹⁷²Chu You-kuang, "Chi-tu-chiao chiao-yu tui kai-tsao chung-kuo teh t'ek-shu kung-hsien," Chiao-yu chi-k'an, Vol.1, No.4 (Dec.1925).

¹⁷³Li Tien-lu, "Chi-tu-chiao chiao-yu chih wo-chien" (My Point of View of Christian Education), Chiao-yu Chi-k'an, Vol.2, No.3, (Oct.1926); The Chinese delegate at the World Christian Conference in Jerusalem in 1928, "Chi-tu-chiao chiao-yu tsai chung-kuo te ti-wei" (The Place of Christian Education in China), Chiao-yu chi-k'an, Vol.4, No.3 (Sept.1928), pp.23-24.

educational enterprise was still one of the most important contributions of Western countries to China in the 1920s.¹⁷⁴ By the late 1920s these "Western professors have already provided substantial help and suggestions of Chinese educational reform." They, as spectators, had put forward extremely valuable new points of view.¹⁷⁵ Until 1932, still "nobody suspects the advanced place of Christian schools in modern Chinese educational circles." They had clearly displayed that "modern education is of the possibilities of reforming human society and vitalizing a nation." They "have set up a standard of educational efficiency and produced a large number of leaders in the educational world and other social enterprises." Their place had become a historical fact.¹⁷⁶

Education was the major means of increasing a national quality and pushing forward social progress. It is not of a universal role but is one of the important tools of reforming society and also the last and even only means.¹⁷⁷ This view was accepted by many advanced Chinese. Historical experiences taught them that whichever nation was able to most quickly, wisely, most directly make use of the ready-made and advanced results of human's creation and invention, she would be able to be listed in the advanced nations of the world. The Chinese in the 1920s had much more profound recognition and understanding of this reason than previously. The impact of the world system on China caused far-reaching intellectual revolution. Christian education provided long-lasting effects and further helped China to understand Western learning and Western culture. On more occasions China was thus able to approach the world system and was willing to accept its influences at higher levels. Such social upheavals, multiplied by thousands of mission-trained graduates, changed the very structure of society. Its results in this respect alone had been of inestimable value.

¹⁷⁴Liu Tingfang, "Wo tui-yu chi-tu-chiao tsai Chung-kuo chiao-yu shih-ye te hsin-t'iao" (My Creeds of Christianity in Chinese Educational Enterprises), Chiao-yu chi-k'an, Vol.1, No.1 (Jan.1925).

¹⁷⁵Liang Ch'ian-chih, "Hsi chiao-shih tsai chiao-hui hsueh-hsiao chung chih ti-wei" (The Place of Western Missionaries in mission Schools), Chi-tu chiao-yu, Vol.3, No.4 (Dec.1927).

¹⁷⁶Shen T'i-lan, "Chi-tu-chiao hsueh-hsiao tsai Chung-kuo chiao-yu-chieh te ti-wei" (The Place of Christian Schools in the Chinese Educational world), Chiao-yu chi-k'an, Vol.8, No.4 (Dec. 1932).

¹⁷⁷Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'en Tu-hsiu hsuan-chi (The Collection of Ch'en Tu-hsiu) (Tientsin, 1990), p.161.

CHAPTER 5: SOCIAL REFORM (1) - POPULAR EDUCATION, MORAL & INDUSTRIAL WELFARE

INTRODUCTION

Turning from education to the question of social reform, that is to say popular education, moral and industrial reform, famine relief and rural improvement, we find that Western missionaries were the first persons to wrestle with these basic social problems in Chinese society. Until now there has hardly been any academic works on such activities of missions, especially their work in the s. Chapters 5 and 6 serve to explore the role and position of mission social reform in the s.

Before 1920, missionary individuals engaged in different types of social reform on a smaller scale without uniform leadership and programmes. World War I and China's infant republic created new problems and new demands for the services of Protestant missions on behalf of rural and industrial society. In order to help meet these needs, in the early s the reorganization of mission social reform was in line with the new philosophy of collective responsibility which assisted China's national reconstruction policy. This essential principle meant that mission social welfare activities were based upon a study of social problems in the light of changing general conditions of China.

The task of mission social reform was twofold. The social reform included both spiritual and material aspects. Missionaries firstly engaged in moral reform and helped China cure the basic social evils - illiteracy, injustice, drug addiction, gambling, wars and economic exploitation. Second, their social services also embraced the contents of material reform. They started many significant activities, but working for rural improvement was the most typical example of such material reform.

Therefore in the s the need for full time social workers was recognised by the action of the NCC. More highly educated missionary experts organized lay groups to assist in the extension of the social services and by their inspiration and zeal made their efforts felt in all fields of social work. Under the general supervision of the NCC were placed the many varied social reform activities which had come into existence as more or less independent units to meet particular needs of Chinese society. All new departments of the NCC were formed as a federation of social services to solve different and particular social problems. The following table illustrates that these committees, composed of lay men and women, functioned as organizers and also played advisory roles in different fields of social reform. The NCC in 1922 suggested that each city should have a representative union committee to coordinate social and moral welfare policies. This committee had to be under the direction of the local

federation or union if such existed.¹ There were consequently many such committees in cities established early or late, but more usually, the YMCA and YWCA took the leading part in promoting such social work. For both social service was a paramount interest, many British missions in their social services increasingly adopted the methods of the YMCA and YWCA. Nearly all Protestant missions took concerted action in social reform and developed the increased body of scientific knowledge on all sorts of social issues, on social conditions, social relationships and social work.

TABLE 5.1 THE SOCIAL WORK DEPARTMENTS OF THE NCC
Department of Extension & Adult Education of the CCEA
the Illiteracy Committee (IC)
the Phonetic Committee (PC)
the Committee on Christian Literature (CCL)
the Christian Publishers' Association (CPA)
the Committee on Work for the Blind in China (CWBC)
the Committee on Orphanages (CO)
the Committee on Church & Home (CCH)
the Anti-Narcotic Committee (ANC)
the Social & Moral Welfare Committee (SMWC)
the International Relations Committee (IRC)
the Industrial Relations Committee (IRC)
the Committee on Christianizing Economic Relations (CCER)
the Committee on Rural Problems & Country Church (CRPCC)

Under the supervision of the NCC, the Church unified the social reform efforts of all existing Christian organizations. The fundamental change of such organizing pattern mainly took place in the 1920s. The social services of the Church came into existence to meet the manifold and increasing demands of a rapidly growing enterprise composed of a great variety of national groups. Thus, the Church entered upon a new epoch in social reform; it started to cope with more complex and more extensive social problems. Although strong anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements developed in the mid-1920s, mission social services were never terminated

¹The National Christian Conference 1922, p.344.

but intensified, and the impetus given to miscellaneous voluntary activities resulted in a keen and insistent desire for participation in a reconstruction programme in the late 1920s. Briefly, while medical services, education and literary work had been important parts of traditional mission work, mission social reform now entered into a systematized and well-organized process and developed a uniform policy and had detailed divisions from the 1920s. It was a relatively new field and an independent branch of cultural mission work. Mission bodies not only increased their efficiency, but thereby strengthened their influence.

Hence, Chapters 5 and 6 will focus on the discussion of mission social reform. I attempt to study their contributions from the angles of popular education, moral reform, industrial welfare, famine relief and rural improvement.

I. POPULAR EDUCATION

Missionaries, besides their schools, devoted considerable resources to popular education. As early as in the 19th century British missionary pioneers had embarked on such work in China.² However, then it belonged primarily to individual missionaries' activities and was only a minor means of spreading Christianity. Popular educational work in the 1920s had undergone a fundamental change. It was now regarded as an integral part of mission social reform and no longer a means of religious work. Not only had mission elementary, secondary and higher education provided China with advanced models, but had they set an example of popular education for China in many respects in the 1920s.

The fact that 95% of the people in China were illiterates was astonishing and appalling to a Westerner. How had such a gigantic problem escaped the notice of the nation, particularly in view of the very highly developed Chinese civilization. In China there was a tremendous, unbridged gap between the educated class and labour forces - the so-called "lower classes". There was first the traditional indifference of the literati. A positive governmental tradition, the so-called "ignorance policy" of the rulers, had already left an indelible impression upon the nation. Secondly, there was the inherent difficulty of the Chinese written language. Thirdly, there were the tremendous numbers and the extreme poverty of the illiterate masses. The enormous number of illiterates in China showed that the adult education was even more urgent than school education in the early 1920s. Government, both provincial and central, had contemplated ambitious programmes of school education which had the hearty support of the people, and had been organized relatively systematically, but its popular education was extremely backward. Chinese officials still showed much less interest in education outside the regular school system before the establishment of

²Quoted in Jonathan Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisers in China 1620-1960* (Boston, 1969), p.153; see *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JNCBRAS) (Shanghai, 1929), p.iii.

the KMT government in 1928. The task of popular education was therefore a very big one. In the 1920s the missions took an active approach to this issue, with a notable effort to promote literacy. The Church believed that popular educational activities would undoubtedly be beneficial to China. Their educational objectives embraced not only adults but youth and children who had no opportunity of acquiring the rudiments of education. Of course, it was impossible for the Church to undertake the whole task of such education owing to limited resources of finance, and personnel. But in the 1920s it determined to bring literacy to all of China's millions as one of its essential activities.

Its work was really diversified. Generally, their popular education was divided into 4 sections, namely campaigns for reducing illiteracy, translations and publications, broader popular educational ventures, and museums.

1. Campaigns against Illiteracy

The "Mass Education Movement," was initiated after World War I, under the auspices of the YMCA, by a returned student from America, Y.C. James Yen,³ while the CCC in 1918 appointed a Phonetic Promotion Committee.⁴ The Church became the first group to attack the problem of illiteracy in China, launching anti-illiteracy campaigns on a large scale. Their hope was that increasing literacy would help spread Christianity. The CCEA worked through its Department of Extension and Adult Education, while the NCC's Illiteracy Committee, set up in 1922, designed the uniform teaching programme, plan, quality and the maintenance of standards. Local churches became the most basic units to carry out this task.

Their first measure was to adopt "pai hua," the spoken language of the people as a medium of their publications rather than "wen li," the classical written language. The churches in many areas recommended the thousand characters which appeared most frequently and were most useful scientifically from "pai-hua" materials containing upwards of 1,600,000 characters, and incorporated into the People's Thousand Characters Lessons (P'ing Min Ch'ien Tzu K'e). This was devised and published by the YMCA, and it was accepted throughout China. Such lessons soon enabled the average illiterate to acquire a foundation language within only a few months, and were well known to the general public. "The Thousand Character System" was a clever way to make a great effort to reduce illiteracy. Many popular educational textbooks were produced by the YMCA. Commoner's Geography, Commoner's History, Commoner's Book of Knowledge, the Popular Educational Series, Commoner's Arithmetic, Commoner's Public Health, Commoner's

³Y.C. James Yen, The Mass Education in China (Peking, 1925), pp.3, 11; Hsin chiao-yu, "P'ing-min chiao-yu," No.4 (Oct.1923), pp.383-388 & "P'ing-min chiao-yu hsin yun-tung," No.5 (Dec.1922), pp.1008-1026.

⁴The reports of the CCC, 1918-1921; Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, pp.199-200.

Letters, Commoners' Educational Series, and the Youth's Moral Series were the best-known teaching materials, and were adopted by nearly all popular educational centres. The contents of these books combined with the reality which was faced by the youth and also reflected the world development tendency.⁵ The YMCA made the most valuable contribution to the initiation and development of China's popular educational campaign. In this movement the Commercial Press and the Chung Hua Book Bureau were the most important publishing houses for these special textbooks, but the mission publishers closely cooperated with them and published many kinds of teaching materials and literature. They made great efforts to transfer the focus of their education to ordinary Chinese, and they gave more attention to popular reading materials in the 1920s than before.

This literary policy was carried out in close connection with their local church work. When this was settled a series of effective and cheap textbooks were developed for the purpose of teaching these characters to the poor and illiterate in the shortest time in nearly each local church. In these places mass meetings were held, and it was found possible to teach classes of several hundred illiterates at once. Church workers became voluntary teachers in many centres of popular education. The LMS, for example, formed Illiteracy Committees in all its districts so as to solve the problems of uneducated Christians. Adult education was listed in the table of its regular expenditure. Many churches specially planned curricula for rural education, and they endeavoured to help each Christian community realise its duty to its children, to cooperate with village authorities in opening such schools. The CIM, BMS and LMS all ran a great quantity of famine schools (namely, temporary schools for both children and adults during the period of famine) in the 1920s. For instance, at Paoting, Chihli, in the early 1920s' famine 5,000 women and girls' were taught in the CIM famine camps and its schools to read Bibles, write letters and keep accounts. In other districts short terms were held where people, coming in for a month or more, went home able to read and write.⁶ The PCI missionaries organized many classes in the Manchurian areas. They felt that "it is wonderful how well some of these women can read." Chinese women found this teaching most helpful.⁷ In this process of eliminating illiterates, many housewives, country women and male illiterates mastered both basic knowledge of the Bible and the simple Chinese characters. The challenge of illiteracy had become one of the essential concerns of the Church activities in the rural regions.

The regular night schools for mission universities' employees and the

⁵See its annual reports.

⁶"The Problem of China's Illiteracy," by S. Garland, China's Millions, Vol.31 (Oct.1923), p.156.

⁷PCI. Report of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions 1922, p.26.

people in the local communities, and daily vocational schools in various centres were conducted during the summer holidays. For instance, Cheeloo held a series of part-time educational activities and solved part of the problems of illiteracy in the local community.⁸ The PUMC's Department of Religious and Social Work specially assumed a great deal of work and was extremely active in this movement. Its P'ing Ming School was specially opened to help illiterates among its employees to learn to read and write Chinese, and showed the college's share in the nation-wide movement to decrease illiteracy in China.⁹ Other mission universities did a similar job.

The mission schools were used as a means of producing good citizens. The appeal for social service was strongly pressed through both secular and religious instruction. Missionary educators made great efforts to educate their students to feel keenly the responsibilities which rested upon them for using their educational advantages to promote public welfare. Thus mission school students devoted a considerable part of their leisure to conducting popular education, directly running many kinds of spare-time schools. It seemed to have become unwritten law that on each holiday missionary educators mobilized their students in the cities to go to the countryside with them and set up short-time mobile schools. The students voluntarily maintained free night schools and half-day schools for the poor children and illiterate adults of the vicinity in many places. The students of the Anglo-Chinese College YMCA of the EPM at Swatow conducted a night school and 10 summer vacation schools, which were attended by over 1,000 poor children. A large number of volunteers gave up 6 weeks of their vacation during the hottest season to undertake this popular educational work.¹⁰ The Students Christian Association of Lingnan (the SCA) also ran 3 lower primary and 1 higher primary schools. The source of their pupils was mainly the sons and daughters of the workers and farmers nearby. In its Workmen's Night School 4 subjects were taught, Chinese, letter writing, arithmetic, and English.¹¹ Thus, mission school students had a great share in this popular educational work. These activities promoted their patriotic feeling and intensified the sense of their social responsibilities.

The mission popular educational work had already made outstanding progress during the 1920s. In 1920 only 5% of China's population could read. Even in 1923 it was estimated that the percentage of illiteracy among non-Christian people was still something like 90% but 40% of the church

⁸See its annual reports.

⁹See annual reports of the PUMC, from LMS.

¹⁰EPM. Annual Report of Swatow District, 1923.

¹¹LMS. The Bulletin issued by the Students Christian Association of Lingnan, Vol.1, No.1 (Oct.1922).

members could read the Bible in the vernacular.¹² By 1925 the figures for the Christian community were even better, for about 65% of the Christian constituency could read, testimony to significant progress. According to the statistics in 1934 the figure of the entire national illiteracy had decreased by 80%,¹³ and though it was still an astronomical figure, the progress was obvious. Western missionaries made important contributions to this. However, one point must be made here that the Christian literacy movement in these areas was only one of the tools employed but not their final aim, because it was difficult for missionaries to spread Bible knowledge among such huge numbers of illiterates, and also the Church would like to secure more literate Chinese Christians.¹⁴ Despite this preliminary aim, the evangelistic work of the Church directly reduced the number of China's illiterates.

In this Mass Education Movement Christian forces were both important initiators and participants, although after the mid-1920s they were not its main source. Mission bodies were very enthusiastic about the movement to attack illiteracy, and they were the most powerful foreign supporters for the government in this campaign. The majority of their churches, scattered in the vast inland and rural areas, became important bases of popular education during the 1920s. Their important role was embodied in taking concerted action in the nation-wide extent of this literacy movement. Through their teaching work in these local churches, the campaign penetrated many households in the remote regions. Their work included methods of teaching, supervision, testing, and publications. Both their urban and rural churches assumed these responsibilities. Looking back in history, people have to recognise that the mission campaign against illiteracy greatly influenced adult education in China. Their activities and experience made the Chinese literate class begin to realise not only that the masses were in urgent need of education, but also that in them they possessed tremendous and undeveloped potential.

2. Translations and Publications

Mission literary work was also an essential part of its popular education endeavours. Although literary work was a relatively small branch of mission cultural work, its new social role and influence in the 1920s should not be ignored. Christian publishers launched the very significant discussion of social reform and many of their topics had seldom appeared in previous missionary literature. Meanwhile, Christian publishers still had a big share in introducing Western learning, especially in translating

¹²See Garland's paper in China's Millions, Vol.31, (Oct.1923), p.154.

¹³See Ti-erh-tz'u Chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien (The Second China's Educational Year Book) (Shanghai, 1948), p.1180.

¹⁴See the records of my interview with Hester Steward in Belfast on 3 Feb.1993.

and compiling Western academic works.

The Christian Literature Society for China (CLS) was founded in 1887 by Alexander Williamson.¹⁵ Quite a number of highly qualified British men, trained in journalism, were secured and accounted for the majority of the foreign workers here since its early period.¹⁶ In finance, the CLS's publishing work was well-supported by its London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh committees while it obtained valuable support from the Arthington Fund Committee and Richard Funds.¹⁷ Between 1887 and 1904 the CLS published 250 books.¹⁸ From 1912-1919 a total of 115 new books and 91 reprints were produced.¹⁹ From 1918 to 1932 it altogether published about 322 books, of which 208 were related to secular topics, and 114 belonged to purely religious works.²⁰ The CLS was thus the largest missionary publisher of secular books. Actually, it continued to publish both theological and secular books after 1920 although the promulgation of social reform (roughly accounted for 25% of the whole) was very new.²¹ More importantly, it prepared more social scientific books for China than any other missionary publishers, particularly its historical books (which constituted over 23% of all its publications). Its opinions and influence were still commanded special attention by Chinese society.

The Association Press of The YMCA (AP) and The Publishing House of The YWCA closely linked their publishing work with their special working methods. Thus they mainly focused on producing books on recreation and sports, social reform, social services and popular education. Both were very active. The AP altogether turned out 170 books; and the YWCA produced about 20 works between 1918 and 1932.²² Both publishers seldom produced purely religious literature. Relatively speaking, they looked more vigorous than many other Christian publishers. They did not confine their literary activities and readers only within Christian circles and their discussing topics were quite varied. Their progressive ideological inclination

¹⁵See Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tzu-tien, p.515.

¹⁶Ibid., pp.92, 338; BMS, see Morgan's file; the CLS annual reports, 1920-30; BMS, CH/59, Garnier's file, 1906-1939, A.J. Garnier to C.E. Wilson on 14 Feb. 1930..

¹⁷See the CLS's annual reports in the 1910s-1920s.

¹⁸Timothy Richard, Conversion by the Million in China (Shanghai, 1907), p.93.

¹⁹See its annual reports.

²⁰The CLS annual reports; "Reviews of Recent Books & "Presentations to the Library" of the JNCBRAS (1918-1932); BMS, see Morgan's and Garnier's files; The New China Review, ed. by S. Couling (Shanghai, 1920-1922); Chung-hua kui-chu; Wang Chih-hsing's book; A Classified Index to the Chinese Literature of the Protestant Christian Churches in China; Chang Chin-lu, Chung-kuo hsien-tai ch'u-pen shih-liao pu-pien (The Third Historical Sources of Contemporary Chinese Publication) (Peking, 1957); Ke Kung-chen History of Chinese Mass Media (Peking, 1955); The Chinese Recorder (1919-1931); and The China Mission (or "Christian" after 1926) Year Book (1919-1931).

²¹Ibid.

²²See A Classified Index to the Chinese Literature of the Protestant Christian Churches in China.

influenced many Chinese young people and other advanced Chinese.

Among the NCC's 67 publications between 1922 and 1932 there were also hardly any purely religious books.²³ It mainly highlighted industrial welfare, rural improvement, reform of social customs and popular education rather than special academic works.²⁴ It was one of the most active and dynamic forces amongst all Christian publishers. Its literature was of very high value. Hence its books were of the nature of popularization and readers could be all classes in China. The sources of the NCC reflected that in the 1920s the missionaries shouldered much more social responsibilities than their predecessors.²⁵ Through its books, an acute sense of social responsibility was advocated and the NCC led more people to a concern with practical social problems.

Even the Religious Tract Society (RTS), formed in 1844, and producing more purely religious works,²⁶ was also one of the enthusiastic advocates of social reform. In the 1920s it edited and distributed about 76 tracts and 22 books on this topic,²⁷ including anti-footbinding, anti-opium, sexual equality, anti-superstition and public health. Kwang Hsueh Publishing House in Shanghai, started in 1917, also published 57 secular books and pamphlets (1918-1932),²⁸ which touched on many kinds of practical subjects.

As far as the overall arrangement of mission cultural work was concerned, comparing with other mission work, there were comparatively fewer Christian men and women who had the vision and devoted themselves to literary work. However, Christian publishers in the 1920s had made new contributions to Chinese society. The Christian Publishers' Association was formed in 1917.²⁹ It consisted of 17 major mission publishers. Thus the cooperation in the Christian literary work in a larger scope had begun before 1920 and was enlarged in the 1920s. In the 1920s mission literary work met extraordinary financial difficulties, but Christian publishers solved these problems by employing diversified methods, such as reprinting prominent translations and publications of the previous period,³⁰ producing secular textbooks, and inserting commercial advertisements inside all their publications and translations for business firms. Christian publishers thus

²³Ibid.; CBMS, the annual reports of the NCC.

²⁴CBMS. See its budget from the NCC Annual Reports for 1922-23 and for 1925-26; the NCC Biennial Report 1929-31.

²⁵LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1923, see J.B. Taylor's letter.

²⁶The Central Catalogue and Circulation List of for the 1929-30 year of the RTS.

²⁷A Classified Index.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹CBMS. The annual reports of the CCC, 1916-1917.

³⁰See the annual reports of the CLS.

successfully overcame their financial difficulties.

The increase of mission literature in quantity was very obvious. They published 25 periodicals in Chinese in 1914; 112 in 1921. By 1922 there had had 112 Christian magazines in circulation; more than 200 in 1925.³¹ In 1931 this number was reduced to 177,³² but it was increased to 237 in 1935.³³ By 1920 Christian publishers had produced 2,339 books (secular ones accounted for only 35% but religious ones 65%).³⁴ Between 1919 and 1931 Christian publishers produced and reprinted 1,225 books (secular ones 85.3% and religious ones 14.7%). Of their secular books, the works on medical science, social reform, and humanities and natural science constituted one third.³⁵ Within only 12 years the achievements of Christian publishers not only outstripped those in the former years but also they greatly increased the percentage of secular translations and publications. By 1935 the Church had published more than 4,000 books produced by 69 mission publishers.³⁶ Apparently, the policy of the social gospel was accepted by the majority of Protestant missions for several Christian publishers chose secular subjects as their publishing focus.³⁷

The 1920s' Christian publications, unlike those in the previous period, gave attention both to the elites and ordinary Chinese people as part of a tremendous explosion of both highly academic and popular educational impulses. There was an urge to make this spiritual dimension of existence comprehensible and accessible to all. The interplay of these two tendencies in mission literary work had made the 1920s an exciting epoch of intellectual ferment and social activism.

The limitation of the teaching materials in the primary schools were soon solved by native publishers after all, as the government organized manpower and shouldered the major responsibility at this level. However, Government ignored popular education work, so mission publishers initiated editing popular educational textbooks. Also, in the academic world, the serious shortage of textbooks, reference books and academic books had been handicapping the development of modern Chinese education; much remained to be done for higher standard books. Mission publishers were the most important leading men in publishing these books. Their importation of Western scientific knowledge and literary undertakings still acted as new

³¹"Wen-tsi shih-yeh yu chi-tu-chiao" (The Literary Enterprise and Christianity), by Wang Chi-hsing, Chen-kuang tsa-chih (The True Light), Vol.24, No.4 (April 1925).

³²Wang Chi-hsing, Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao shih-kang, p.302.

³³See 1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China, p.210.

³⁴See Chung-hua kui-chu, pp.1002-1026.

³⁵The China Mission Year Book (1919-1931); and A Classical Index.

³⁶Shao Yu-ming ed., Erh-shih shih-chi chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao wen-t'i (The Chinese Christian Questions in the Twentieth Century) (Taipei, 1980), p.58.

³⁷CBMS. Box 348, E/T China, NCC Annual Report 1924-25.

blood transfusions into the weak organism of the backward popular educational system and educational elites of the 1920s. Their expert position and academic authority were accepted by all.

The 1920s was one of the important periods of the nationalisation of all foreign influences in the interests of the whole of China and in conformity with the Chinese mentality. A flood of new terms for new ideas was also coming in with their books and magazines. Mission publishers were the most active sponsors and inventors in introducing and creating new words. Many new scientific terms were introduced into China and formulated their Chinese translations through Christian literary work.³⁸ Also these new terms paved the road for further introducing the newest Western knowledge.

Language reform was also seen in Christian literary work. Due to the large increase of words of foreign origin and created neologism, a Pai-hua-wen Movement (new "national language") was launched before 1920. The Church rendered first-class services through its literary work. Nearly all mission publishers actively responded to China's language reform; after 1920, they translated and published both religious and secular books mainly in the vernacular.³⁹ They hoped to give China a literature which would not only be expressive of the real life and thought of their own time, but also be an effective force in the intellectual and social thought. This reform was of invaluable importance for the spread of modern education and also accelerated the process of introducing Western learning. The new national language was being introduced very widely through mission publishing and translating work. Mission publishers helped Chinese people emancipate themselves from the fetters of a dead language (the archaic classical language), raise the conversational style to a position of dignity and practically make it the medium of expression of cultured class. In recommending and popularizing standard Chinese, the missions had a lasting impact not only on the cultural life of Chinese Christians but on secular Chinese society.

In personnel, in the 1920s' mission literary work there was an increase in the number of Chinese writers and translators, who were no longer only helpers and auxiliary staff members. Moreover, missionaries in the 1920s were still the major force in preparing Christian literature, e.g., two thirds of the CLS publications were produced by foreign members and only one third by Chinese workers.⁴⁰ Other mission publishers had a similar percentage. The general tendency was that the Chinese workers were taking more and more responsibilities for Christian literary work.

In short, mission publishers recommended a lot of the newest Western

³⁸The CHUM Monthly Notes 1920-1924 (Shanghai), see "New Terms."

³⁹Chung-high-kui-chu, p.1039.

⁴⁰See the catalogues of the publications in the annual reports of the CLS.

sciences to the Chinese people. Their translations and publications still wielded a profound influence on transforming social life. They were still one of the main forces in introducing Western culture into China within the literary circles, and still major leaders in advocating social reform in many ways, if no longer the only leader, the Christian publishers with an obvious social gospel inclination had made outstanding contributions to China. China's popular educational system, academic world and social life got a stronger challenge from Western learning and capitalist culture through mission literary work.

3. Broader Popular Educational Ventures

Protestant missions also engaged in more ambitious popular educational ventures, which after 1922 came above all to focus on literate family membership and good citizenship. Based upon this principle, missions organized a series of significant popular educational activities. For example, night schools as a supplementary educational activity also became popular leisure institutions, actively recommended in the 1920s. The PUMC's Employees' Night School undoubtedly aimed to improve its Chinese employees' working efficiency as qualified workers.⁴¹ In its Tung Jen Hui - a social club, spring picnics and English Speaking Club were organized. Among its hospital patients and staff, it circulated books and newspapers; gave illustrated lectures; held Weekly Health Talks and distributed health tracts; and showed carefully selected films, such as Robin Hood, the Sky Pilot and the White Sister.⁴²

Giving "Public Lectures" also became a compulsory responsibility of missions. Missionaries undertook to find speakers to deliver lectures on useful subjects regularly. Mission schools were often organizers of these special lectures. Before 1920 the TACC once provided and repeated a public lecture on "Evolution" in a local Chinese college. In 1926, its new public lectures were very interesting, such as "West Africa," "Mountaineering & Great Earthquake in Japan," "Cambridge," "Ancient British Monuments: Avebury & Stonehenge," "The Country that Shakespeare Knew and Loved," "The Panama Canal," and "Mexico."⁴³ Similarly, mission district committees were also important organizers. In the Tsingchow centre of the EMS lectures were given twice weekly, including Arithmetic, Geography, Hygiene and Bible stories. The Union Church Literary Club was started in Canton in 1920.⁴⁴ The topics of its lantern lectures were "Development of the Tank," "the New

⁴¹See the report of 1925, the PUMC.

⁴²LMS. North China, Reports, Box 9-1925, see Department of Religious and Social work, PUMC, Report for the Year Ending, 30 June 1925.

⁴³See Report of C.H.B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1926, A year of Recovery, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 9-1926.

⁴⁴LMS. South China, Incoming Letters Box 22-1920, "Union Church Literary Club," by W. Season, South China Morning Post.

Internationalism," "Curiosities of Chinese Medical Practice," "An Evening with Dickens," "Scientific Methods of Detecting Crime," "Marine Engines - Past and Present," and "History of Sinn Fein."

The YMCA and YWCA also started many popular educational activities, and the participants were mainly non-Christians.⁴⁵ Their slogan of social service was to advocate moral, intellect and physical education as well as social education.⁴⁶ Their intelligent education regarded introducing new knowledge as their major aim, such as some addresses on the introduction of caustics, electricity and Western philosophy, which attracted many young people.

The AP and YWCA were also the most enthusiastic initiators and advocates of social sports and recreational activities. The AP's books of indoor sports, outdoor sports and games were various, such as Official Rules for Tennis, Official Rules for Basket Ball, Official Rules for Football, Official Rules for Track and Field Athletics, Official Rules for Volley Ball; the YWCA published A book of Games for All Occasions, Group Games, and Gymnastics. They introduced a great deal of common sports knowledge and recommended the most essential methods of Western athletics to China so as to popularize sports and advocate physical exercises in a larger scope. The recreational books included theatre, pantomime, opera, popular ballads and folk songs, such as Short Play Series I to III, The Country Dance Book, and Folk Dance. Obviously, in order to further liven up Chinese people's cultural life, both societies let Chinese understand many ways of Western entertainment through their literary activities. The first 3 national sports games in China were all organized by the YMCA, respectively in 1910, 1914 and 1924. Not until 1933 was the central government able to hold a national sports meeting. Henceforth, missionaries, especially foreign members of the YMCA and YWCA were most powerful advocates of social sports in China.

The traditional ideas of "regarding silence as nobleness" and "taking liveliness as sordid conduct" - so-called proper behaviour of a gentleman were already discarded. Many Chinese thought that a nation's superiority or inferiority was decided by its people's physique. "The reason why Britain became a strong power was that its people were good at sports."⁴⁷ Social sports were now paid great attention, because sports were able to influence the efficiency of all kinds of social enterprises and people's lives. In South China the types of sports were mainly spread from Britain, and sports were of the same character - both elegant and steady. British

⁴⁵See the records of my interviews with M. Garvie on 14 Oct. 1992 in Scotland, Rev. Colin Corley on 31 Jan. 1993 & Dr.A.J. Weir on 1 Feb. 1993 in Belfast. They were all missionaries of the YWCA and YMCA in China.

⁴⁶Juan Jen-tse, p.947.

⁴⁷Chung-kuo chin-tai t'i-yu shih tzu-liao (The Historical Materials of Modern Chinese Sports), ed. by the Institute of Physical Training Historical Research of the Physical Training College of Chengtu (Chengtu, 1988), p.259.

style football, tennis, badminton, table tennis and snooker were very popular. The most pretentious of foreign sports found in China was horse-racing. Whenever the British settled in large numbers, they fostered this sport. In Central and North China, the majority of Chinese people were greatly influenced by American style sports. Thus the distinctive character of sports were quick and radical. Basketball, volleyball, baseball, track and field were fashionable. In 1923 the Chinese were even able to organize the Sports Meeting of the Far East in Shanghai. In 1929 Government issued "The Decree of National Sports," regulating the targets and administrative organizing system of social sports. The National Sports Association was established in Shanghai. In Kiangsu alone there were more than 40 public stadia.⁴⁸ The national team of China gained the championship of the International Football Cup and defeated German, Portuguese and English teams.⁴⁹ Government even sent one athlete to Olympics in Los Angeles in 1932. Sports became one of the most popular and most welcomed topics in newspapers. Many newspapers started sports columns in the 1920s.⁵⁰ Sports was regarded as one of the best means of strengthening nation and race.

Normally, many mission social clubs in a number of cities and towns were formed along YMCA and YWCA lines. The programmes of comprehensive mission popular educational institutions were always very colourful. For instance, the BMS's centre at Chou-Ts'un was designed to meet the educational, social, moral and religious needs of the ever-increasing number of young workers in the factories, shop-assistants and clerks who poured into the city from the surrounding countryside. In West China the International Institute of the FFMA in Chungking, known in Chinese as Te Yu Se (moral education society), was created in 1909. Its aim was "to create a place where East and West could meet on an equal footing; to advance social reform and alleviate the lot of the poor; to uphold the cause of peace; to recommend all that was best in Western civilisation and to oppose what was harmful."⁵¹ It was open every evening. There were a reading-room, a recreation room, and an office. Its English classes attracted many younger businessmen. Alcohol and gambling as well as opium smoking were strictly forbidden. It also opposed footbinding and concubinage. It also had a boys' orphanage. About 80% in this city were believed to suffer from TB, so its Hygiene Society was founded in 1912. It printed and circulated thousands of posters on "How to prevent TB" and ran an essay competition on "How to make Chungking a clean city." By introducing the eucalyptus tree to the province the institute even affected

⁴⁸Ibid., pp.78-99.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp.59, 135.

⁵⁰Hao Keng-sheng, "Chin-shih-nien Chung-kuo t'i-yu chih fa-chan" (The Development of China's Sports for Recent Ten Years), T'i-yu (The Sports), Vol.1, No.2 (15 June 1927).

⁵¹Charles Tyzack, Friends to China: The Davidson Brothers and the Friends' Mission to China 1886 to 1932 (York, 1988), p.105.

the local landscape.⁵² Such an institute regarded all these social problems as into its fields. ?

The missionaries also helped organise all types of societies and institutions to enlarge popular education, such as the China Societies and Science and Arts, Photographic Society and Energetic Society of Shanghai, Peking Society of Natural History, Quest Society, and Fukien Scientific Society. Sometimes they gave special physics and chemistry section lectures, for example, solar system and the structure of the atom.⁵³ Their lectures on Western learning attracted many young people and aroused their strong interest in science.

The Church also engaged in education on international peace. British missionaries sometimes acted as peace makers between bandits and local authorities of warring forces. The Committee on Christianising International Relations of the NCC published Outlines for Discussions and Internationalism, both in Chinese and English. It often gave classes and public lectures on international problems.⁵⁴ These important methods and others used by the committee cultivated a sound attitude and right ideas toward international life on the part of the new China.

At the same time, mission libraries, some of which had existed since the last century were the earliest ones in China to be run on modern lines. They were recommended first by missionaries as a most powerful means of popular education. Most of mission libraries and reading-rooms were attached to these popular educational institutions. These libraries directly influenced the establishment of many Chinese modern libraries.

As one can see, the above activities were becoming important aspects and supplementary means of modern popular education. They were first demonstrated in China through missionary ventures.

4. Museums

The Church regarded museums as an important part of popular education and intellectual culture. Although most mission museums had been established before 1920 as a medium of spreading Western learning and civilization, they continued to play an extraordinary role in the missions' popular education movement of the 1920s.

The (North) China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (NCBRAS) was established in Shanghai 1858. The majority of its members had been missionaries since the very beginning. This branch founded the first Western-style museum (strictly speaking, a British-style museum) in China, which had become distinctive since the 1870s. In 1923, its curator, Arthur de C. Sowerby of the BMS initiated The China Journal of Science and Arts

⁵²FFMA. See annual reports.

⁵³See "Societies and Institutions," in The China Journal of Science and Arts, 1920-30.

⁵⁴CBMS. Box 348, E/T China, The NCC Annual Report 1928-29.

(the publishing house of fine arts magazines), which was later named The China Journal. He was actually the first professional publisher of museology. He was also one of the most outstanding naturalists and explorers in China. His major professional works included The Naturalist in Manchuria (5 vols., 1922-23), A Naturalist's Note-book in China (1925), and A Naturalist's Holiday by the Sea.⁵⁵ These books belonged to the earliest and most systematic investigation records of natural science in China.

This museum in the 1920s was mainly characterized as an exhibiting centre of natural history, whose acquisitions were outstanding. It included zoological, ichthyological and biological departments and a mammal room.⁵⁶ The museum had been well patronized by both foreigners and Chinese, and also had something of an international reputation. When the Crown Prince of Sweden passed through Shanghai in 1927, he asked to be shown over the museum, as he had heard that there were some interesting archaeological specimens from China in the collections. He was particularly interested in the "Oracle Bones" from Honan and a collection of the Shang Dynasty objects from the so-called "Waste of Yin" in Honan placed. Its exhibitions mainly attracted a large number of Chinese. For example, there were 582 visitors in September 1928, and 772 in February 1929.⁵⁷ It had become a comprehensive popular educational institution.

J. S. Whitewright at Tsingchow in 1887 founded an influential museum. In 1905 a large fund from the trustees of Robert Arthington enabled Whitewright to transfer his idea to Tsinan with a greatly enlarged plant and much improved facilities for exhibits.⁵⁸ In 1917 the institute was merged into Cheeloo and functioned as its extension department. Its original purpose was as a centre of education and evangelism.⁵⁹ However, its aim now became the enlightenment of the Chinese people of all classes in regard to the civilization of the West. Whitewright hoped to assist the bringing of the East and West together in friendly and helpful understanding.⁶⁰ The institute was finally developed as the most notable museum run by the missionaries and maintained completely by the BMS, paying attention to general knowledge, agriculture, forestry, public health, and the introduction and recommendation of all kinds of new science and

⁵⁵Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tzu-tien, p.450; and see the JNCBRAS during the period of 1905-1940.

⁵⁶See JNCBRAS for 1921, 1922, 1924, 1925 and 1927.

⁵⁷See JNCBRAS, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930.

⁵⁸"The Late John Sutherland Whitewright," in The China Journal of Science and Arts, Vol.IV, No.3 (March 1926), p.126.

⁵⁹BMS. See "The Story of Tsinanfu."

⁶⁰BMS. Minutes of China Sub-Committee Conference, 1917, No.10, p.83.

technology.⁶¹ It propagated the advantages of planting trees and enlarging the forest areas, especially introduced methods of tackling the problems of the Yellow River. Another section was devoted to introducing the implements and forms of transport used in different nations. Its 100,000 educational models were very impressive. Reproductions of a Scottish orphanage, hospitals, asylums for the blind displayed the Christian charity enterprises and care for unfortunates. A perfect model of a main Bristol street was an epitome of Western cities. A picture of the British House of Parliament served as a text for an account of Western forms of government. Western achievements in science, engineering and invention, such as steamers, engines and machinery of various types, afforestation, scientific river control and irrigation, methods of preventing blight, eliminating crop pests, improved wells, sanitation and child welfare, were represented by photographs and working models. All the walls of the rooms were lined with pictures and charts on population, the natural resources, accompanied by others of a popular character on astronomy, geology, and physiography. "Everything is magnificent and stirring as well as fascinating."⁶² The exhibits were varied in character and were constantly changed so as to keep abreast of the educational needs of the common people.

As its founder expected, the visitors who flocked to the museum soon averaged 1,000 a day. For example, from only January to 19th September 1922 the total number of visitors to the museum and lecture hall was over 434,000.⁶³ In 1924 alone the attendance at these public lectures reached over 266,000;⁶⁴ the visitors reached more than 570,000. People of 13 different nationalities, besides Chinese, were recorded in the visitors' book for the year. From 1925 the university arranged to keep the museum and institution open to visitors on all evenings of the week.⁶⁵ The record for a single day was made on 30th January 1933, with no fewer than 12,635 visitors.⁶⁶ This showed that it was extremely welcomed by Chinese society. The Chinese educators thought the model facilities to be an excellent method to develop popular education. Many educational organizations dispatched representatives to learn from the Cheeloo experience. In view of these demands, this institute enlarged its model manufacturing plant so as to add more educational models to influence public opinion as much as

⁶¹Ti-yi-tz'u chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien (The First Chinese Educational Year Book), Vol.3, p.885.

⁶²BMS. See Annual Report for the Year of 1921.

⁶³H.R. Williamson, British Baptists in China (London, 1957), pp.202-203.

⁶⁴See "Ch'i-lu ta-hsueh kuang-chih-yuen" (The Extension Institute of Cheeloo), by Wang Ch'ang-t'ai and K'ai Jui-fu, Chung-hua chi-tu-chiao nien-chien 1925 (The China Mission Year Book 1925).

⁶⁵BMS. Minutes of Inter-Provincial Conference, 1925, p.55.

⁶⁶BMS. Minutes of China Sub-Committee Conferences, No.9, p.114.

possible on a wider scale.

Robert E. Speer, an American missionary leader, styled the museum "the most effective piece of university extension work which can be found in Asia, if not in the world." J. R. Mott also wrote, "I see more points of contact in this institution than any others I have visited in the world."⁶⁷ It was not without reason that this unique museum had been described as "the greatest single cultural enterprise in China."⁶⁸ One of the greatest Chinese physicians, Dr. Wu Lien-teh, assessed that "stuffed birds and animals of various countries were displayed, and also machinery and engines for different occupations - the primitive ones as still used in China compared with the time - and labour-saving inventions of the West."⁶⁹ Whitewright had well thought out the entire conception of this museum, so he deserved every praise for having introduced an appealing work apart from the distribution of tracts and mere preaching.⁷⁰ These exhibitions are real eye-openers and broaden people's mind.⁷¹ The institute was thus far more than a mere museum.

Through the Arthington Trustees E. H. Edwards in 1900 set up a museum in Taiyuan, which attracted considerable numbers of visitors, especially on market days and holidays.⁷² The work was very successfully for some years until 1921, when the Taiyuan student institute, museum and preaching hall became a cooperative venture between the BMS and YMCA. Under the leadership of H. R. Williamson, the institute aimed to attract the students of Shansi University and the higher officials in the province,⁷³ where the country people also flocked at certain times and seasons. In the 1920s it became a famous popular educational centre in Shansi.

The Museum of Ancient History of the WCUU was one of the earliest archaeological museums in China, established in 1914. It was soon enlarged into an comprehensive museum and became an important scientific and teaching organization of the WCUU. Its main object was to collect ancient Chinese works of art and folk articles of arts and handicrafts, and artistic articles of southwestern minorities and folk customs. It was not merely a centre of historical relics in Southwest China but also one of the most important education and research centres of southwestern Chinese ethnology, folklore and Southeast Asian history and culture. American

⁶⁷BMS's pamphlet The Story of Tsinanfu.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Wu Lien-teh, The Plague Fighter: The Autobiography of a Modern Chinese Physician Wu Lien-teh (Cambridge, 1959), p.515.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Wu Lien-teh, Wu Lien-teh Chuan (The Plague Fighter: the Autobiography of a Modern Chinese Physician Wu Lien-teh), tran. by Hsu Min-Mou (Singapore, 1960), p.129.

⁷²H.R. Williamson, see pp.203-204.

⁷³J.B. Middlebrook, Memoir of H.R. Williamson (London, 1969), p.22.

missionaries made major contributions to starting this museum. The WCUU became a research centre of archaeology and anthropology under the great endeavour of the missionary educators. The archaeological, natural history, and medical-dental museums of the WCUU contained over 53,000 objects in total.⁷⁴

The FFMA's small museum in Chungking also got generous help from the British Museum for its fish and bird exhibits. It illustrated trade catalogues, philanthropic and social reform work. It opened every day and attracted many people in the city.⁷⁵

By 1920 there was no national public museum in China. Even in 1929 there were only 31 public museums and 3 private ones.⁷⁶ Museums as a missionary cultural enterprise proved a success from their foundation. All types of people had entered their portals and passed through mission museum turnstiles each year. Their fame had spread far. People had journeyed hundreds of miles from all provinces to inspect their treasures. All of them were self-funded. The construction of these museums showed that missionaries wanted to influence public attitudes towards modern life and real human civilization and progress.

These mission museums thus exerted a powerful influence. They were comprehensive and large popular educational centres. These magnificent enterprises played a very important role in many ways, such as arousing the spirit of learning from the West in academic circles, stirring up ideological excitement, opening common Chinese people's eyes' to understand the world. Many Chinese people visited these museums then as part of a general encounter through this medium with their own and with everyday history. Mission museums had claimed this territory for themselves and for their visitors, with ambitious displays, reconstructions, and demonstrations. They were the earliest comprehensive museums of social and natural sciences in China. They were also the best popular educational centres of developing intelligence, popularising common scientific knowledge and advancing enlightened ideas on social reform. As important windows, epitomes (miniature) and treasure houses of Chinese understanding Western culture and civilization, these museums were the best kind of information centre. They directly reflected the changes in the modern world. The museums served Chinese people like a vast encyclopedia displaying both humanist traditions and current developments. They introduced Western tradition and national heritage and were also a good index of world civilization and progress. The new museums in China helped transform popular perceptions of the past and reformed ways of representing

⁷⁴Journal of the West China Border Research Society, 1933-34, Vol. VI. (Chengtu), p.92.

⁷⁵FFMA publications 1911-27, Vol.2, No.3, International Friends Institute, Chungking, Szechwan, pp.7, 9.

⁷⁶Ti-i-tz'u chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien, p.880.

history.

Many ideologies were translated into museum languages. "The order of the exhibitions and the perfection of the collection make even a foolish man or a foolish woman be able to easily understand these demonstrations."⁷⁷ These folk museums taught all classes of the people from childhood upwards and interested them in the products habits of other lands as well as their own.⁷⁸ Thus both educated elite and illiterate visitors were able to understand the social educational significance of museum.⁵ The conception of reality on offer in these museums was very plausible. The mission museums presented a vivid interpretation of modern Western civilization and scientific achievements. Museums in China have become more part of the mainstream of mass cultural life today, however, its foundation was laid by the missions. In the 1920s museums had developed an important means of popular education with many years' efforts of Western missions. Mission-projected museums represented the significant development of modern mass media in China. These mission museums were one of the most important collections of ethnographic and world civilization as well as progress material in China then from the point of view of their size, variety, and quality.

5. Summary

Viewing cultural institutions historically, there were two basic patterns of development. One was from the bottom up, it created cultural organizations such as learned societies, cultural centres, libraries, museums, apart from mission schools. These mission institutions grew up from the grassroots and were sponsored by missionary individuals and mission bodies. Another was from the top down, it denoted cultural organizations established by political power, or according to laws passed by legislatures or issued by Government. However, the influence of the latter pattern was still very weak between 1900 and 1930, and the state social cultural institutions were really in an infant period. Thus the popular education of the Church still played a pioneering role in Chinese society, above all providing the main pattern of Chinese social educational and cultural institutions, which became an integral part of the work of diffusing popular knowledge.

These enterprises disseminated world civilization and history in a multicultural perspective. They were warmly welcomed by the majority of the Chinese public, though voices of resistance and criticism arose from time to time. The point made by some Chinese dissenters was that they were afraid of a growing emphasis on this Western cultural heritage would exalt racial and ethnic pride at the expense of Chinese social cohesion. They

⁷⁷BMS. Minutes of Inter-Provincial Conference, 1925, p.55.

⁷⁸Wu Lien-teh, The Plague Fighter, p.515.

also claimed that this was at the expense of traditional Chinese cultural values. These views indicated that part of Chinese thinking was still very conservative, there was a fear that Western culture threatened the traditional culture. Substantially, they persisted in cultural monism rather than pluralism. Moreover some Chinese in the anti-foreign movement criticized these institutions as a means of imperialist cultural invasion. Actually, emphasizing cultural diversification or multiculturalism in a proper way tended to strengthen rather than threaten Chinese political and cultural unity. The missionaries' actions, practical and objective, had proved that the essential aim of their popular educational movement was to serve rather than to subvert China.

The majority of popular cultural institutions then were run by the Christian bodies, though their number was very limited. Their activities in China were ultimately a way of institutionalizing and materializing the value system of one or another culture. Between 1910 and 1930 Christian bodies expanded their activities particularly in the field of popular education. In the 1920s the drive of developing mission popular education was maintained and greatly extended. Starting an undertaking was always difficult, but the missions tackled it bravely. This was a powerful means of helping the uneducated to better understand their nation's struggle for survival and progress. This move raised the general educational level of different localities, and helped to unify home education, adult education, part-time education and vocational education into one whole. All of these led them to produce new experiences, new knowledge and even create new institutions. These popular educational activities provided Chinese people with new educational opportunities which were undreamed of in the previous decades. These educational policies had been developed with success in mission institutions. Mission popular education not only filled a gap to serve as a connecting link between the old China and new in the past, but also developed in their methods and efficiency, enabling them to supplement the government's inadequate popular educational system.

In the 1920s the missions were keen both on direct and indirect popular educational activities. They made great efforts closely to coordinate the school education with popular education so that more Chinese people could be educated. Thus their popular education was incorporated as an organic part of the entire mission educational work. Their work displayed four essential characteristics: First, it helped to meet a part of fundamental needs of Chinese people for modern common knowledge; for though a large percentage of the people had been illiterates for centuries, never before had they so badly needed enlightenment as they did at this time. Second, this work was well organized and had uniform plans. It was developed with a scientific approach and technique of research and experimentation established by Christian universities. Third, its system was actually workable, being within the economic reach of people, and it was a simple one that the average person after a brief period of training

could apply. Lastly, perhaps most importantly, the programmes of popular education had spread modern knowledge and culture on a much larger social scale among a vast number of Chinese people, high or low, compared with school education, so their popular educational work had won deep respect in Chinese society. The most essential significance lay in this social enlightenment. This work showed that they not only paid attention to increasing the quality of school education but also set an example of universal education for China. This was great progress made by the new missionary generation. Their models recommended the most essential and supplementary educational methods to China. Many pieces of their work played an experimental role and set fine examples for China. They showed China a way to increase the essential cultural quality of the whole nation outside school education. Missionary actions thus helped China to further understand that such education was one of the most important weapons in national reconstruction.

Under the direct influence of missions, in the late 1920s popular education in China made rapid strides and became a part of Government's educational plans. Reducing illiteracy was the prerequisite of all political, economic and social reforms in China.⁷⁹ Government in 1929 paid special attention to popular education, which became the guiding principle and basis of the national construction.⁸⁰ In 1931 Government stipulated by law that all uneducated people should receive adult supplementary education. Government in 1932 issued "the Regulations of Founding the Educational Centres of the Masses."⁸¹ This resulted in a sixfold rise in the expenditure of popular education between 1928 and 1932.⁸² Government adopted an ambitious popular education programme for the next 20 years.⁸³ Its policy stressed common knowledge, economic problems, citizenship training, museums, libraries, art galleries, recreation ground, lecture halls, and all of these would be greatly encouraged in all possible way.⁸⁴ This was the most unique and far-reaching action, but it was a policy whose contents directly mirrored those of the missions.

In the late 1920s Chinese understanding of new education included not only new style school education from university to kindergarten but also public libraries, experimental centres, and museums, which everyone in

⁷⁹Chin-chun Wang, "The New Phonetic System of Writing Chinese Characters," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Vol.XIII, No.2 (April 1929), p.144.

⁸⁰Jen Shih-hsien, Chung-kuo chiao-yu su-hsiang shih (Chinese Educational Ideological History) (Shanghai, 1986), pp.382, 383.

⁸¹Ti-erh-tz'u Chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien (The Second Chinese Educational Year Book), Vol.2 (Oct.1933), pp.106-107.

⁸²Gilbert Rozman, The Modernization of China (New York & London, 1981), p.413.

⁸³See Ti-i-tz'u Chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien.

⁸⁴Ibid.

society could use.⁸⁵ "New China" adopted much that was foreign. Her school educational system was, indeed, moulded chiefly on that of America which cannot be separated from American missionary influence on China; however, her popular educational system assimilated the merits mainly both of British and American universal education equally through the fine examples of mission popular education. In fact, Protestant missions measured all China's popular educational problems according to a Western educational yardstick. They became one of the most active promoters of the birth of Chinese popular education. In the 1920s mission popular education work represented a new breakthrough for the existing Chinese educational system which took root deeply in Chinese culture and grew with astonishing vigour.

II. MORAL REFORM

A Social and Moral Welfare Committee (SMWC) was set up by the CCC in 1921 to provide leadership and uniform policies for the whole Protestant community in China. Concern for moral welfare became its major task. It served as a clearing house for moral reform movements. Opium smoking, gambling, alcoholism and prostitution for long constituted the main preoccupations of the people's leisure hours. Varied moral reform movements were thus launched, above all, it was the anti-opium campaigns. In order to enlarge the scope of moral reform, two types of workers were trained: university-educated organizers, able to promote moral welfare alongside the policies of mission community services; ordinary social workers (trained by local churches and their Sunday schools).⁸⁶

An interesting fact was that the British merchants and British Imperial government had long been implicated in the opium trade. However, Protestant missionaries were the earliest foreigners who resolutely opposed the opium trade and opium smoking in China.⁸⁷ Some British missionaries even felt deeply humiliated with England's crime towards China: "Never scamp that part of your history book: read it and think about it, and make up your mind that you will do all that one individual can do to make up to China for your country's sin."⁸⁸ Opium and other narcotics had been a major curse in China's national life for generations. In the year 1917 China claimed her victory over opium.⁸⁹ But poppy-growing was again going on. Opium smoking and the smuggling of the drug were going unchecked, and it

⁸⁵"What Is New Education?" Hsin ch'ing-nien (New Youth) Jan. 1921.

⁸⁶CBMS. E/T China, Box 348, Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the CCC, Shanghai, 1921, pp.45-46.

⁸⁷FFMA publications, Vol.2, 033, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Opium Association 1860-63, see the records of the meetings on 5 June 1860 & 18 Apr. 1861, and missionaries persuading British Parliament to give up the opium traffic in China; Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, pp.229, 231, 457, 462, 791.

⁸⁸Young China Magazine March 1923, ed. by the CHUM (London), p.3.

⁸⁹Basil Mathews, "The Opium Curse - A World Policy against the Drug Peril," The Missionary Herald of the P.C.I. March 1922, p.131.

again became one of the most serious social problems in China. Protestant missionaries continued persistently to play a prominent part in fighting against these evils.

The problem of opium and other drugs was of very deep social causes. During the first half of the 1920s the Peking government maintained opium selling to replenish revenue exhausted by the endless warlords' wars. Since then, on account of the compulsory cultivation of the poppy in several provinces under military pressure and the protection given to the importation of narcotics, opium again prevailed throughout the whole nation.⁹⁰ The recrudescence of opium in China was due to the lack of a stable central government. The poppy was not cultivated in Shantung but the number of people who were using opium and narcotics amounted to 80% of the whole adult population.⁹¹ Opium was most widely cultivated in Szechwan and Fukien. In Kwangtung all the tea shops and restaurants were places where the people could freely smoke opium. Instead of enforcing the laws to limit opium smuggling and selling, the Opium Suppression Bureau encouraged the sale and use of opium. In Manchuria, most of the high officials and leading gentry were opium smokers. Unexpectedly 20 opium shops were started in South Shanghai in 1924, under the protection of the police and soldiers. Hence, most of the warring military governors in China - described as "that swaggering gang of antediluvian swashbucklers"⁹² - secured their revenues by taxing the poor peasants as though their land grew opium (this being the most profitable crop). Militarism and the drugs thus worked in pernicious harmony.

Simultaneously, the poppy was being smuggled across the borders of China. A large proportion of Britain's immense production of 600 ounces of morphine a year, in the years of the 1920s, with much from America and Japan, had also been smuggled by Oriental Merchants into North China.⁹³ Similarly, cocaine, produced in European factories, followed through subterranean channels of international smuggling - not only all the lands of Western Europe and America but also into the Far East.

According to the estimate of the International Anti-Opium Association the total output of opium in China every year amounted to 15,000 tons and the amount of imported morphia was estimated to be over 20 tons. The Opium Commission of the League of Nations (OCLN) evoked a world policy of control of the production, manufacture, and distribution of drugs. The first proposal put forward for acceptance by the OCLN was the scheme of importation certificates. Secondly, due to the abominable traffic in

⁹⁰Chung-hua kui-chu, pp.991-994; "Chapter XXI. Opium," The China Year Book, 1925-6, pp.571-595.

⁹¹BMS. See annual report of Shantung, 1924.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

cocaine, a scheme of factory and sale control and limitation of output was adopted without a single vote being cast against it by the OCLN again.⁹⁴ The missionaries in the East and the churches of Asia were alive to the issues, and could bring great pressure to bear. They went to make up the public conscience of the world. Government looked very powerless to act in opposing the opium-trade and planting. The officials and others who made a large profit from the trade did not want to surrender those profits without a fight. China was apathetic, drugged by its own vast production, with its profits and taxes. Also, public opinion was not yet sufficiently strong and well-organized to bring about remedial action on the part of the responsible national, provincial, and local authorities. As the largest country in the world, China's attitude and action on opium occupied a pivotal position.

In view of these facts the fight against narcotics became the greatest and most difficult problem for China to face. The Church bravely shouldered the big duty and had a great share of the responsibility for banning opium and other drugs. The grass-root units of the Christian community - local churches - became major organizers of the campaigns. In 1920 the CCC prepared a letter concerning the illicit introduction of opium, morphia and kindred drugs into China which was forwarded to the governments of the USA, Great Britain, Ireland and Japan, requesting them to take whatever measures might be necessary to prevent the continuance of this illicit trade by their nationals.⁹⁵ The Protestant missions were reminded constantly of the position they took, from the beginning of this Christian moral reform movement, as a body which stood for purity and righteousness. Thus, the sentiment created by the example of the Church in China was directly responsible for this reform.

Against this historical background, after 1922, the NCC initiated the new anti-opium movement taking the major responsibilities on missionary shoulders and supplied much of the moral energy needed in the fight to bring the traffic to an end. The NCC urged Christian churches and organizations everywhere in China to take action expressing their opposition to this rapidly growing national and international menace. It sent a protest to all the provincial governments where it was known opium was being produced.⁹⁶ The NCC herewith pledged its support to do all it could to assist the suppression of the evil. In the early 1920s there were 4 anti-opium organizations (The International Anti-opium Associations of Peking and Shanghai, Tientsin Anti-Narcotic Society, and Fukien Moral Welfare Committee). They were all initiated by the Church. Each mission also took active steps against drugs, e.g., the CHUM established 14 Opium

⁹⁴CBMS. E/T China Box 348, The CCC Annual Report 1920-21.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶CBMS. E/T China Box 348, The NCC Annual Report 1922-23.

Refuges.⁹⁷ A great deal of literature was issued by missionaries dealing with the drug problem from various aspects.

In the first years of the 1920s appeals for help in combatting this evil came from two directions. Firstly, the League of Nations asked for the assistance of the International Missionary Council in their campaign against opium. They in turn were urging the Christian forces in China to secure the needed information as to the present status of the traffic and also to take steps to create an aggressive public opinion in and out of the churches. Secondly, two missions in Fukien definitely requested the NCC in 1922 to make representations as regards production of opium to the national and provincial governments.⁹⁸

The greater scope of the work was included within the programme of mission anti-opium movement. In 1924 the NCC appointed a small committee - the Anti-Narcotic Committee (ANC) - to organize an effective anti-narcotic movement. It sought to arouse Christians and others throughout the country to active opposition to the opium trade. The churches alone, however, could not bring into being an extensive social movement. Thus, in May 1924 the NCC, CCEC, CMC, National YMCA and YWCA discussed and prepared for promoting the anti-opium movement. These Christian organizations invited the General Chambers of Commerce in Shanghai, Public Society of Shanghai Daily, United Society of Shanghai Commercial Circles, Association of Christian Missionary Commission in Shanghai, Chinese Global Student Union to found the National Anti-opium Association (NAOA), and participants totalled 30 organizations. It was a great cooperative organization between the Protestant Church and Catholic Church and between foreigners and Chinese. But the Christian circles in Shanghai constituted the backbone of this movement, with its headquarters in the NCC offices, and it depended very largely upon the Christian group for its leadership, and upon the NCC for its financial support. The NAOA issued Anti-Opium Monthly, organized public lectures, gave addresses of anti-opium and other drug using, printed and distributed all kinds of pamphlets.

On August 24th, 1924 it telegraphed the national military, political and all kinds of citizens' departments and organizations that September 28th was set aside to be observed as the National Anti-Opium Day throughout the whole nation. There were over 900 cities and towns, scattered throughout the 24 provinces, which responded to the call. Subsequently, some of local associations held parades on a very large scale, or had a conference to publicise this movement, or produced special publications. More than 100,000 pieces of propaganda material were issued by the NAOA, and were reprinted countless. Some universities even launched public debates on anti-opium and other drugs. Its branches in the whole of China

⁹⁷See its annual report 1920-21.

⁹⁸CBMS. E/T China, Box 348, The NCC Annual Report 1922-23.

reached 248. It also presented petitions to the government and the Conference at Geneva, which were signed and agreed by over 3,000 units who represented more than 4,000,000 Chinese people. Not only Chinese official representatives but also the representatives of the NAOA attended the conference.⁹⁹ By this time the movement had won the national-wide support.

In November of the same year the International Alliance whose headquarters was located in Geneva held an International Anti-opium Conference. The Chinese deeply injured by opium naturally were interested in this conference. David Yui expressed, "In order to save China, we must first fight this evil."¹⁰⁰ T. Z Koo, as the representative of the NCC, told the conference that the Church had done splendid pieces of work for the Chinese people. R. Y. Lo on behalf of the NAOA expressed: "If we don't think out some way to stop this, this situation becomes worse and worse every day. I earnestly hope that the NCC will lead the churches in all China, cooperate with the NAOA and fight a good fight against opium."¹⁰¹ Obviously, the NCC had been universally recognized as the indisputable leader of the campaign. It made quite clear that no material progress in dealing with the opium situation would be achieved until China took the lead. Through Chinese efforts, people in the West came to realize that the best weapons to use in eliminating this evil from China were the Chinese people themselves. Unfortunately the delegates from different parts of the world at the Geneva Conferences were not sincere in devising a plan for the limitation of production. They unreasonably demanded that the production of opium be stopped within a period of 15 years but the date for the commencement of the 15 years was made to depend upon China giving evidence of her ability to control the traffic within her borders. As this resolution was passed, both the delegates from China and the USA withdrew from the conference.¹⁰²

Between 1924 and 1926, the NAOA sought cooperation with all who desired to see the trade brought to an end. In accordance with the request of the NAOA, the ANC helped in the investigation and survey the narcotic situation by sending out investigators, and keeping in touch with the various Christian organizations and individuals by correspondence. They also organized the activities of the Anti-Opium Sunday when they circulated 160,000 copies of anti-opium leaflets. According to reports received by the NAOA, there were 163 cities in 19 provinces, which observed that day and in almost 70% of these places Christians took a leading part. Then they extended the campaign from one day to a whole week, called "National Anti-

⁹⁹Juan Jen-tse, Shanghai Tsung-chiao Shih, pp.872-874.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p.55.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p.54.

¹⁰²Ibid; Wang Tsao-shih, "China and the League of Nations, 1920-1926," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Vol.13, No.2 (April 1929), pp.192, 201.

Opium Week," October 3-9, 1926, led by the ANC and NAOA. In the Anti-Opium Week they organized special work in each day, such as Publishing, Education, Law Enforcement, Amelioration, Family Days, and Branch Association. In many churches special anti-opium sermons were preached. Anti-opium was one of the limited fields where Protestant and Roman Catholic cooperated with each other in China, and they carried out very similar policies and were two of the strongest advocates in China. A most satisfactory communication had been received from the Apostolic Delegate to China in reply to a letter sent by the NCC in 1926 concerning the work of the ANC. The Apostolic Legate pledged the cooperation of the Roman Catholic churches throughout the whole of China.

At the end of 1924 a government opium monopoly was suggested by the Minister of the Interior, and the NAOA sent representatives to Peking to protest against this; while the NCC and the various branch associations of the NAOA telegraphed to Peking. The proposal was then given up by the government.¹⁰³ The general tendency in the year of 1926-27 was the conspicuous change of governmental attitude towards opium. Three issues were clear: (1) Poppy planting had to be suppressed so as to the source of supply. The monopoly to control this for a period of years might be one of the most effective ways for eradication of this evil. (2) To limit the importation of foreign narcotics to medical needs was important. (3) The fund received by the opium monopoly should be used for the upkeep of sanatoriums and for educational purposes.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, in 1-10 November 1928, Government held a National Anti-opium Conference, the NCC sent a message registering its approval of the total suppression policy and assuring the whole-hearted support of Christian organizations cooperating with Government.¹⁰⁵ The conference helped a great deal towards the understanding of the problem of opium and narcotics.

Under the leadership of the NCC and the NAOA, they fought the militarists and the drug merchants, and further fought the foreign settlements which, with their extra-territorial privileges, greatly encouraged the smuggling and selling of opium and narcotics. The NCC were taking many effective steps to call for banning opium. It used publicity to awaken the people and also to attack the officials, while it used educational methods to teach the Christians to follow the teaching of God, not to cultivate opium. The Church kept on enlightening and mobilizing the public opinion. The NAOA organized workers to investigate the cases of opium production and sale in the planting regions and dispatched its members to give addresses everywhere. In 1927 the NAOA began to issue Anti-

¹⁰³CBMS. E/T China, Box 348, The NCC Annual Report 1924-25, pp.50-58, see Report of the Anti-Narcotic Committee.

¹⁰⁴CBMS. Box 348, E/T China, NCC Annual Report 1926-27, see Report of ANC, p.87.

¹⁰⁵CBMS. Box 348, E/T China, The 7th Annual Meeting of the NCC 1928-1929, ANC, pp.55-57.

opium Quarterly. The Chinese Educational Reforming Society added the contents of banning opium to their textbooks.¹⁰⁶

Almost all foreign missionaries in China constantly raised a cry of warning against opium and did their best to point out the harm. In the meantime, they also appealed for the assistance of the foreign countries so as to eliminate the scourge of opium. The knowledge of the whole world seemed to have been aroused by their behaviour. The CHUM and other British mission bodies presented petitions to their government for stopping the opium trade as soon as possible. Later British people organized a body opposing opium trade and their action was strongly approved by parliament members and top officials at home. However, the original advocates were missionaries.¹⁰⁷ In China British churches were very active in holding mass meetings and engaging in anti-opium branches. British missionaries and their Christian followers gave invaluable services to the Survey Department of the NAOA in supplying them with necessary information as to the actual conditions in regard to opium in their districts. The facts of the whole Church work were published in the Year Book II on the Opium Situation in China as issued by the NAOA.

In the late 1920s a strong educational programme in working scientific materials into textbooks of all grades was compiled by the ANC. Students' groups were organized. Meanwhile it also strengthened women's work in this way with the YWCA and united their efforts in reading in the homes and entitled the support of women. To arouse public opinion, particularly in the coming 90th anniversary of the first anti-opium reform, Lin Tse-hsu in modern China, the NCC launched a greater publicity movement. One example perhaps can prove the success of the Church in mobilizing public opinion then, namely, Secretary Dai of the NAOA definitely expressed that "the Chinese as a people are inborn haters of opium."¹⁰⁸ This opinion reflected the common sense of the majority of the ordinary Chinese. Thereafter, the attitude and policy of Government became very important.

Nationalist leaders rationalized the action of anti-opium as a step toward prohibition, yet such a justification was a far cry from Sun Yat-sen's 1924 declaration that "the problem of Opium Suppression in China is synonymous with the problem of good government." For "opium cannot co-exist with a National Government deriving its power and authority from people."¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the leaders of the National Forces during the Northern Expedition fought against the warlords all the way without relying on opium revenue because of obtaining popular support from local people. In 1928 the new

¹⁰⁶Juan Jen-tse, p.874.

¹⁰⁷Wu Lien-teh, Wu Lien-teh Chuan, p.130.

¹⁰⁸William O. Walker III, Opium and Foreign Policy: The Anglo-American Search for Order in Asia, 1912-1954 (Chapel Hill & London, 1991), p.54.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp.45-46.

government promulgated an Opium Suppression Act and Regulations that were scheduled to take effect on 1 March 1929, thereafter addicts would be treated as criminals. From 1 to 10 November in Nanking, Government held an Opium Suppression Conference, the point at which it ceased to look to opium for revenue. Many top officials in Government also spoke out against the evils of opium.¹¹⁰

The movement had won its primary victory in the late 1920s, for example, Manchuria, with the exception of Kirin, was once a great poppy producing area, especially during the high time of civil wars. But this situation had already completely changed since 1928. Both the cultivation of the poppy and the use of opium were absolutely prohibited. The opium condition in Manchuria as a whole in 1930 was very encouraging. Former opium dens had been closed, and the policy of absolute prohibition was put into practice. The missionary aid of narcotic drugs was fully comprehended, and government workshops were established in many cities to reform morphine addicts. Many drug addicts recovered their freedom and many non-addicts were safeguarded against the narcotic peril.¹¹¹ Similar progress had been made in other parts of China by 1930. Clearly, Protestant missions forged ahead with great enthusiasm in the movement of finally banning opium in the country. Under their powerful push, the movement was working in China, and the accomplishments were amazing. The accumulation of the experiences of the government and people in dealing with the problem gave birth to a common mind and enthusiasm towards the effort to free the Chinese people from the bondage of narcotic drugs. Mission anti-opium activities directly helped China reduce the menace of opium after the Revolution of 1911 and made China relatively strong and able to play a more constructive role in regional and international affairs in East Asia. Missionaries' valuable contributions were highly praised by many Chinese, for as the most active advocates in Chinese society they had done their utmost in opposing opium trade and opium smoking as well as planting.¹¹² Indeed, this was the greatest achievement in all the abstinence movements launched by the Church in China.

Unfortunately, missionary and Chinese anti-opium activists in the 1920s had no chance of putting their programmes into effect completely, because of the continuing economic importance of opium to warlords and later the KMT. By 1933 all of the important producers except China in the world had organized some machinery for internal control, and all had already agreed to the principle of the direct limitation by international agreement and under international supervision.¹¹³ The people saw a nation

¹¹⁰Quoted in Walker III's book, p.47.

¹¹¹The Missionary Herald of the PCI 1930, p.237.

¹¹²Wu Lien-teh, p.130.

¹¹³L.E.S. Eisenlohr, International Narcotics Control (London, 1934), p.263.

in opium chaos again. Chiang Kai-shek came into power and paid lip service to Dr. Sun's ideals but never tried wholeheartedly to put them into practice.¹¹⁴ It was an indispensable result that Government's control of opium was not divorced from all ideas of revenue, in other words, the fact of any dependence upon revenue derived from opium could only serve to defeat or to retard the ultimate object of control. China apparently did not do away with its opium problem until 1949, when China reached her goal of complete opium control. But missionary work laid the foundation for China ultimately to realise this control, as it was a well-known fact that in the 1920s there were striking signs of a decline in narcotic abuse and the movement had won widespread support in the whole of China.

Although the anti-opium activities were the most important content of mission moral reform, the Church did not ignore other moral welfare work. For instance, drinking, a long standing problem, was viewed as particularly responsible for dulling the individual's moral sense. Missionaries actively disseminated the disadvantages of drinking. Two preliminary reports of the SMWC dealt specially with "Alcoholism in China" and "A Preliminary Study of Commercial Vice in China." An adequate survey of vice conditions was concentrated on two typical Chinese cities. The missionaries as moral reformers sought to root out localistic, traditional customs, create a uniform moral standard, and encourage the national spirit of ordinary Chinese people throughout the country. They wished to create a predictable universe of sober, industrious individuals - a homogeneous China. Missionaries were the earliest voluntary group to advocate curbing alcohol in Chinese society.

Anti-gambling and other moral problems were also targets of mission moral welfare work. Kwangtung and Hongkong formed the Christian Anti-gambling Association in 1910. This association was extremely active in the 1920s. Through a most successful campaign, it had secured 60,000 members by 1920,¹¹⁵ and an immense amount of public opinion was established on this most important subject. In 1921 a mission survey of lotteries in Hangchow resulted in appeals to Government put through a city-wide campaign in 1922. The Fukien Moral Welfare Association started an anti-gambling campaign throughout Fukien. The LMS in Tsangchow conducted a campaign against gambling, immorality, and the use of wine and cigarette.¹¹⁶ Many missions also engaged in moral education among prisoners, encouraging prisoners to begin their life anew according to the moral standards of Christianity.¹¹⁷

Unquestionably, creating modern public sentiment was one of the major

¹¹⁴Quoted in W.O. Walker III, *Opium and Foreign Policy*, p.57.

¹¹⁵LMS. South China, Incoming Letters, Box 22, Report on Union and Cooperation in Kwangtung and Hongkong, 1910-1920, by W.W. Clayson in 1920.

¹¹⁶LMS. North China, Reports, Box 8-1921, Report of Mrs. M. Bryan for the Year 1921, Tsangchow.

¹¹⁷PCI. Report of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions 1922, p.29.

aims of mission moral reform. In 1921 all the churches in Canton united in a great Purity Campaign to arouse and educate public opinion. In Shanghai a five-year programme for the elimination of brothels was also undertaken by its Moral Welfare Committee. As a result of conferences in sex education in the West, plans were emerging for a conference in China on this important problem of sex education.¹¹⁸ Their activities also included investigating the bookshops, picture shops and cinemas to see what there was on exhibition which was injurious to the minds particularly of the young in order to stop pornographic novels and sex films being made available, they also organized public demonstrations against other social evils.¹¹⁹ This work aroused a great deal of interest, for the church gave all to know that these things were contrary to the law of a civilized world. There was a more widespread movement against superstition.

The social discussion on how to solve the above moral problems also became one of the hottest topic in the research projects of mission universities. A group of students in the sociological department of Nanking University, for instance, studied the social problems locally; a committee was at work studying existing Chinese temperance literature.¹²⁰

In order to influence the opinion of the young generation and set correct moral standards, the missions schools intensified their moral education. Thus the new church choruses of social reform were very fashionable in these places. The teachers and students together waved their hands, and with a deafening roar the thousand voices all took up such a song: "The man who selleth opium he should die, die, die! The Man who taketh morphia we should save, save, save! The man who owns a gambling den we'll hate, hate, hate! The man who there his substance wastes we'll shame, shame, shame!"¹²¹ While teaching regular knowledge at these schools, missionary educators did not ignore moral education.

In connection with the education of the Chinese churches along moral reform lines, the CCH's books were published in the Bulletin of the "China for Christ Movement" and the Chinese press as well as pamphlets. The subjects were: "The Present Opium Problem;" "Personal and Social Consequences of Venereal Diseases;" "Single Sex Education in the Home." Many other pamphlets were planned.¹²² In 1922, 11,107 booklets on the alcohol problem were distributed to 56 academies and colleges, and for general distribution among the YMCA members. In 1923, its books was

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹LMS. Reports, South China, Box 5, Report of Work in Canton and district for the Year 1921.

¹²⁰CBMS. E/T China, Box 348, Proceedings of the 9th Annual Meeting of the CCC, 5-10 May 1921, p.72.

¹²¹Young China Magazine, March 1923, p.3.

¹²²CBMS. The NCC, China, Box 348, E/T China, 2(1-2), 1921, No.7.

available for further anti-alcohol propaganda.¹²³ The ANC published Treaties and Mandates re Narcotics and Questionnaire re Narcotic Drugs in Chinese.¹²⁴ The aim of all these books was to develop citizens "strong in health, sound in ideas, high in ideals of life, good in conduct, and right in their attitude toward human beings as a whole." "They will practise brotherly love in all walks of life."¹²⁵

In general, missionaries were both the prime movers and the heartiest advocates of moral reform. They saw such reform as a solution to China's remaining social disorders. They had been inspiring the programmes for moral reform which affected both the general social mood and many Chinese individuals. Missionaries wielded a significant influence on this important social reform. Through such work, they provided the impetus to the moral reform movement in China, and helped China launch great moral reform campaigns. In particular, the drug control movement was the most representative work, because such evils both were dangerous to health and destroyed China's national spirit. Owing to their role in and commitment to social and moral welfare work, missionary social workers looked forward to the creation of a society of self-disciplined individuals. The missionaries' actions and appeal persuaded the Chinese people and Government to concern themselves with all kinds of moral problems. Their moral education emphasized the crucial importance of spiritual civilization and moral reform, which resulted from the religious enthusiasm of China's national awakening, as the vehicle or initial impulse for these social reform activities. Missionaries realized to an ever greater degree that real progress depended on the correct approach to these problems. Missionaries made use of Christian principles and moral standards to discourage slipshod thinking and muddle-headedness and indirectness. From the perspective of missionary social reformers, it was possible to see the moral reform movements in the vanguard of social progress. Missionaries' moral reforms deeply impressed Chinese officials and thoughtful Chinese.¹²⁶

In addition, Protestant missions trained many young moral reformers for the new government. For example, Leonidas Ling was called "one of the most efficient young organizers" of social work.¹²⁷ Trained by the YMCA, he was assistant secretary to the Officers' Moral Endeavour Association in Nanking government. Founded to improve the morals of the army, and the branches were being opened in the provincial capitals in the early 1930s. Unmarried officers were encouraged to live on the premises; They had to be

¹²³CBMS. London, Asia Committee, Box 348, E/T China, see NCC Annual Report 1922-23.

¹²⁴CBMS. Box 348, see The NCC A Five Years' Review 1922-27.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶LMS. South China, Incoming Letters, Box 24, see the letter from A. Baxter on 6 Aug. 1925; H.R. Williamson, p.104.

¹²⁷Gerald Yorke, China Changes (London, 1935), p.43.

in by nine at night, and drinking, smoking, and gambling were prohibited. It was known as the Never-Never-Club. Obviously, evangelical Protestant enthusiasm for moral reforms provided an important background for Chinese own commitment. Later, both the KMT and CCP governments displayed a pattern of moral reform strikingly similar to that of the Church. Many other moral welfare programmes of Government were directly enlightened by mission moral reform. The New Life Movement in the mid-1930s marked the first time for Government to assume the responsibilities of moral reform in China. In the moulding of moral standards and the effecting of public opinions, the missions had served China more than any other foreign agency.

III. INDUSTRIAL WELFARE

Hand in hand with the moral reform programme the Church made serious attempts to grapple with labour problems in China through a campaign for industrial welfare. Christian missions were the earliest social group in China who were concerned about industrial problems. In 1906 the YWCA initiated this work among the cotton-mill workers in Shanghai.¹²⁸ However, industrial welfare in the 1920s became an important aspect of Christian philanthropy and social justice; and the Church was widely concerned about all industrial problems. But the industrial welfare activities of the CCP (founded in 1921) among workers was much later than those of the Church. Although the CCP made certain achievements in mobilizing workers to fight for their own rights in the 1920s through organizing political strikes, its working focus was rapidly transferred to the countryside from cities. Thus, its influence on industrial matters was mainly seen after the 1940s. Protestant missionaries were the real pioneers in industrial welfare. However, due to the lack in systematic study of the industrial welfare work of missionaries in China, their activities are still seldom known both by Chinese and Western people. This part will mainly emphasize the social welfare work of the Church among factory workers.

With the development of modern industry, many evils of industrialization appeared in China. The missionary leaders, after giving earnest consideration to this whole question, pioneered industrial welfare work. Here I will assess the views, activities and significance of these missionaries in their attempts to sort these new social evils out through directly borrowing Western experiences of industrial welfare. Thus, this section is divided into 7 parts: 1.international and national situation; 2.initiators and organizers of industrial welfare; 3.child and woman labour (which was the most important focus of mission industrial welfare); 4.hygienic and safety problems; 5.industrial education and workers' recreation; 6.industrial laws; 7.impacts.

¹²⁸Emily Honig, Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949 (Stanford, 1986), pp.132-165.

1. International and National Situations

The industrial welfare work in the West had developed in the 1920s as an important aspect of the industrial social policy that had been evolving according to the strategies of employers. But China was still in the period of the primitive accumulation of industry. Thus, there were many similarities between the cases in the early British Industrial Revolution and those in the 1920s' China. The experience of the British labour movement deeply influenced the work of missionaries' industrial welfare in China, and there was an intimate historical connection between them. The system of British industrial welfare was increasingly mature in the early 20th century. Britain had entered into the period of rationalization of industrial welfare from the 1890s onwards and extensive changes occurred in the structure and management of the industry.¹²⁹ From 1846 to 1920 British industries had all emphasized the material fact that high levels of industrial welfare expenditure depended on the ability of companies to find the required outlays.¹³⁰ By the mid-1920s the industrial welfare work in Great Britain, by a very large number of firms, had been accepted as an essential part of their organization.¹³¹ A series of Factory Acts and labour laws had also been issued.¹³² British industrial welfare work was understood as the voluntary expression on the part of the employer of his recognition that the employees in the firm were his fellow-workers in an understanding for the service of the community. Many employers thought that "Capitalism must conform to the Christian idea or pass away."¹³³ It indicated that the spiritual influence of the Church also played an important role in British industrial welfare work.

However, by 1920, China, especially her large cities, had just begun to pass rapidly from handicraft industry to mechanization. With the process of industrialization in China and rural population's pouring into cities, new social problems appeared very rapidly. More and more uneducated workers were more and more unsuitable for a nation which was trying hard towards the direction of modernization. In order to pursue the concentration of wealth, factory employers cared and undertook nothing about science, but were able to profiteer by over-exploiting workers. All social evils inherent in the period of capitalist primitive accumulation appeared in Chinese industries. The number of strikes in the 1910s showed an increasing unrest and dissatisfaction on the part of labour for economic reasons. The fundamental problem of labour in modern capitalist development and the

¹²⁹See R. Fitzgerald, British Labour Management and Industrial Welfare 1846-1939 (London, 1988).

¹³⁰Ibid., see pp.72, 108, 184, 196.

¹³¹Ibid., see pp.4, 6-7.

¹³²See Frederic Keeling, Child Labour in the United Kingdom (London, 1914).

¹³³Eleanor T. Kelly, Welfare Work in Industry (London, 1925), p.2.

industrialization process was indispensable in China as in the West. The situation created by the introduction of Western factory methods into the populous cities of China was appalling.

2. Initiators and organizers of the First Welfare Movement

However, in the turbulent political conditions of China it proved impossible for Government to pay any attention to industrial problems. The successful experiences of British industrial welfare had aroused the attention of many other countries in the world. Therefore, the NCC thought that the responsibility for helping to create better industrial conditions rested upon the Church. After 1922, industrial welfare work was mainly directed and organized chiefly by its two committees: The Committee of Christianizing Economic Relations (CCER) and the Industrial Relations Committee (IRC). The YMCA and YWCA were also experts as welfare workers. They all accepted, as the West had done, that no benevolent actions were self-enforcing, and that vigilance was the price of safety and of progress. The industrial exploitation of Chinese and foreign bodies could only be prevented from outside, for the workmen themselves were helpless, for the most part, ignorant and fatalistic. The humanitarian considerations which governed the industrial employment of labour in West, however as far as was practicable, applied too in China's factories. The Church cherished its belief that: "if the spirit of welfare work can come to China now, it may make all the difference in the world to China's industrial history."¹³⁴ This expressed the common sense and kind willingness of all missionary welfare workers. They thought industrial welfare work a national need and a fundamental need of industry without racial barriers.¹³⁵ Thus, Protestant missions had chosen the care of the human factor in industry as an integral part of their social welfare work and attacked all industrial problems. It was noteworthy that in the 1920s churches had become centres of industrial social service.

There was no general and reliable record of numbers, age, sex, of workers employed in factories, and workshops growing into factories; or of structural conditions in the factories, or of wages, hours, accidents, diseases and moral environment of the workers. All of these practical problems were first investigated by Western missionaries. They studied industrial problems, collected and classified information upon them and engaged in spreading of such information as led to definite measures for greater social welfare. They were forcing their demands to the fore and provided Government with the facts to improve on all of these. British missionary experts thus played a key role in guiding modern Chinese industrial welfare, and they were the most prominent advisers in the field.

¹³⁴See Agatha Harrison's paper in Report of the Proceedings of the Industrial Welfare (Personnel) Congress, Held in Flushing, Holland, June 1925 (Zurich, 1925), p.238.

¹³⁵Ibid., p.239.

Among its pioneers was J.B. Tayler, who had had industrial experience in Lancashire before going to China. He was one of the organizers of the Peking group in the main work of the IRC. He visited some of the Shanghai cotton mills in 1922 and wrote an article on "Industry and Labour in China" for The International Labour Review.¹³⁶ He also suggested that a number of firms join in bringing out a highly trained specialist who would on the one hand act as a consultant to the firms who had introduced or who proposed to introduce welfare work, and on the other would train Chinese in connection with their economics and sociology departments at Yenching for such work. One large British firm had expressed approval of this plan and had promised financial backing, if others would join.¹³⁷ His book, Farm and Factory in China (published in 1928 by the Student Christian Movement in London), gave a clear general view of the problem under consideration. His study of The Hopei Pottery Industry and the Problem of Modernization was called "a little masterpiece of luminous condensation" and reprinted in The Chinese Social and Political Science Review in April 1930.¹³⁸ He regarded industrial welfare research as one of his immediate tasks.¹³⁹ Tayler was one of the main organizers of industrial research work in the 1920s.

Henry Hodgkin of the FFMA, one of Secretaries of the NCC, also provided substantial support for the work to improve the working conditions in factories and shared in establishing the Fellowship of Reconciliation with the YWCA. In 1920 as the General Secretary of the FFMA in Britain he went to China and delivered 420 lectures and addresses during the year, stirring up Chinese Christian leaders and missionaries alike to such implications of Christianity (i.e. they should always concern themselves with solving the problems in realistic society). He was one of the main missionary leaders who paid special attention to the condition of the working class. At the Conference of the NCC in 1922 he first rallied support for the YWCA proposal of solving China's industrial problems.¹⁴⁰ Hodgkin played a key role in initiating the IRC. In 1923 its branches appeared in 17 of the larger cities in China.

In 1920 the National YWCA requested the help of an industrial specialist. As a result, the first British female specialist on industrial problems, Agatha Harrison was sent to China by the World YWCA in London. She came from the London School of Economics, where she was a tutor in welfare work. Harrison was a well-qualified expert in the industrial

¹³⁶The paper was finally despatched in January 1923 and appeared in the July issue of that year.

¹³⁷LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1923, see J.B. Tayler's letter, 30 July 1923.

¹³⁸Petty, Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, Vol.V, p.225.

¹³⁹The Missionary Herald of PCI, March 1922, p.130.

¹⁴⁰"The Church and Modern Industry," by Helen Thoburn, China Mission Year Book, 1923, pp.390-391.

welfare movement of England with rich experience.¹⁴¹ She was appointed the first Industrial Secretary of the YWCA in China from 1921 to 1924 and mainly concentrated on the problems of women and children in industry. A few weeks after she took up this work, the National YWCA started two lines of work: (1) providing recreational activities for workers; (2) working toward changing public opinion and labour law.¹⁴² Under her leadership a thorough study was made, and the research work served to create public opinion favourable to remedial legislation. Harrison showed in her report submitted to the International Industrial Welfare Congress (IIWC) of 1925, that the need of the workers for humanitarian ways of shelter and comfort for the manual worker in Chinese factories was a long-term one.¹⁴³ However, the 1920s saw the starting point of this long march, stirred up by the Church.

Dame Adelaide Anderson, who was formerly H. M. Chief Lady Inspector of Factories in Great Britain, also came out from the World YWCA in London in 1923. She, before this appointment, had done industrial studies for more than a quarter of a century through her close personal contact with the Western European factory system. She came to China and helped the work in the Child Labour Commission of the Municipal Council of Shanghai and also was very helpful in guiding the government in its early attempts at legislation. The NCC was able to secure her help in training the first Chinese Christian factory inspectors. Anderson spent 10 and half months investigating China's industrial problems, from South China - Hongkong to the North - Peking, and in many treaty ports. The result of her investigation was published in the name of Humanity and Labour later, where child labour was her major concern.¹⁴⁴ Anderson reported China's industrial welfare development at the IIWC as an expert on China's industrial problems. In China, Anderson also delivered many lectures on the meaning and the growth of the development of factory law and welfare management in factories of Europe.

A number of local research and investigations were undertaken under the NCC's inspiration and suggestion. Missionary experts assumed actual responsibility in these places. They made very detailed investigations and rendered quite a number of persuasive reports, the famous such as "Industry Hospital, Shanghai: Review of 880 Cases from the Cotton Mills" (1924) (A study related to some special industrial accidents), "Peking Rugs and Peking Boys - A Study of the Rug Industry in Peking," "Study of 4,000 Families in Wuchang," "The Silk Industry in Kwangtung Province," "Child

¹⁴¹Anna V. Rice, A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association (New York, 1947), p.190.

¹⁴²See Kwok Pui-lan, Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927 (Atlanta, 1992), p.129.

¹⁴³The Report of the Proceedings of the International Industrial Welfare Congress, June 1925, p.227.

¹⁴⁴Ibid.; Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tzu-tien, p.11.

Labour in Shanghai," "Child Labour in Canton," "Apprenticeship System in Ningpo," and "Phosphorus Poisoning in Match Factories in China with Brief Observations on the General Conditions of Labour Fund," "Phosphorus Necroses or Lucifer-Match Factories" and "Social Glimpse of Tsinan."¹⁴⁵ Many of the IRC's works dealt with the relations between churches and industry, such as Explanations of Slides on Child Labour, Christianity and Industrial Problems, Christian and Labour, Church in China and the Industrial Problem, The Church's Labour Standard, Modern Industry in China, and Women in Tientsin Industries.

3. Child and Woman Labour

According to missionary investigations, the labour of children and women was the first word in the capitalist utilisation of machinery in China. By the 1920s industrial child labour and ill-treatment of women workers were disappearing in the West. However, they remained an important source of labour in China. As in the opening phases of the Industrial Revolution in Britain, such exploitation also took place in China of the 20th century, especially in textile industry. Though China did not completely follow the British patterns of industrialization, this industrial "evil" had become a predominant and serious social problem during the first three decades of this century.

The conditions were often dreadful. In cotton mills children worked on a 12 or even 15 hour shift for a little over a half-penny a day. Night work for children, a shocking accident roll, a new discipline of production with hardly any personal liberty, a deterioration of the factory environment, extremely low pay all became the concern of missionary social workers' concern. Liu Ch'un-hsien (a later leading CCP trade unionist) described her experience as a child worker in the Kiangsu cotton factory, the children there started work at 4:30 am and were extremely tired and sleepy, and they always cried. "I used to wonder," she said, "why we had to begin work while the city was asleep, only to get enough to eat." They began working before dawn, and returned after 8 pm. They never saw the sky for months, and some never saw the sun for years. "Every day I asked myself, 'When will this hard life stop?' and prayed for the close of the day's work."¹⁴⁶ A match factory in Kirin where children worked was called Hell. It was estimated that in the Shanghai mills one tenth of the labourers were children.¹⁴⁷ Girls as young as 13 were often hired through a system by which families contracted to turn over all their daughter's wages for 3 to 5 years to a recruiter, who would in turn guarantee a job, food, clothing and shelter for the girl without wages at all. So-called

¹⁴⁵CBMS. See the annual reports of the NCC, 1924-1925.

¹⁴⁶Helen Snow, The Chinese Labour Movement (John Day, 1964), p.154.

¹⁴⁷The National Christian Conference Held in Shanghai 2-11 May 1922, p.166.

shelter meant a boarding house with 10-15 girls to in each room, many of whom slept on the floor and all were made to do housework, apart from their 12 hours a day in the mills.¹⁴⁸ Child labour was one of the bitterest and greatest tragedies of the age. School, health, relaxation, how could these be considered when this child labouring for a whole day could scarcely earn sufficient for a day's food, not to speak of clothes and rent? Among the so-called civilized nations of the world China stood practically alone in the position of being without industrial legislation and any limitation for child labour. Whatever the particular circumstances of adversity, the young were especially vulnerable. These factories were to be considered places children suffered inhuman cruelties suffered, terrible conditions and incredibly long hours, as revealed by the Church.

In large cities, capitalists' exploitation of the cheap labour of Chinese women was an important factor in the industrial situation. The practical situation of women workers were unimaginable. It was estimated that there were about 2,000,000 female workers in 1924, the majority of whom worked in cotton mills.¹⁴⁹ The figures as to hours were a bit different. In cotton mills, the maximum (and usual) hours in Shanghai in 1930 were 12, the minimum 10 and a half; 12 in Tientsin and Hankow. A survey revealed that the lowest earnings per day of adult female cotton spinners were \$0.40 to \$0.50 in Tientsin in 1929, and in Hankow from \$0.36 to \$0.65.¹⁵⁰ Women worked the same hour day as did men but received much less pay. The differentials in wages between them in the cotton textile industries were alarming. Women's daily wages were roughly 13 to 32% lower than men's, and their yearly wages 4 to 29% lower than men's in 1920; in Shanghai in 1929 there were 35 to 44% lower than those of male workers.¹⁵¹ The gap between the wages of men and women was widened from 1920 to 1930. Clearly, the status of women workers became worse and worse and the case of discriminating against women in modern Chinese factory system became more serious. In fact, women workers earned only starvation wages. This gives considerable support to the view that Chinese women workers suffered from an extremely inferior economic position in the labour market relative to that of most working men. This did not mean that life was very easy for the 1920s male Chinese workers but, in addition to the basic struggle for a living wage and decent working conditions, women suffered from a further

¹⁴⁸Dorothy J. Orchard, "Manpower in China II," Political Science Quarterly (March 1936), pp.3-4.

¹⁴⁹Elizabeth K. Morrison, "Women and Factories," Chinese Triangles, p.62, quoted in Kwok Pui-lan's book, see p.129.

¹⁵⁰R.H. Tawney, Land and Labour in China (London, 1932), pp.146-147.

¹⁵¹Ch'en Chung-kuang, "The Changing Status of Women in Early Republic," (M.A. Thesis) (Taipei: Su-li Chung-kuo wen-hua hsueh-yuan yen-chiu-so, 1972), pp.65-69; "The Issue of Women Workers in Shanghai," Ch'ing-nien fu-nu (Young Women), Vol.8, No.5 (May 1929), pp.4-10. Similar examples can be found in Lin Tung-hai's The Labour Movement and Labour Legislation in China (Shanghai, 1933), p.68.

double burden, discrimination in the labour market and responsibility for the bulk of work at home. Chen Pi-lan, a leader of the All-Shanghai Women Federation in the 1920s, later recalled, then "a woman worker could only take off about one week to have a baby - and with no pay."¹⁵² These hungry and haggard mothers' constant toil only brought them the barest means of miserable, hand-to-mouth existence. The missions thus saw the female labour as one of the focuses of industrial welfare work not only because of the numbers of female workers but also the oppression they suffered.

The employment of children and discrimination of female workers in factories and workshops were long deemed to be the worst sort of treatment. Relevant solutions and application were seen in the mission industrial activities of the 1920s. Underlying the general cry for the regulation of child labour and women's workers, they introduced Western industrial examples and pushed the government to set up a labour standard, to endorse the setting, as a goal, of the standard such as limiting hours of work. In 1922 the NCC drafted the first programme of child labour in China. No child under 12 was allowed to be employed in factories. These missionaries put themselves on record against the employment of children under this age. The NCC also advocated one day of rest in 7 and adequate protection for the health and safety of workers.¹⁵³ In 1922 and 1923, not only was the IRC enlarged, but also industrial church groups were being organized in many cities. Actions taken in individual cities included the following: The child labour standard was officially endorsed by the boards of directors of the Tientsin and Chefoo YMCA, the National Committee of the YWCA, and local boards in Shanghai, Tientsin and Peking of the YWCA, and Chinese Chambers of Commerce of Chefoo and Peking. The Chefoo Industrial group made a move forward in cooperation with the local employers; in Peking one section of the group was watching the new factory legislation and was asked by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to advise them. Even the Municipal Council of Shanghai (of the International Settlement) appointed a Child Labour Commission in June 1923 to enquire into the conditions of child labour in Shanghai and vicinity, and make recommendations to Government.¹⁵⁴ This council was sympathetic towards any reasonable proposals directed towards child welfare and the prevention of the industrial employment of children of tender years, generally, toward prevention of the exploitation of child labour.¹⁵⁵ This policy in the area under its administration set an example for other factories in Shanghai.

The missionaries also appealed for providing adequate school places

¹⁵²Quoted in Katie Curtin, Women in China (New York & Toronto, 1974), p.21.

¹⁵³Harold Archer Van Dorn, p.202.

¹⁵⁴See "Chapter XX. Labour," The China Year Book, 1925-6, pp.545-561.

¹⁵⁵The Report of the Proceedings of the International Industrial Welfare Congress, June 1925, p.230.

for children, bringing pressure to bear on parents and guardians to send children to school and to reduce child labour in factories. They pointed out the suitable school-leaving age of young workers and suggested the possibility of attendance at technical and commercial schools as the case might be. This was a new approach to the industrial problems. For instance, it was estimated that only one-fourth of the children of school age attended school in Hongkong in the late 1910s. The CMS missionaries first tackled this social problem there and made outstanding contributions. They drew up 6 proposals to correct the situation. Subsequently, they made various proposals which would bring Hongkong law close to that of Britain. The Child Labour Ordinances were enacted in September 1922. In 1923 the first Child Labour Law was passed.¹⁵⁶ British missionaries made unremitting efforts to awaken the conscience of Chinese people to the welfare of working children. The missions provided advice and recommended Western-style industrial regulations as a basis of the Peking Regulations. They assisted the Bureau of Economic information of the Chinese government in getting the general facts about the industry.¹⁵⁷ In the same way the similar age of admissions to general employment was covered by the 1920s' industrial laws of children written by British missionary industrial experts.

The Shanghai YWCA and National YWCA developed their cooperation in this way. They hoped extend legislative powers to improve on the state of woman workers. The earliest Chinese Women's Clubs were formed to study factory conditions in Shanghai in 1921 through cooperation among the YWCA, British, American and Chinese, who were greatly concerned with women's conditions of work in the factories. The YWCA, conducted a column in the leading Chinese daily newspaper in Shanghai, publicising the working conditions of women in the mills and factories.¹⁵⁸ The problems of unemployment, employment of women before and after child birth, night work for women and the standard of female workers' wages were all dealt with by the Church.¹⁵⁹ The general tendency was that more and more Chinese were going to shoulder responsibility for such industrial welfare,¹⁶⁰ but the work of the Church set an obvious example for the whole of China.

The industrial welfare work of missions reminded Chinese society that children and women should be the most cared for, the most protected section of society. Missionary social workers had been insisting on protecting

¹⁵⁶Carl T. Smith, "The First Child Labour Law in Hongkong," Journal of the Hongkong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.28 (1988).

¹⁵⁷CBMS. E/T China, Box 407, see "Peking Rugs and Peking Boys - A Study of the Rug Industry in Peking," by C.C.Chu and Thos.C. Blaisdell.

¹⁵⁸P. Hutchinson, China's Real Revolution (New York, 1924), p.128.

¹⁵⁹The China Year Book, 1929-30, p.555.

¹⁶⁰Croll, p.112.

these vulnerable groups as one of their unshakable international duties. The history from the mid-1910s to the late 1920s in which the Church protected the youth and women and advocated industrial welfare in China proved that missionaries were the earliest social group concerned with such major labour problems of China. Relevant labour legislation had taken place only after the greatest social outcry of the Church against this cruel exploitation.

4. Hygienic and Safety Problems

Missionaries also made a great deal of study on the general conditions of health in the factories they visited. Industrial pollution was for example a major target attacked by the Church. There was little attempt at ventilation and especially in North China dust was a prevalent nuisance, often making breathing difficult. In match factories there was often no efforts made to draw off the sulphur fumes by hoods and by ventilation, and "phossy jaw" was the result. The most considerable pieces of mission research undertaken during the year of 1924-25 was in regard to the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Their purpose was primarily to determine to what extent white phosphorus was being employed in the match industry of China, the prevalence of phosphorus necrosis of the jaw, and the likely response of the industry to the Peking government's prohibition soon to be mentioned.¹⁶¹ This work was of value not only as presenting a clear statement of the whole case itself, but also as indicating the type of work and the methods which could be used in regard to other problems. The evidence obtained, it was thought, could be used to support the enforcement of the law. They hoped that the nature and method of the inquiry would, in themselves, apart from substantial results achieved, have a definite educative value for those in this country upon whom ultimately rested the responsibility of securing just conditions of labour for their people.

They also studied the wider problems of general factory hygiene and the effect of factory life upon the health of the workers. The housing conditions of industrial workers in the large cities, as revealed by their new scientific studies were very poor. Large numbers of workers endured economic indebtedness, and the exorbitant rates of interest charged on the loans they were forced to take out. The agents of secret societies and labour contractors exploited the workers badly. The treatment of infirmities and ailments was a focus of mission charitable effort within the communities. Mission local dispensaries always rendered voluntary services. They helped the local authorities to control disease by sanitary improvements in factories. Apart from the unequal treatment on wages, many female workers suffered from industrial and occupational diseases. Of 880

¹⁶¹CBMS. E/T China. Box 348, The NCC Annual Report 1924-25, see Report of the Industrial Committee, pp.94-105.

patients in an industrial hospital in Shanghai in the early 1930s 66% of the woman patients were affected by these diseases.¹⁶² In dealing with health and accidents in these factories, the methods of missionary industrial workers was to let the facts speak briefly for themselves. Malnutrition and overwork contributed to the cause of tuberculosis. This and other diseases were spreading like a plague through want of sanitation. The general terrible position was well reflected in various revelations of mission investigations to workers' physique. Unhygienic working conditions, over long working hours and the low pay system caused deleterious results. A number of the missionary nursing institutions cooperated with the owners of the factories in the metropolitan areas, and helped them to provide their workmen with better living conditions, a cleaner, more sanitary environment and a healthier, and creative social life.¹⁶³ Their actions drew the attention of Chinese society to the importance of this work throughout China. The new Ministry of Health in the late 1920s commenced similar work in the largest industrial city - Shanghai following the missionary model.

Mission reports indicated that serious lack of working protective laws resulted in a large number of accidents. In these factories and warehouses the most ordinary precautions for safety were usually neglected. Numerous accidents could be prevented by safety devices and shorter hours. The fundamental facts were forcefully brought home by the amputations, mutilations and the general physical deterioration of the workers. Mission hospitals had accepted more and more industrial accident cases and provided first aid services since the beginning of the 1920s, thus the serious situation of industrial problems had caused their close attention. Many these were often preventable accidents.¹⁶⁴ The CCER studied safety provision and accident compensation in factories, mines and other places of employments; profit sharing in Chinese industry; and questions involved in the application of the factory law. The Church forced the government to understand the urgent necessity of records for the sound building up of protective legislation and administration, chiefly for safety and hygiene of workers in modern Chinese industry.

5. Industrial Education and Workers' Recreation

In order to build up progressive industrial communities, the Church decided to provide specialized training for personnel managers, industrial welfare workers and factory inspectors - prepared to recommend more Western industrial administrating experiences to China. Another serious problem was the lack of care for the well-being of apprentices in respect to the use

¹⁶²Kuo Ch'en-i, The Issue of Women in China (Shanghai, 1937), p.191.

¹⁶³LMS. Central China, annual reports for 1923, 1925.

¹⁶⁴The Hankow Women's Hospital in 1923 anxiously reported, "Daily stretcher and first aid cases come in." Report of the London Mission in Central China for 1923, LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 9-1923.

of workers' leisure time, facilities for education and living accommodation. With the development of the new welfare movement, industrial education (both technical and civic) and workers' recreation became one of the major problems with which missions were concerned.

The provision of training for industrial welfare workers and for personnel managers with a social outlook and a practical knowledge of modern methods of dealing with workers in industry, had long been felt, but was only definitely put forward by the CCER in the 1920s. In 1924 a scholarship with the help of the Selly Oak College, University of Birmingham in England, was secured. It was arranged for Gideon Chen of the IRC to go to England for one or two years to qualify himself for future service to China in this field. At the same time in accordance with the plans under the Rockefeller gift, the IRC also granted a scholarship to help in training abroad. Several other Chinese students got similar facilities for study of social and economic problems through Christian agencies.¹⁶⁵

The NCC recommended assistance to workers to make better use of their leisure through club life and musical, social and educational activities; and to form mutual aid or friendly societies so that there was mutual insurance and protection among themselves. At first, the NCC stimulated appropriate organizations to initiate programmes of workers' education, including adult education for both men and women workers; and ran the part-time education of child-workers and apprentices, and the education of workers' children. It also made provision for the publication of the literature necessary in connection with workers' education. The NCC opened the East China Summer School at St. John's University in Shanghai. Then scholarships were offered to the local centres. Many students attended the courses. Secondly, following the foundation of the Institute of Industrial Welfare Workers in Britain in 1913,¹⁶⁶ the NCC in the late 1920s established a similar Workers' Institute in Shanghai.¹⁶⁷

The Church also made use of mass media as one means to spread Western ideas of industrial welfare. In 1925 the YWCA at the second National Conference made a resolution it would "start education, make the labour class gradually enter into systematic labour movement and pay attention to training this kind of leadership."¹⁶⁸ The YMCA and YWCA also undertook this promulgation by means of public talks and the organization of women's clubs, to spread industrial and business information and promoted good will among the workers themselves and to create a general interest in the

¹⁶⁵CBMS. See the NCC annual reports for 1924-25 & 1925-26.

¹⁶⁶E.T. Kelly, Welfare Work in Industry, p.114.

¹⁶⁷CBMS. See the NCC Biennial Report 1929-31.

¹⁶⁸Juan Jen-tze, Shanghai Tsung-chiao shih, p.946.

welfare of the working class.¹⁶⁹ The IRC's publications of industrial welfare touched on all industrial topics, and it played an effective propaganda role.

In general, the missions began to make a concerted effort to increase in facilities for workers' education so that they could help to develop the personality of the workers, to train them for citizenship in a modern state, and to furnish the vocational training and guidance they lacked. The NCC aroused religious circles an interest in economic and social problems, and prepared for providing the knowledge of modern social movements, which equipped the workers for and encouraged them in efforts to improve their own conditions. Education was then one of the best ways to urge workers' awakening to an answer of their conditions and how to remedy them, in which the NCC played an important pioneering role.

6. Industrial Laws

It became increasingly clear however that any advance of protecting all workers, especially children and women, could be achieved only by industrial laws. However, no social improvement in China had ever come unless it was fought for. None of the earliest industrial laws would have been issued without the greatest coordinated social movement and direct help of the Church. Their industrial welfare work directly promoted this increased participation of the government in such activities in the late 1920s. They helped the government and laid down the earliest principles governing industrial relief. Missionary efforts led to that important social legislation, covering hours, wages, workmen compensation, regulation of working conditions, restriction on child labour, better housing and public health measures.

Firstly, the IRC made substantial efforts to introduce Western industrial laws to China, such as The Factory System and the Regulation of Labour Conditions by National and International Laws and Brief History of Factory Legislation in the United Kingdom. These publications and this effective dissemination played an important role in promoting and accelerating the establishment of the national industrial laws. There was one overwhelming fact that had characterized the factory movement in the 1920s' China, namely the results of missionary social investigations, appeals, persuasion, and pressure were all factors propelling the government to consider industrial welfare issues and industrial legislation at an accelerated pace. The immediately vigorous and concerted action of Government was needed. Harrison, in order to encourage Government to adopt welfare methods, joined the Bureau of Industrial Service and cooperated closely with it in many aspects of her industrial welfare work.¹⁷⁰ In 1921,

¹⁶⁹See the records of my interview with M.E. Garvie at Falkland, Scotland on 14 Oct. 1992..

¹⁷⁰See J.B. Tayler's Annual Report 1921, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 8-1921.

Taylor cooperated with Prof. Tao of Nankai University in preparation of questionnaires for the study of certain labour and social problems in Tientsin. The greatest victory was the birth of the first industrial law. In March of 1923 Taylor arranged for Miss Dingman, Industrial Secretary of the International YWCA, to see the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce of the Chinese government and further impressed Chinese top officials with Western ideas of industrial welfare laws. His ministry drafted a set of 51 articles on factory regulation, and missionary experts' purpose was to help the government to promulgate and elaborate one or simple feasible regulations (much as British Home Office issued its orders) which might be put into operation at once. Under the promotion of missionaries, in 1923 Government promulgated the Provisional Factory Regulations (which although still without legal force in any part of China,) showed the effect of standardised International demands for protection of labour and particularly child and women labour). The Western idea of a normal working day introduced first by the missionaries began to be applied to cotton, wool, linen and silk.¹⁷¹ The NCC's endorsed standards for employment in factories designed to bring China more into line with the international labour standards set by the League of Nations.¹⁷² The influence of the International Labour Organization under the League of Nations in Geneva, in working for the recognition of humane conditions within the factory system, was fully shown in an article in the International Labour Review of December, 1924.¹⁷³ There were also several cases where local effort produced definite changes in the factories or in the condition of workers. The Cotton Manufacturers' Association, Foreign and Chinese, of Shanghai, in 1923 passed resolutions in favour of legislation for the Protection of Industrial children. Some firms began to offer welfare amenities, and in a large gathering of labour groups on May Day, 1924 passed a resolution unanimously in approval of (a) exclusion of children under 12 years from factories, and (b) working for an 8-hour day.¹⁷⁴ Industrial legislation had been understood by the Chinese people as the foundation of all industrial welfare work.

Two other national laws, one governing Labour Unions, the other Conciliation and Arbitration of Industrial Disputes were subsequently promulgated by the KMT government. Capital labour relations of course urgently needed improvement. G. S. Eddy, the secretary both of the American YMCA and World YMCA in Asia, was one of the most active advocates of the

¹⁷¹LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1923, see J.B. Taylor's Letter, 30 July 1923.

¹⁷²"People I Meet, IV. - Women of East and West," by Hubert W. Peef, in FFMA's Publications, The Way Fare: A Record of Quaker Life and Work (London), Vol.2, No.2 (Apr., 1923).

¹⁷³See International Labour Review (Dec.1924).

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p.230.

cooperation between labour and capitals. In 1922 he made a large number of social investigations among factory workers in 24 cities; in Tientsin and Shanghai he directly discussed how to reduce strike movements with Chinese capital. Finally, Eddy put forward a set of systematic social reformist schemes,¹⁷⁵ parts of which were borrowed by the KMT government. Following Eddy's steps it made active efforts to settle labour disputes by mediation and arbitration, and these measures were quite successful in many cases, because the Chinese people usually preferred them to other radical means of settlement. Many disputes to do mostly with wages were settled before strikes were called.¹⁷⁶

Thus the missionaries were not only the earliest voluntary factory inspectors in China, but provided the first drafts of China's new factory laws in the late 1920s. The missionaries' attitudes ensured that the demand for industrial welfare was faced by the government. They thus forced the government to take certain action about the exploitation of child labour and women as well as other workers. Without a doubt, the most important primary progress in protection of workers' condition had been made over the 1920s. Missionary actions had provided a new approach to the basic labour problems for China. Already on many separate questions combined actions had been taken. Outstanding among these was the persistent campaign conducted by the Church, uniting many different bodies and organizations, which, while it did not bring the results required, certainly roused China on the question. The earliest industrial legislation in China cannot be ignored in explanation of the decline and disappearance of these industrial evils in China later. At least, the rise of these special protecting industrial laws was a short-term impetus to the industrial welfare in China. These earliest national industrial acts and bills significantly foreshadowed that better treatment of workers would be accorded to future social reforms in China, but it was the missionaries' activities which had above all signalled that these industrial problems had to be placed on agenda of government.

7. Impacts

The phenomena of social inequalities and injustices in the workplace aroused the sympathy and the sense of duty of the Church. The IRC and CCER represented the Church and spoke with a clear voice in regard to the great social evil, in which the Chinese working class was ignored and oppressed, and in particular in regard to the manifestly un-Christian aspects of the Chinese industrial social order. The missions heartily approved of the efforts of the NCC to create more humane standards in China's industry, and

¹⁷⁵See Ch'en Hsiu-p'ing, *Ch'en-fu lu: Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien yun-tung yu chi-tu-chiao nan-nu ch'ing-nien-hui* (History of the Movement of Chinese Youth and the YMCA and YWCA) (Shanghai, 1989), p.14.

¹⁷⁶See Pre-war statistical report of the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Shanghai City Government, from Lieu, p.56.

urged their own welfare workers to seek to foster a conscience in this work. They introduced the latest methods of factory welfare construction and the newest conception of the place of humanitarian care and the humane factor in industry to China. These missionaries as self-appointed industrial welfare workers first stirred up the campaign of improving Chinese workers' status. In the 1920s they had done a great deal of work in bringing industrial welfare to the notice of Chinese industries, especially the textile industries. They hoped that in the near future they might do the same for the mining and engineering industries. This enlarged plan was carried out around the early 1930s.¹⁷⁷

Well-organized mission industrial welfare work from top to bottom in Chinese society had aroused public awareness of these problems. Their activities of advocating human rights in the industrial circles widely won respect and support from both the Christian and non-Christian world.¹⁷⁸ Many firms provided hospital, dispensary and educational facilities. The Commercial Press, Nangai Wata Kaisha, British-American Tobacco Company and other firms established welfare agencies. In Shanghai a number of Chinese and foreign firms had supported the Yangtzepoo Social Centre which was under missionary supervision and which provided hospital and educational accommodations for workers of that district.¹⁷⁹ In one factory the managers reported a better output after a reduction of working hours. In one or two cases experiences were made by Christian employers which were keenly followed locally. In some mills owned by Chinese philanthropists creches had been provided in wholesome rooms for small children, who were looked after by a caretaker. The Commercial Press adopted many Western methods of welfare work among its employees. Some Chinese employers, such as Mr. Fong, a Director of the press, were active supporters in their own works of the industrial welfare movement. Large cotton mill-owners such as C. C. Nieh and H. Y. Moh of Shanghai were introducing modern safe guards in their mills, as well as various forms of welfare work.¹⁸⁰ It was a most encouraging fact. In many places, Chinese and foreign employers were demonstrating that a better industrial order could arise in China as it had in the West. The CCP also actively proclaimed its viewpoint - establishing schools so as to give free primary education to children and insisted on abolishing child labour.¹⁸¹ In the treaty ports it also established night schools for women workers, set up unions, organized street demonstration

¹⁷⁷See industrial welfare work of the Church in Petty, Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, Vol.II, Part One; and Vol.V., Part Two.

¹⁷⁸See the annual report of the NCC, 1924-25, from CBMS.

¹⁷⁹The China Year Book, 1925-6, p.563.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., p.239.

¹⁸¹See Chou En-lai's and Li Wei-han's articles then published in The Red Flag, Bolshevik, Leninist Youth and Shanghai Daily.

to demand improving their conditions and treatment.¹⁸² Chinese women workers began to stand up and fight for their own rights. In Shanghai in 1923, 20,000 women workers in the silk factories went on strike to demand a 10-hour-work day plus a wage increase of 5 cents a day.¹⁸³ Chinese women played a more and more important role in later industrial welfare movement.

In the late 1920s, in Chinese academic circles the Institute of Economic Research of Nankai University began basic studies and publications on the Chinese economy undergoing industrialization. The institute hoped to emulate the London School of Economics. In 1930 it was helped by a visitor from the LSE, Professor R. H. Tawney, who wrote his classic Land and Labour in China.¹⁸⁴ He helped China establish a national centre of modern economic research. This institute later became the most famous academic centre of national industrial and agricultural economy and made tremendous contributions to the industrial welfare research.

In the 1920s it was becoming increasingly clear that the NCC was the backbone and power of the first industrial welfare movement in China. It made a deep study of the industrial problems as a whole from the point of view of workers, especially women and child labourers and their future. The missionaries, industrial employers and employees, provincial legislators and governmental officials were all participants in this industrial welfare movement. However, it was strongly led by the NCC. Mission industrial rehabilitation programme was limited geographically and mainly operated in large cities, and the chief method through which its programme was coordinated with the welfare programme was through working relief projects. However, at this time China itself had generated no such an industrial welfare programme at all, and the Church was the decisive agency in launching the earliest industrial social movement. A national discussion on the industrial problems, and the adoption of the first industrial laws of China and a comprehensive plan of church action in fact started a national movement which was far reaching in its consequences. In this special social movement for workers' rights the Protestant Church had played a great part.

¹⁸²K. Curtin, Women in China (New York, 1975), p.21.

¹⁸³Laura Landy, Women in the Chinese Revolution (International Socialist, n.d.), p.14.

¹⁸⁴Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985, p.197.

CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL REFORM (2) - THE PROBLEMS OF FAMINE & RURAL SOCIETY

IV. FAMINE RELIEF

The famine relief work of British missions in the 1920s has hardly been known either in China or the West due to the limited research. Actually, as early as the 19th century famine relief had already become an important philanthropic activity of the Protestant missionaries, who earned the name of "the Founders of Famine Relief in China."¹ By 1920 nearly a half century had passed since Timothy Richard and David Hill first committed themselves to engaging in famine relief in the 1870s.² Facing the appalling relief needs in China, Protestant missionaries in the 1920s continued to devote themselves to this great humanitarian enterprise. The atmosphere both inside and outside the missions was now different, and the famine relief in the last century belonged to individual missionaries' activities. But the 1920s saw the cooperative action of the entire Protestant missions, and they did not completely duplicate their pioneers' pattern. Their methods were various and included both direct and indirect relief, ranging from simple distribution of grain or cash to sophisticated preventive projects. The scope of their famine relief efforts was thus much larger than that in the 19th century. This section will discuss immediate famine relief first, and then long-term solutions.

Famine in China in the 1920s was unprecedentedly dreadful, especially the two famines in the early and late 1920s. The former was due to the most serious drought in Chinese history and gripped the whole of North China (Shensi, Honan, Chihli, Shantung and Shansi); and refugees reached 20,000,000; the famine areas extended through 317 counties; an earthquake at the same time occurred in Shensi and Kansu. People were left to die and 9 houses out of 10 became empty.³ This famine lasted 3 years and 3,000,000 people died.⁴ The number of deaths in the famine from 1928-1930 was 10,000,000,⁵ the worst areas affected being the river valley in Shensi, East Sianfu and the central part of Kansu. Poor crops in 1930 added to distress. After the famine, typhus raged throughout the provinces, carrying off many famine victims. As the summer advanced, dysentery broke out and took its share of victims. An unusually severe winter wiped out hundreds of thousands of persons whose half-starved condition, lack of fuel and even

¹E.W. Price Evans, Timothy Richard: A Narrative of Christian Enterprise and Statesmanship in China (London, 1945), pp.59-61.

²R.J. Forrest and W.C. Hillier, China Famine Relief Fund (Shanghai, 1879), p.9 & passim.

³The China Christian Year Book 1931, p.43.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Teng Yun-t'e, Chung-kuo chiu-huang shih (The History of Chinese Famine Relief) (Shanghai, 1937), pp.42, 142, 143.

of clothes, prevented them from fighting the cold. 37,000,000 people were starving throughout North China in the same year.⁶ The causes of famine in China were varied, generally, the greatest enemies of the peasants were flood, drought and insect pests. But the official attitude of fatalism became the rule and enthusiasm for prevention the exception; people "have never been accustomed to the intervention of government in their everyday affairs."⁷ The government was very corrupt and often extremely indifferent to natural disasters and hardly any policy or measures for famine were taken. Conversely, it forced people to pay extremely heavy taxes, which directly aggravated people's hardship.

Facing the situation under which the Government and officials swayed largely by the militarists ran away from these duties, more and more responsibility for relief reverted to private auspices. Particularly during 1920-1927 this trend to overdependence on foreign and private Chinese sources to settle aggravated famine conditions became more striking. The missionaries were very critical of the ineptitude, indifference, and corruption of Government, which stimulated them constantly to shoulder burden after burden. Clearly, the general tendency for the missionaries' involvement in the 1920s' famine relief to become greatly intensified rather than weakened. In the Christian community there was an increasingly human interest in suffering from famine, droughts, floods, pestilence and other calamities.

Organizationally, there had existed 8 local international committees of famine relief which were all set up in the 1910s, but the international cooperation in this field was enlarged to a nation-wide scope in the 1920s. The Westerners in the Peking Union International Famine Relief Commission (PUIFRC) directly initiated and promoted the Sino-foreign cooperation. Thus the China International Famine Relief Commission (CIFRC) as a permanent famine relief organization was established on September 16, 1921 with its headquarters in Peking.⁸ The commission consisted of one Chinese and one foreign representative from each of the local committees (through which the CIFRC conducted its work).⁹ Soon after its establishment 7 standing subcommittees (covering Colonization, Credit and Economic Improvement, Communications, Improvement of Water Ways and Irrigation, Afforestation, Investigation, and Publicity) were authorized at its second meeting.¹⁰ The

⁶Ramon H. Myers, The Chinese Economy Past and Present (Belmont, 1980), p.257.

⁷See Vinacke, Problems of Industrial Development in China, pp.27-28.

⁸The 8 original founding committees of the CIFRC were the Peking Committee, the North China International Society of Famine Relief, the Chinese Foreign Famine Relief Committee, the Shantung International Relief Committee, the Shansi International Famine Relief Commission, the Joint Council of the Hankow Famine Relief Committees, the Honan Famine Relief Committee, and the Hunan Chinese Foreign Famine Relief Committee.

⁹Andrew James Nathan, A History of the China International Famine Relief Commission (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p.11.

¹⁰Ibid., p.26.

number of Provincial Committees was increased from 10 in 1923 to 13 in 1925. The greatest growth of the CIFRC was in the mid-1920s. All of these branches were situated in the famine-haunted regions. The CIFRC functioned in many ways as a quasi-governmental institution, closely cooperating with local Protestant missions, the CRPCC and CCER of the NCC and the International Red Cross, playing the role of general commander in the 1920s' famine relief of China. From this time on China had uniform relief schemes and projects. The CIFRC's establishment helped to rapidly increase the efficiency of relief and the prevention of famine. Under its direct guidance, famine relief was directed towards innovation and modernization, both immediate relief and long-term solutions. Its work thus started a new phase of China's famine relief. The CIFRC based on Western funds later became a cooperative organisation between its former members and Government, or in some sense a surrogate government institution.

In personnel Westerners were the chief organizers, leaders and advisors of the 1920s' famine relief. Missionaries accounted for the majority in the CIFRC. Locally, British-American missionaries constituted the main force in its branch committees. For example, by April 30th, 1921, in the PUIFRC's Personnel Bureau, of its 465 members, 356 (about 77%) were missionaries.¹¹ The first CIFRC executive committee embraced many missionaries who worked in the front of famine relief of 1920-1921. These miscellaneous China hands were personally keen on the famine relief problem. Actually, by the outbreak of World War II, Westerners had long been leading famine relief work in China. "This generalization is significant because it seems typical of the nature of Western involvement in China in the 1920's and 1930's, and perhaps for the whole 1911-1937 period between the revolution and the war."¹² A glance at this personnel situation showed that extensive famine relief was made possible through missionary forces in these areas. Famine relief was one of the largest social welfare enterprises involving missionaries, and their generous contributions were completely on a voluntary basis. Their strong sense of social responsibility and missionary-like motivation was without any connection with Western commercial and political interests in China. Another fact reveals the close ties between famine relief and the Christian missions in that most Chinese members in the CIFRC had been trained by missions.¹³ These well-qualified Western and Chinese experts provided an important personnel guarantee for China to employ more scientific and modern methods in the long-term projects of famine relief.

From the summer of 1920 the foreign press in Shanghai printed a series of graphic descriptions by missionaries of the famine, in which they

¹¹The China Year Book, 1921-22, p.827.

¹²Nathan, p.24.

¹³Ibid., pp.23-24.

appealed to the foreign community for aid. The needs of the Chinese refugees thus became known throughout the world. Appeals to their churches in home countries also resulted in a great sum of famine funds being sent out. The financial aid came from different sources and different countries. The largest of these were those from the China Relief Fund of the United States, from Canada, from the Philippine Island and from British Mansion House Fund of London (\$175,472.86), from British Famine Relief Fund (\$89,135.34), and from British Colonies in the Far East (\$296,941.52).¹⁴ The British funds were turned over for administration to the PUIFRC.¹⁵ The CIM received and administered \$287,797.07 famine funds during 1920-21.¹⁶ In 1929 the CIFRC applied a total of over \$3,540,000 distributed to the Yellow basin. More than 80% of this outlay was provided by the funds from America through China Famine USA Inc. in New York. Considerable interest in the needs of famine sufferers in China's great northwest were also manifested in Europe in 1930.¹⁷ The NCC had itself received the sum of \$135,221.38 Chinese currency during 1929-30. This money came from 3 main sources: from churches and individuals in China, from the European Central Office of Inter-Church Aid, Geneva, and from other sources in Europe and Africa.¹⁸ Of the money, \$87,162.97 was transmitted through the CIM. The bulk of the remainder, \$36,879.82, was sent to the EMS in Sian.¹⁹ These funds were used at the discretion of the local Christian authorities.

In the course of famine relief, Western missionaries, in fact, constantly put their hands in their pockets to help cases of need. These Westerners' activities directly stimulated Chinese people's attitude towards famine relief. In the early 1920s famine, for example, a mixed committee administered funds that had come not only from abroad (Mexican.\$17,000,000)²⁰ but from Chinese contributions and from the Chinese government. In 1929 the National Government Relief Bureau administered approximately \$3,900,000 through its provincial agencies, of which \$2,000,000 was administered by various mission and private foreign organizations, apart from the money the government donated to the PUIFRC. Free government passes, transport and telegraph privileges for relief work were worth about \$9,000,000.²¹

¹⁴Nathan.

¹⁵The North China Famine of 1920-21 with Special reference to the West Chihli Area (The Report of the Peking United International Famine Relief Committee) (Peking, 1922), pp.5, 19.

¹⁶Ibid., p.25.

¹⁷The China Christian Year Book, 1931, p.209-291.

¹⁸CBMS. box 348, E/T China, The NCC Biennial Report 1929-31.

¹⁹See the annual reports of the NCC.

²⁰Nathan, p.7.

²¹Ibid.

In general, the sum of money for relief came from 4 sources: firstly a limited sum of money, partly subscribed by the Chinese and missionaries, and partly by the friends of missions in home countries; secondly a considerable sum of the funds both from abroad and China was entrusted to be used by the CIFRC; thirdly a loan from the CIFRC was distributed usually through the negotiation of the local missions with the commission; and fourthly, part of the constructive investment came from the National government in the late 1920s. The money from the first two sources was chiefly used in the immediate relief work, These funds were made available promptly for relief to save life during this famine emergency by supplying as rapidly as possible to the famine areas. The latter two sources were in general used for preventive engineering projects (long-term solutions).

1. Immediate Relief

Direct relief was a traditional and indispensable part of Christian missionary work. This work was largely organized by the CIFRC and missionary local committees. They sought to solve immediate problems, including surveys in famine areas and assessing eligibility for relief, organizing donations, the distribution of grain and cash, the establishment of mass feeding centres, the preparation of shoes and clothes for refugees, operating shelters, looking after famine orphans, and the provision of medical care for illnesses. These committees performed very heavy duties, often involving long journeys under arduous conditions, and constant attention to detail in order to make sure who badly needed urgent relief. Mission school teachers and students were also important corps who visited famine areas and in turn kept the mission welfare leaders informed of problems and actual conditions at the operating level. Welfare was, in their minds of the original planners, limited to providing the organization, policies and procedures governing the distribution of such supplies to "vulnerable groups" - in many areas distribution of relief supplies on the basis of need and according to an adequate standard was reaffirmed and the eligibility of direct relief was confined to certain categories: the aged, the handicapped, women and children, and homeless and jobless without other resources.

The distribution of grain to the very neediest people in the most serious famine areas was the first step. Due to the lack of adequate transportation facilities, the famine relief in 1920s' China, especially in her rural famine areas, to a large extent depended upon sincere missionaries' efforts and hard work. Equitable distribution between areas proved difficult and the sheer scale of need was often intimidating, for example, in 1921 the total amount of grain purchases in Chihli was 94,548 tons.²² The EMS, LMS, CIM, UMC and SPG missionaries sought to provide direct for all persons in need, feeding in the eastern Chilhi area some

²²The China Year Book, 1921-22, p.825.

1,732,004 people.²³ In Tsangchow district, the LMS distributed 15,212 tons of food to famine refugees in 1921. Its work in Siaochang accounted for two thirds of all the relief given by the Tientsin International Famine Relief Commission and dealt with nearly a million people, the biggest relief operation by any single mission.²⁴

Most relief took the form of mass feeding, that is to say through the establishment of mass feeding stations, cheap meal restaurants and rice kitchens to save the neediest refugees.²⁵ But clothing was also important, with women missionaries organizing garment making by Chinese Christians for distribution to the needy.²⁶ The additional medical burden was also often considerable. For example, in 1921 the LMS medical missionaries looked after 4,000 famine refugees in Hankow.²⁷

Finally, a particular feature of the missionary effort was the centre for child relief, acting as feeding, education, health and welfare agencies at the same time, and they combined all of these together to carry on their social services in famines, with a view toward establishing free public educational opportunity for all young famine refugees which was adapted to the economic and social needs of these famine communities. This new method of extending educational facilities and revising school curricula was explored by nearly all mission relieving groups. Missionaries also set up famine orphanages, apart from looking after lonely old people, the disabled and the poor.²⁸ These temporarily helped to solve a part of child refugees' life problems.

2. Long-term Solutions

Significantly, missionary relief workers were, from experience, increasingly aware of the need to prevent natural disasters. The CIFRC, CRPCC and CCER of the NCC and International Red Cross (mainly American Red Cross) as the major agencies began to seek permanent measures to end famines. Their major methods included industrial training, scientific surveys, public works through labour relief, engineering relief programmes (such as drought-resistant crops, flood-control, poor-transportation improvement, and soil-erosion-control projects). These long-term means of

²³LMS. North China, Reports, Reports for 1921 Tsangchow from Lavington Hart, Tientsin, p.11.

²⁴Through one LMS worker's hands alone passed over 70,000 sacks of grain, and \$72,000. See LMS. North China, Reports, Box 8-1921, see Miss G.Rees' report on 25 March 1921; E.E. Bryant's report in Tangchow, 1921.

²⁵CMS. G1/CH4/O, 1924, No.4, p.13-14.

²⁶Ibid. p.176. For example, by 1920's the LMS woman missionaries in North China famine relief had 1200 garments ready for distribution and these mostly were given out before the cold snap in the new year.

²⁷LMS. Central China, Report for 1921.

²⁸Teng Yun-t'e, p.296, 335, 336.

famine relief were initiated in the 1910s but became a popular part of their relief programmes in the 1920s.

By the early 20th century the traditional granary system (included construction of roads, dikes, dams, and irrigation projects, land reclamation, and pest control²⁹) had been in decline, and in many places in complete disuse. Many districts of China still conducted extensive farming on a scale made possible by vast irrigation works built 2,000 years ago, canal systems of venerable antiquity still provided a means of transport which was essential to the livelihood of millions of people. Therefore, as we can see of the 1920s the time was ripe for the CIFRC, CRPCC and CCER of the NCC to employ these long-term relief programmes. Their cooperation was both in the actual carrying out measures of relief and in the investigation and promotion of means for the prevention of famines. Much larger preventive projects were undertaken through the leadership of the CIFRC. One of the significant actions was to emphasize that "the organization in China under international control which is designed not only to relieve famine but to carry out comprehensive conservancy projects on a national basis," and it claimed that "the only hope of effecting any real and permanent improvement in the economic condition of the country is through an adequate national programme."³⁰ This great strategy was guided by the general principle of completely improving economic conditions and preventing famine. The projects through its Forestry Committee, the Colonization Committee, and the Committee on Credit and Economic Improvement were designed to directly contribute to the economic improvement of the community life.

The methods of industrial training and promotion³¹ and developing rural industries were also first formulated by missionaries. This measure was increasingly emphasized in the 1920s, as a few examples convincingly show. For instance, at Tungchow the PUIFRC in 1921 set spinning machines in 40,000 homes, giving a catty of cotton to each family to start their work. A month's training in the making of hair nets gave a young girl a trade at which she could make her living. Approximately 12,690 people were trained for this work.³² Many other short-training classes were soon provided, such as making garments, rugs, embroidery and laces, towels, soap, basketry, cloth weaving, straw-braid, etc.³³ They thus helped the people in the famine districts find more means of livelihood. In order not to support the people in idleness, they organized the people in the flooded

²⁹Hsiao Kung-chuan, Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteen Century (Seattle, 1960), p.605, N.4.

³⁰The CIFRC ed., History, Organization, and Policy (Peking, July 1923), p.9.

³¹i.e. the promotion of industrial opportunity for people in the famine areas.

³²The China Year Book, 1921-22, p.825.

³³*Ibid.*, p.826.

district of Chihli province to make large nets for fishing in 1925. This not only provided employment for the villagers but gave them the means for supporting themselves during the year. Similarly, mat-making was started in the Paotingfu area³⁴ and the region of Wen An Wa. This project in the latter area provided sustenance for one month for about 30,000 people.³⁵ These projects served as an model of the possibilities of this method of extending relief through productive enterprises, and the experience gained was invaluable.

Scientific surveys were also an important development in the 1920s. They not only investigated the practical condition of famine and needs of refugees but the causes of each famine, with the outlining of appropriate policies to solve them. For instance, several Western scientists and professors of the National University jointly undertook the study of the famine areas on the lines of regional survey. Percy Maude Roxby (1880-1947), (a famous geographical professor in Liverpool University for 28 years,) who represented the Conference of British Missions on the Education Commission in Shanghai from 1921 to 1922, was a well-known leader in this project. He made important contributions to employing the scientific methods of famine prevention and improving rural economy.³⁶ From 1921-25, the CIFRC finished surveys of flood control and irrigation in 7 areas, investigations in 6 provinces for motor roads, flood channel and irrigation.³⁷ These on-the-spot surveys and investigations provided the best scientific basis for its engineering projects.

In addition, the method of working or labour relief in the was widely employed. Free relief had been a basic principle of mission relief work since the last century. However, the funds of famine relief were usually too meagre to furnish adequately for all the needy until the following harvest; and also, missionary relief workers would not like only to select a small number of beneficiaries. They provided employment to the able-bodied people in the stricken areas. In return for a day's labour on some work sufficient relief was provided to support the labourer and his dependents. Labour on these projects was paid for either in cash or in grain locally secured.³⁸ Thus the labour was linked to immediate relief. The experiment of the missions was the first of its kind in China. Soon labour relief was widely applied to many famine prevention projects. In 1926 under the leadership of F. B. Turner of the UMC in Tientsin, Vice-President of the CIFRC's Chihli Committee, a channel (some 45 miles long,

³⁴The CIFRC report for 1925, p.2-3.

³⁵F.B. Turner, "Flood and Famine in North China," JNCBRAS, Vol.57 (1926), p.9.

³⁶Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tsi-tian, pp.419-420.

³⁷See The CIFRC Annual Report 1925 (Peking, 1926).

³⁸See Central China Famine Relief Committee, Shanghai, China, Report and Accounts from October 1, 1911 to June 30, 1912 (Shanghai, 1912).

500 feet wide & 12 feet deep) from the Grand Canal near Tu Liu to the sea was dug; about 150,000 men were employed and paid in food, so that each labourer was able to support four of his dependents. Thus the relief was afforded to nearly a million people while this project freed the Chihli plain from the constant threat of floods.³⁹ Such "labour" relief thus proved economical and effective.

Drought-relief works constituted one of the major engineering projects. The LMS in North China employed part of the famine refugees as labourers to dig wells and construct the projects of small water reservoirs to prevent droughts in Chihli in 1921. G. B. Barbour, a geology professor at Yenching, was asked by the CIFRC to make two regional surveys to study the possibilities of further water supply in the famine areas. He put forward very important suggestions in this project. In one region his methods were immediately adopted and 4,997 wells were sunk.⁴⁰ In one or two other areas he also helped the local people find water at greater depth.⁴¹ During the 1921-25 period, the CIFRC constructed irrigation ditches of 25 miles in Chili and Honan, 3,100 wells for irrigation in Chihli, drainage ditches of 269 miles, river preservation of 14 miles.⁴² With a low overhead cost of little more than 2%, it employed labour on many preventive works. In 1926 it completed the Shih Lu Irrigation Works immediately west of Peking. Water was taken from the Yung Ting Ho to irrigate 70,000 mow (a mow is one-sixth of an acre) of semi-arid land. This cost \$75,000 and later added area of agricultural land near the capital devoted to market gardening. The irrigation district from Peking to Wu Yan of Suiyuan was another important project.⁴³ In 1930 its two other important irrigation projects were completed; one in the Satochou area of Mongolia carried water 43 miles from the Yellow River to fertilize 2,000,000 mow of heretofore arid land. The other in Suiyuan provided a steady supply of water sufficient to irrigate approximately 1,500,000 mow of land.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, flood-control work was also an important public project. In 1921, the Yellow River smashed a six-foot gap in the dike near Litsing and poured over the 4 surrounding counties, destroying 500 villages and made a quarter of a million people destitute. This was the first chance for the CIFRC to battle against the river - "China Sorrow." Its strategy was to force the mighty river back through its original channel, so the base

³⁹Ibid., p.10.

⁴⁰LMS. China, Personal, Box 14-1921, "George and Dorothy Barbour," Chapter 3, p.18.

⁴¹LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1922, From G.B. Barbour, Peking, 6 Jan. 1922.

⁴²See its annual report 1925.

⁴³See The Annual Report of the CIFRC 1926 (Peking 1927).

⁴⁴CBMS. see the NCC Biennial Report 1929-1930.

of the ox bow which had scoured out of the rich farmland was redug. 8,000 men were employed on the job; one million yards of earth were moved by hand; new dikes, 40 feet wide, were built with heavy stones. The project was completed on time, at a cost well under half that of the most hopeful Chinese estimates.⁴⁵ The reversion works on the Yellow River in 1923 costing \$1,500,000, enabled 250,000 flood refugees to return to their farms. The unusual floods of July, 1924 in Kiangsi caused heavy damages to dikes and villages. The CIFRC completed dike repair inside 10 months that protected 16 "islands" from the 1925 floods in the Kan River delta. Thus immediately reclaiming for rice culture, land valued at \$20,000,000, the work costing \$200,000 or 1% of the value of reclaimed land.⁴⁶ Again, in 1925 a dike costing \$150,000 reclaimed 30,000 acres of land from flood in the Yangtze valley, enabling a crop production estimated at \$5,000,000 annually to be resumed.⁴⁷ In North China the accomplishments of the CIFRC from 1921 to 1925 embraced dyke repairs and construction in 8 provinces. All of these engineering projects cost \$6,067,817 in total.⁴⁸ In the mid-1920s it also carried out the engineering projects in Shihshow, Tzekow and Chihli. Through the dike repairs these areas were not only saved from later floods but their crops were also harvested in the following years. The demands for flood-control were greatly increased by Chinese society. These Western experts were urgently and often called on in later years, chiefly in treating the Yellow River in western Shantung in 1926; and protecting Hankow from the swollen Yangtze in 1927. The general tendency of flood-control engineering work was to be enlarged in the latter five years of the 1920s rather than be reduced. It was leading China gradually to put her great rivers under human control.

The engineering project of the CIFRC was not confined to the above work. Building roads and bridges, and improving transportation had been an integral part of their work since 1921, and their aim was to improve poor communications in the areas where famines often occurred. Helping the construction of an efficient road network in China became one of its main targets. Its first road engineering project was started in Shantung in 1921, employing some 35,000 men in the building of 500 miles of earth road. As the most important cooperator of the CIFRC, the American Red Cross also helped China and built up new standard highways of 850 miles in total during 1920-21 and cost \$2,445,000.⁴⁹ In the years of 1921-25 the CIFRC road repairs were 1,812 miles altogether. Later, in the project of Satochu

⁴⁵J. Spence, To Change China: Western Advisers in China 1620-1960 (Boston, 1969), p.206, 207, 208.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷J.B. Condliffe, China Today Economic (Boston, 1932), p.55.

⁴⁸See the Report of the CIFRC 1925, pp.15-17.

⁴⁹Ibid., p.17.

of Suiyuan, the main roads of 138 li and the laterals of 500 li were also constructed. New roads stretched from Tungkwan across Shensi to Fengsiang, roads connecting various cities in Kansu and Wei Pei irrigation canal (about 330 li in length).⁵⁰ The CIFRC cherished the ideal that through such construction one day trucks would roar down them, carrying grain and rice to stricken areas and further promoting the prosperity of the rural economy.⁵¹

Furthermore, long-term solutions included the reforestation and afforestation of mountains and river banks, seeking to avoid soil erosion and improving natural conditions in these famine areas. This work proceeded mainly under the joint guidance of the Agricultural and Forestry College of Nanking University and the Forestry Committee of the CIFRC. The former set up the first Forest Experiment Station of Shansi for the studies upon erosion in 1924.⁵² For example, they pointed out some aspects of the conservation of rainfall in North China and gave special reference to the Fen River watershed in Shansi.⁵³ These Western experts were the earliest people in China who pointed out the importance of protecting natural conditions and the relations between soil erosion and famines. Although their work in this field was still in its experimental period in the 1920s it became one of the major strategies behind their engineering projects.⁵⁴ In the 1930s they helped Government to make out a series of splendid blueprints of how to afforest the famine regions, especially the river sides in those districts.

The historical records reveal that the examples of their long-term solutions were many, but the typical cases cited were sufficient to show that their invaluable contributions no doubt made famine less likely to recur or less severe in its effect. The war of the CIFRC and missions fought against famine through engineering projects never stopped in the 1920s, and advanced Western scientific techniques had amply played their transforming part in these projects.

3. Summary

The progress from simple and passive relief to positively taking precautions against famines was a great advance of famine relief work. Protestant missions and the CIFRC in the 1920s employed many more means of relief than in the past and made their policy widely known. As seen

⁵⁰Ibid., p.295.

⁵¹O.J. Todd, Two Decades in China. Comprising Technical Papers, Magazine Articles, Newspaper Stories and Official Reports Connected with Work Under His Own Observation (Peking, 1938), p.78-79.

⁵²W.C. Lowdermilk, "Forest Destruction and slope Denudation in the Province of Shansi," The China Journal of Science and Arts, Vol.4, No.3 (March 1926), pp.127-135.

⁵³Ibid., Vol.4, No.1 (Jan.1926), p.50; No.2 (Feb.1926), p.100.

⁵⁴See both annual reports of Nanking University and the CIFRC in the 1920s.

above, they relieved acute hunger of as many people as possible in as short as possible a time. Their supplies were distributed on the basis of need. They gave very ill refugees sufficient food to rebuild health. They administered welfare services to special groups; taught the necessity for sanitation; and initiated new preventive projects. Mission relief work was also combined with agricultural rehabilitation which was dynamic and essential to bringing famine under permanent control. Their relief policy purported to give first consideration to relief and second to rehabilitation. They worked out and recommended modern relief methods. The comprehensive control of famines and multiple relieving methods opened a new road for China.⁵⁵ They reminded China that employing only immediate means could never eradicate future famines. These Westerners thus played a great part in the 1920s' famine relief.⁵⁶

Significantly, on the basis of these foreigners' work Government was able to carry out more extensive plans of famine relief and to learn the technical control. Western engineering methods were directly adopted by the KMT in its 1930s' preventive projects. In 1931, for instance, 70,000 square miles were flooded along the Yangtze and Hwai river systems. Under the guidance of the National Flood Relief Commission, founded in the same year, at the height of its work 7,000 people were employed on the staff. The task was divided into 3 sections: emergency relief, dyke construction, and rehabilitation.⁵⁷ The government completely borrowed the experiences of the CIFRC. In these activities the government paid special attention to foreigners' opinions. Thus, British experts continued to play key roles in the 1930s' famine relief. In 1931 John Hope Simpson was invited by Government as director General of the National Flood Relief Commission and helped to repair the dykes. Government in 1935 awarded him the Ts'ai-yu Decoration - a highest medal for foreigners.⁵⁸ During the same years, Gerald Yorke helped to control Chinkiang and the Yangtze River floods. He and Dr. Henney led a team and successfully employed many important engineering methods.⁵⁹

Effective famine relief in the 1920s had resulted from widespread international and Sino-Western cooperation. In this process the NCC and CIFRC together played an active role as general organizers and advisors. Each side's work in the locality represented a part of the overall arrangement and carried out a part of the whole programme. There was a growing interest on the part of the Chinese. Many private Chinese agencies

⁵⁵J.B. Condliffe, pp.54-55.

⁵⁶Teng Yun-t'e, p.295.

⁵⁷See Yorke, p.68.

⁵⁸Chin-tai Lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tsi-tien, p.441.

⁵⁹Gerald Yorke, China Changes (London, 1935), pp.47, 45.

cooperated in this work. In the early 1920s fully half the relief given was with foreign money. In the early 1930s foreign funds accounted for only 15% of the total contributions.⁶⁰ The Chinese official attitude also changed. In Szechuan, a road programme was agreed upon by the leading officials in 1924. In the North, due to the official invitation (including the Governor of Suiyuan), the CIFRC engineers went to study the irrigation system they wished improved. The CIFRC obtained complete cooperation and financial support from the Governor. The great value of the cooperation among the CIFRC, BMS, the Shensi Government was chiefly embodied in the Wei-pei projection of irrigation, which literally "made the desert to blossom as the rose."⁶¹ In the late 1920s Government moved all grain for famine relief over its railways without charge. In 1931 a Joint European Committee at Geneva, the CIFRC at Peiping, the NCC, and China Famine Relief USA together dealt with the immensely difficult problems of doing away with famines in the Yellow River basin and the Yangtze valley. Their programme was given hearty endorsement by H. H. Kung, Minister of Commerce and Industry.⁶² The Chinese philanthropic spirit and broadening sense of social responsibility were greatly strengthened and increased; and famine relief was no longer the cry of foreigners. Chinese and foreigners often amalgamated their manpower and financial sources to work together without paying attention to nationalities. This Sino-foreign cooperation enabled the famine relief work to be carried out on a larger scale and in much higher standards.

At national and regional levels, these missionary relief workers had contributed to China by their creative approach, operational skills, loyalty to the programme and the Chinese refugees. They did their best in relieving the famine conditions. The missionary-led attempt to relieve China famines in the 1920s was one of the major programmes in humanitarian relief. Their relief and welfare operations seemed to have become long-term agencies in modern China since the last century. They had not only gone forward with their mission of succouring the unfortunate victims of famine, but "more important still achieved tangible results in the great work of famine prevention."⁶³ They were both the real heroes and major force in the 1920s' famine relief.

V. RURAL IMPROVEMENT

In the 1920s rural improvement was one of the most prominent contributions made by the missions. It was the logical continuation of mission indirect famine relief work and covered surveys of economic

⁶⁰See the Report of the CIFRC, quoted in H.A. Van Dorn, Twenty Years of Chinese Republic, pp.247, 248.

⁶¹The Annual Report of the CIFRC 1925, p.10.

⁶²See Condliffe, p.55.

⁶³The CIFRC Annual Report 1925, see Preface, written by M.T. Lang.

conditions, experimental farms, advanced scientific technology, improving varieties of plants and breeds of stock, developing village industry, forming rural cooperatives and mutual aid societies. However, the activities of their scientific agriculture in China have been ignored both by Western and Chinese historians for a long time.

The historical context helps explain why the Church became concerned with agricultural issues in China. In the experience of the West, rural improvement by 1920 had been found so important in promoting security, producing industrial raw materials, providing markets for industrial products, and raising the standard of living. It was very clear that a high level of living for the whole of China's population and industrial modernization could hardly be achieved without a strong development of agriculture. The missionaries had soon discovered that in the countryside the various components of the misery poverty, ill-health, lack of education, overpopulation (which was the chief cause of poverty in rural China, so some missionaries even resorted to advocacy of birth control.⁶⁴) - were all interconnected. The missions had been strongly reminded of the fact that in the early 1920s the overwhelming majority (94%) of China's millions lived in villages and hamlets, with direct contact with the soil, and were thus classed as farmers.⁶⁵ They consisted of the mainstay of the country's economy. The Church had already begun to deal with much more practical and more sophisticated agricultural problems, especially technical problems. Obviously, the introduction of scientific farming methods to raise the productivity of the land became very important, as China had to become self-sufficient in food-stuffs. The direct aim of this humanitarian project was to provide the essential means of preserving the life of people and to teach safeguards against disease and calamity in rural areas. This was the most effective policy of social cure for famine suggested and carried out by the Protestant missions in the 1920s. With the establishment of leading organizations, the work for rural improvement had definitely been confirmed as a formal field of mission work in the 1920s. Thus, these problems in the narrower sense contained the improvement of seeds and recommendation of new agricultural techniques, and handling of construction and enlargement of the work of agricultural college or departments which were the earliest and most important research bases of agricultural modernization in China. Agricultural education, which included training and agricultural extension work of Christian universities, was also originated by missionaries.

An important development in this policy was the setting up of a Committee on Rural Problems and the Country Church by the NCC in 1923.⁶⁶

⁶⁴The China Year Book, 1929-30, p.609.

⁶⁵See Varg, Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats, p.226; Chung-hua kui-chu, p.385.

⁶⁶CBMS. E/T China, Box 348, the NCC Annual Report 1922-23.

The CRPCC began to engage in studying various aspects of the rural problems, mainly cooperating with the CIFRC. The CRPCC was the general director of this mission movement. The 1920s' rural improvement included university agricultural education and research work, the agricultural undertakings of mission secondary and elementary schools as well as churches, and the further agricultural engagement of the CIFRC.

1. Christian Universities

The majority of Christian colleges and universities, before 1920, either consciously or unconsciously trained their students towards the positions in the urban centres where only 6% of China's population dwelt, but relatively little stress was given to the rural areas. However, ignorance of modern methods greatly prevented agricultural development in China. Yet it was felt that if the principles of agriculture and engineering were taught by universities, they would make the most practical contributions to decreasing famine.⁶⁷ Clearly, education was an important means towards a permanent solution to China's agricultural problems. As the result, in the 1920s, Christian colleges and universities made conscious efforts for rural improvement.

Hence, the creation and supervision of a strong rural system became one of the major programmes of Christian higher education. University efforts at Nanking, Lingnan, Cheeloo and Yenching were directed towards either agricultural experiment stations or rural projects in general. Thus some of the earliest work in agricultural science was done through the University of Nanking's College of Agriculture and Forestry in East China and Lingnan in South China. They were the forerunners of modern Chinese agricultural and forestry education. The American missionaries were leading men in these projects. The college at Nanking was established in 1913 and started its scientific education in 1914. A programme of extension and famine prevention projects was carried out with the aid of special funds provided for this purpose. It thus had \$1,000,000 funds in agriculture and forestry, which mainly came from American missions.⁶⁸ The college educated both undergraduates and post-graduates. Many Chinese agricultural talents, scientists and educational experts came out of this college. From the 1910s the Agricultural Department of Lingnan in South China had already begun to engage in the experiments of improving varieties. In 1921 this department was enlarged into the Agricultural College. With the help of the provincial government, it was allowed hill areas nearby as its farm, and was also

⁶⁷WMMS. Correspondence, South China, Chairman, Box 940, J.M. Henry to E. Dewstoe 19 June 1925.

⁶⁸"Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao kao-teng chiao-yu chih kai-k'uang" (The Survey of Christian Higher Education in China), Chi-tu chiao-yu chi-k'an, Vol.3, No.4 (Dec.1927).

given 20,000 mow in the county of Chaoan as another field farm.⁶⁹ Both colleges' major aims were to help farmers to eliminate the diseases of silkworms; to improve varieties of cotton, rice, wheat, corn and silkworms; to distribute modern scientific fertilizers, to test seeds, pest eliminators, and fruit trees all over China; to do the research work on how to control plant diseases and insect pest and livestock epidemic diseases. Through their extension departments these research results were taken to the farmers. The teachers and students conducted extensive experimental work and put forward many significant suggestions.

A report in 1922 on cotton improvement, to give but a single example, pointed out that the yields of Western cotton at some distance from the coast had been very encouraging, exceeding Chinese cotton yields more than 50%.⁷⁰ According to J. Arnold's Commercial Handbook of China, China could grow American cotton of good quality and long staple for modern machinery.⁷¹ Meanwhile, Nanking college selected purely native cotton which in length of lint and in general quality was equal to the best American cotton. This meant that China had the possibility of producing for herself many of the new-style raw materials necessary to the establishment of national industries. The college began to coordinate with Central Agricultural Extension Committee opening Wu Kiang Agricultural Experiment Station in 1930. During the first 4 years of the 1930s, this station distributed 162,622 catties of cotton seeds, 149,988 catties of wheat, 21,092 catties of Indian corn, and 194,107 pieces of silkworm eggs.⁷² In addition, it had experimentally demonstrated both the varieties of soybean from Manchuria and those from the southern section of China around the turn of the 1920s and 1930s. As a result of these studies, China was scientifically divided into 3 soybean regions - the Northern spring soybean, the Yangtze Valley summer soybean and the Pearl River Valley soybean regions. Because of the recommendation of selected seeds of soybean in these areas, China's production of soybeans constituted more than 80% of the total world production between the late 1920s and late 1940s (after which the USA matched that of China proper).⁷³

The Kwangtung government also entrusted Lingnan with responsibility for the work of running a Bureau for Reforming Sericulture and dispatched

⁶⁹Liu Yue-sheng ed., Hongkong chi-tu-chiao-hui shih (The History of Hongkong Christian Missions) (Hongkong, 1941), p.182.

⁷⁰The National Christian Conference Held 2-11 May 1922, p.326.

⁷¹See Harold M. Vinacke, Problems of Industrial Development in China: A Preliminary Study (Princeton, 1926), pp.14-15.

⁷²Y. S. Djang and S.L. Hsu ed., National Convocation of Rural Rehabilitation, Vol.1 (in Chinese) (Shanghai, 1934), p.113.

⁷³T.H. Shen, Agricultural Resources of China (Ithaca, 1951), pp.249, 247.

teachers to go deep into countryside and reform the silkworm seeds.⁷⁴ In addition, it saw the proved success of seed selection and promoted simple improvements in native implements. The college's agricultural literature included, The Lingnan Agricultural Review, College of Agriculture Catalogue, Annual Reports, College at Agriculture, and Agricultural Monthly in Chinese. These provide detailed understanding of its organisation and academic work, especially regarding to their agricultural scientific work development.⁷⁵ In the early 1920s, this college was given affiliated status under a Chinese Board of Managers and was financed entirely from Chinese sources.⁷⁶

In the meantime, to render practical help for rural areas, Nanking and Lingnan were able to provide various broader short courses in their summer or occupational schools. They devised and taught all kinds of useful courses of agricultural experimental practice; students in this course worked both in class and on the farm.⁷⁷ A women's silkworm industry inquiry class, for instance, was held at Nanking twice while another one year course of cotton planting training was held at the request of the National Economic Council Cotton Control Committee.⁷⁸

Through recommending relevant advanced agricultural techniques both universities were pioneers, substantially helping China to gain economic independence in a larger scope and to increase the economic status of the farm community. Their work was started in the 1910s and earlier than other mission universities, and comparatively, their agricultural education and research had entered into more mature period in the 1920s. Nanking's extension work was enlarged to 9 provinces covering more than 100 counties. Furthermore, Nanking and Lingnan centres mainly highlighted specific agricultural professional training, the reforms of direct agricultural techniques, and the selection and recommendation of fine seeds to the whole of China. They played a special role of conducting a nation-wide campaign of publicity on problems of rural life and had been the true models as the training and research centres of agricultural science and technology in China.

In West China, the agricultural work in the WCUU was hardly known, in the very late 1920s it began to carry out its fascinating plans through organizing the Szechuan Dairy Improvement Association. This organization provided not only milk and butter for the community at the WCUU and in

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵IMS. South China, Incoming Letters, Box 23, see G.W. Groff's letter on 8 May 1923.

⁷⁶IMS. South China, Incoming Letters, Box 24, see Report on the Christian College Situation, 12 Aug.1925, from A. Baxter.

⁷⁷"Kuang-tung lingnan hsueh-hsiao chih she-hui fu-wu" (The Social Service of the Lingnan in Canton), Chung-hua chi-tu-chiao nien-chien 1916 (The China Mission Year Book 1916), No.3, see pp.70-71.

⁷⁸See Djang's and Hsu's paper, p.106.

Chengtū, but was also able to send cows and calves to other cities - even to a mountain area in Kweichow. It was able to supply better cows to the dairymen who started in business locally. The WCUU also engaged in improving fruit trees by grafting. As a result, tens of thousands of grafts had been placed throughout the province. Foreign vegetables were introduced and some of them could be bought on the streets of Chengtū.⁷⁹ All of this was just a fine beginning.

However, in North China, in the late 1920s Cheeloo and Yenching just made their beginnings in agriculture. The feature of Cheeloo's agricultural educational programmes was that training and preparing all kinds of talents and leaders for rural areas became its definite direction in the late 1920s.⁸⁰ Almost all its departments were reorganized and their teaching programmes were readjusted in order to provide special rural subjects, and to ruralise other related subjects for those who wished to prepare themselves to go into the rural field.⁸¹ In about 1928 its Rural Institute and Workshop were started,⁸² and in 1932 a rural service department.⁸³ Thus its agricultural work became more systematic and more profound than before and constituted a comprehensive programme.

Yenching emphasized rural research projects from a social scientific angle. It focused on socio-economic conditions and problems of modern China. By 1929 the local grain markets at Ching Ho and Peking had been studied by the Department of Economics and Sociology, so it began comparing the findings in Ching Ho and Peking with the condition in the Tientsin market. It engaged in securing old account books and making statistical examinations of their data hoping that a basis might be found for the improvement of the marketing system on a cooperative basis. Its humanity departments were quite burdened by the number of research projects relevant to rural service. In the summer 1930, 60 Yenching students determined to spend 6 weeks at their own expense in the villages around Peking in order to acquire first hand knowledge of the living conditions for the farmers.⁸⁴ With the establishment of a Rural Reconstruction Department in 1934, its rural work entered the new phase of comprehensive development, not only in sociology but the departments of economics, political science, education, home economics, chemistry, and biology as integral parts were all involved

⁷⁹FFMA. See the WCUU's annual reports around the late 1920s and early 1930s.

⁸⁰CBMS. See The NCC Annual Report 1928-29.

⁸¹LMS. North China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 28-1930, see P.L. McAll to F.H. Hawkins, 22 March 1930.

⁸²BMS. See Cheeloo's annual report for 1928.

⁸³W.Y. Kiang and S.M. Liang, ed., National Convocation of Rural Rehabilitation, Vol.2 (in Chinese) (Shanghai, 1937), pp.306-307.

⁸⁴The China Christian Year Book, 1931, p.40.

in its rural development project.⁸⁵

More specially, both Yenching and Cheeloo set up the experimental centres as the models of comprehensive rural social work. As early as in 1922 an Agricultural and Animal Husbandry Experiment Station was set up by Yenching.⁸⁶ Cheeloo's Lung Shan and Yenching's Ching Ho Rural Community Experiment Stations were quite evidently something new and founded respectively in 1927 and 1929. They were both agricultural technical experimental stations and training centres for rural social work.⁸⁷ Their work was divided into health, home economics, general education, agricultural economics and social services, but the education was the centre of their whole scheme.⁸⁸

As far as the whole of mission universities' agricultural work was concerned, their agricultural activities played an important role in training the leaders of the first generation for rural rehabilitation. They showed many types of means which were necessary to an intelligent approach to rural problems. The improvement of agricultural products would result in greater wealth.⁸⁹ Their research work had touched on a great deal of modern methods of sowing and cultivation. They taught Chinese farmers to control animal diseases by quarantine measures and to select stock of fine breed. Although in individual cases missionaries introduced foreign stock to certain areas, a more usual way adopted by them was selection within native types.⁹⁰ Control of plant disease was practised by farmers in China on only very limited scale before 1920. However, Christian agricultural colleges did systematic studies on the application of insecticide and control of plant diseases in the 1920s. Their studies were made of many of diseases to be reported. A good system of land tenure was also taught by Christian universities.⁹¹ Christian universities drew their attention to the improvement of village industries and implements around 1929-1931.⁹² They help China not only find out what industries were suitable to be

⁸⁵In these, and other ways, agricultural extension work in both universities was enlarged in the 1930s rather than decreased.

⁸⁶See its annual reports.

⁸⁷See G.B. Barbour, Peking University Report, 1 Jan.1930, from LMS.

⁸⁸LMS. See Yenching's annual report for 1928; See Dora M.L. Bent (Secretary to the college of Applied Social Sciences) to Friends from Yenching on 15 July 1930, from LMS, North China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 28-1930; W.Y. Kiang & S.M. Liang, p.19.

⁸⁹An encouraging recognition of the need for improvement can be seen in a survey of the silk industry of southern China by the Department of Sericulture of Canton Christian College (Lingnan Agricultural College), the results of which were published as Agricultural Bulletin, No.12 (Canton, 1925).

⁹⁰See Condliffe, p.60.

⁹¹Yu Tseh-t'ang, "System of Land Tenure in China (Concluded)," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Vol.13, No.1 (Jan.1929), pp.36, 37.

⁹²CBMS. See the report of the Committee on Christianizing Economic Relations in the Biennial Meeting of the NCC 1929-31; O.A. Petty, Vol.V, pp.225, 226.

carried on in the country districts, but also enquire into the ways in which such industries could be developed and become part-time work for farmers in the winter seasons.

By investigating the causes of famine, the missionary experts concluded that the best methods of relief were the improvement of agricultural economy and education, which was the only hope for survival. About 1929 the function of these universities in rural work was further outlined by the CHE in its correlated programme. It confirmed the further commitment of Christian universities towards rural reform. The mission universities launched and increased agricultural work and was one of the most prominent educational projects in the 1920s. Their agricultural education did not duplicate the government work. The government's agricultural education was still very weak. Thus, mission institutions served China just as supplements to this lack of the governmental educational work. The scientific agricultural movement became an important integral part of the mission education.

2. Mission Middle, Primary Schools and Churches

Comparing with the mission rural services at a higher level rendered by Christian universities, the work done by mission secondary, primary schools and churches were both very practical and miscellaneous but at a relatively lower standard. In addition to Christian universities, mission schools in rural areas were thought (by a number of advanced Chinese) the only possible centres for reform in the countryside.⁹³ Many British mission-run middle and primary schools provided short courses on the practical aspects of agriculture. Students were required to study in classes and work on the farming. Their special agricultural courses included improvement of crops, animals, farm problems and forestry. Social training was also provided in theological seminaries with a view to producing a better understanding on the part of the ministry and the place of mission social welfare activities in rural regions.⁹⁴ Their work lay mainly in popularizing modern agricultural knowledge rather than increasing agricultural scientific and technical level.

Some British missions connected their ordinary educational work directly with all-round rural education. These schools gave students practical chances in social activities in rural areas. Many of them also developed extensive courses to supplement the training efforts of the churches in the countryside. The EMS, for example, in the late 1920s decided that all work of the schools at Tsingchow, Chowtsun and Peichen in

⁹³Hsiung An-ming, Chung-hua ming-kuo chiao-yu shih (The Educational History of the Republic of China), p.181.

⁹⁴The National Christian Conference Held in Shanghai, 2-11 May 1922, p.342.

Shantung should come under the rural scheme.⁹⁵ There was a call for the mission middle school graduates' services as assistants to agricultural experts during the 1920s, particularly with the intention of teaching. One of the largest contributions of the Christian agricultural secondary institutions was through their function either as a specialized type of teachers' training and theological schools, or as an auxiliary to these two training institutions, to prepare rural teachers and social workers. In 1923 the Central China Teachers' College opened its Agricultural Department so as to meet the obvious need for teachers trained in elementary agriculture who would make their schools centres of progress in agricultural methods. The college especially stressed agriculture, and scientific and social studies related to the rural life. Each student raised, by his own manual labour, 4 different crops which were all being grown from special Nanking seeds.⁹⁶ In a similar way many other mission schools studied and improved agricultural products, hoping to raise the appallingly low economic level of the country districts of China.

The Rural Committee of the NCC and the Council of the CCEA, with representation from all types and grades of work acted as permanent organizations to guarantee full cooperation in agricultural work. They also served as clearing houses for discussing common problems and thus securing a system of agricultural education under Christian auspices. Both organisations served to correlate research work in the economic and social fields. To educate Christian opinion in the churches, social needs and activities were often discussed in pastors' conferences. Rural work had constantly been emphasized in the churches,⁹⁷ more ambitious work was touched on, such as a North China rural councillor; rural health advisors, specialists for rural economics, illiterates' teachers, cooperative movement in rural regions, and developing rural studies. Churches made substantial efforts to train agricultural specialists, recommending new agricultural techniques and new seeds to farmers.⁹⁸ In surveys, the Protestant missions made larger contributions to rural China through their training of leaders and their agricultural extension services in the 1920s than previously. More and more, the emphasis of the work of the Church was shifting to the field of rural improvement.

In many countryside regions effective agricultural education and demonstration work had been done by the Church. It wanted in these ways to lay the foundation for an essentially Christian rural civilization in

⁹⁵BMS. English Baptist Mission Minutes of Foreign Conference held In Taiyuanfu, 24-25 March 1930.

⁹⁶WMS. Central China Teachers College, Wuchang, Bulletin No.19, Nov.1925.

⁹⁷The National Christian Conference Held in Shanghai, 2-1 May 1922, pp.342-343.

⁹⁸Ibid., pp.326-327.

China.⁹⁹ They directly recommended advanced agricultural techniques to farmers. Actually, many local churches played a role as the information centres of scientific agriculture, giving advice and answering farmers' questions of agricultural techniques became its important activity.¹⁰⁰ The BMS missionaries in Shansi also assisted the provincial officials in importing merino sheep from Australia, to interbreed with local stock, and in the purchase of large quantities of cotton seed from USA, also in procuring plans for the erection of a modern cotton-spinning mill. At Tsingchowfu, Alfred Jones initiated schemes for the improvement of the silk worm and spinning industries, in the homes of its Christians. Mrs. Couling recommended lace-making in the Girls' Boarding School.¹⁰¹ The lectures at the summer schools of Liaochang, Tungchow and Tsangchow were about the subjects of general agriculture and rural education as well as rural sociology.¹⁰² The NCC also linked up its literary work with practical economic questions.¹⁰³ In many its publications missionary experts provided a large number of important suggestions on solving all sorts of rural and home industrial problems (See the details in Appendix III).¹⁰⁴ Their methods of improving rural economy locally were extremely various. The work of these missions had penetrated into the bottom of Chinese society and had adopted to solve the most basic rural problems. Their activities had gone far beyond the purely religious field, as non-professional missionaries were taking on new mental outlook to become qualified experts on rural economic issues as well. The introduction of better methods of agriculture and rural life and its commitment to the responsibility for the promise of education and for the improvement of village life had constituted one of the most marvellous chapters in the social work of the Church. In general, the agricultural education and reforms were given an important place in the system of Christian education and social services. The major achievement of Christian missions lay in pointing out the development direction and scientific methods of civilized rural life.

3. The CIFRC

The CIFRC, besides famine relief, undertook a great deal of advanced work for rural improvement. Here missionaries still played a vital leading

⁹⁹The Chinese Recorder, Vol.63, p.518; and Vol.65, p.62.

¹⁰⁰See LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1923, Minute of the Educational Committee of the LMS North China D. C., 18, 23-24 July 1923, p.10; Box 24-1924, Report of the Finance Committee 1924; Box 24-1925; Ts'ui Yu-chun, Report on Agricultural Work, 1927, from LMS, North China, Reports; Box 28-1930, Minutes of North China Executive, 1 March 1930.

¹⁰¹H.R. Williamson, pp.264-265.

¹⁰²Annual Report of the Agricultural and Rural Work at Tsangchow 1929, from LMS, North China, Reports, Box 10-1929.

¹⁰³See Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tz'u-tien.

¹⁰⁴CBMS. Box 348, The NCC A Five Years' Review 1922-27, pp.39-44.

role. There was both repetition and a great amount of coordination between the work of the CIFRC and mission enterprises. Here I would rather highlight its own distinct characteristics and major accomplishments. Definitely, it engaged in rural improvement in a very vast and broad socio-economic scope at a very high technical level while it did agricultural research work.

Its first task was social surveys of rural economy. The CIFRC started with a study of the Chinese rural economy conducted in June 1922. This research team included missionaries and 61 students from 9 colleges. It was the "first comprehensive" study of the Chinese rural economy.¹⁰⁵ They engaged in socio-economic investigations of 240 villages in 5 provinces. Their interviewees included gentry, magistrates, farmers in selected areas. The sphere of their investigation was very broad, covered population (density, distribution by age and sex, rates of birth and death, and migration connected with famines), family size and composition, housing, land-holding (size, ownership, and cultivation), local industry, family income, and comparison of income with the poverty line. The results of investigation were published in 1924.¹⁰⁶ This was the first attempt to use social scientific means to survey rural problems in modern China. Through the investigation the experts gained first hand knowledge of rural problems and provided an accurate scientific basis for them to design scheme to solve rural problems.

Other methods were to recommend advanced methods of field concentration, land tenures, tree planting and land reclamation, namely, generally improving on natural environment. Its experts concerned themselves with soil survey. They did special studies on farm management and labour costs throughout the year. In the 1920s the above measures had been adopted as effective engineering works.

Next, the patterns of land tenure and cultivation in China were closely connected with the structure of credit, marketing, and taxation. In particular, the rural cooperation schemes, originated in England and widely practised in Denmark,¹⁰⁷ were put forward as the best means to develop China's economy. The CIFRC was also the first advocate of a rural credit scheme to assist China's farmers.

The CIFRC was the earliest organization which saw the great need for a rural credit. For financial problems had been the biggest obstacle to achieving efficient production and economical marketing. Chinese peasants' capital was always very tiny, and their income too small to enable them to

¹⁰⁵Walter H. Mallory, "Rural Cooperative Credit in China, A Record of Seven Years of Experimentation," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol.45, No.3 (May 1931), p.486.

¹⁰⁶Carroll B. Malone & J.B. Tayler, "The Study of the Chinese Rural Economy," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Vol.7, No.4 (Oct. 1923); Vol.8, No.2 (April 1924); also published as CIFRC B-10 in May 1924.

¹⁰⁷J.B.Tayler, "Denmark and Rural China," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Vol.12, No.1 (Jan.1928), pp.116-129.

save. In particular, a considerable number of Chinese small peasants during the interval between sowing and harvesting were hardly able to survive without borrowing. This new credit system was designed to stop the exploitation by rural money-lenders - landowners, merchants, dealers and pawnshops. Of course, most farmers would prefer to borrow from the credit societies because interest was much lower than that from those moneylenders.

In the shape of modern mutual benefit and loan societies the CIFRC and the College of Agriculture and Forestry at Nanking were both pioneers. In 1922 the CIFRC initiated its Committee on Credit and Economic Improvement, which engaged in drafting model rules for cooperative credit societies, based largely on Indian experience. In 1923 it began to take steps to organize a few pioneering societies in localities in which conditions seemed to be most favourable. The CIFRC in the first instance acted as the central bank and had set aside a few thousand dollars with which to make a start. Some societies had been in actual operation.¹⁰⁸ The first society - the Feng Ren Cooperative Credit Society (which consisted chiefly of vegetable growers) - was founded in 1923 by the University of Nanking, with the aid of a grant from the CIFRC. In the same year a Committee on Rural Cooperation was established. In 1924 the CIFRC granted the committee \$20,000 for loans and \$2,000 for operating expenses. Since this time agricultural credit societies had been organized through the initiation of the CIFRC, mission universities, and a few provinces.¹⁰⁹ A Rural Improvement Department was formed in 1925 to guide the growing programme of cooperative movement and the rural cooperative credit societies. This decision indicated that the CIFRC had already chosen credit societies as a major means of preventing famine and helping farmers to tide over the difficulty period as well as improve on rural economy. By 1925 more than 100 societies had been formed in Chihli. Of these, 44 had been reorganized with 1,481 members, 40 of them received their charters. In order to accurately recommend the modern credit system the CIFRC even offered systematic training courses from the end of 1925 and each training session lasted a week.¹¹⁰ Still in the same province the progress was obvious, the first 8 credit societies with only 256 members in 1923 at the very beginning had been increased to 952 societies with 23,753 members within 10 years. In 1931 its total membership was 100,000.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸See The Chinese Social and Political Science Review (1923).

¹⁰⁹See CIFRC. Series B. No.37 (Herr Raiffeisen among Chinese Farmers, 1930) (Peking); Hsu, Paul C. Rural Cooperation in China (Honolulu, 1929); Chen, C.C., "Agricultural Cooperative Movement in China," China Critic, 4 & 11 July 1929.

¹¹⁰CIFRC. Series B, pp.20-21.

¹¹¹For details, see Nathan, p.33; and Mi Kung-kan, pp.102-103; Chinese Economic Bulletin, Vol.12, No.22 (2 June 1928) (Peking); Hsu, Paul C. Rural Cooperation in China & his "Rural Credit in China," Farm Economics (Aug. 1930); Chen, Chunjen C.C. "Agricultural Cooperative Movement in China," China Critic, 4 & 11 July 1929; China International Famine Relief

Under its guidance, several British missions greatly shared in the activities of the NCCRSU, which organized a number of Farmers' Banks, through which the farmer could contract loans at a reasonable rate of interest averaging about a third of the minimum rate charged by the money-lender.¹¹² Furthermore, an important suggestion was put forward by Talyer in 1931,¹¹³ namely, he urged that the small productive units were the traditional form of industrial organization in China, but it could secure for them the advantages of large-scale methods in finance and commerce, by taking steps to promote the formation of cooperative societies for credit, marketing and the purchase of raw materials. This suggestion marked the further development of cooperative movement. It showed that this cooperation could be extended for agriculture to the crafts carried on in connection with the system of credit so that wasting manpower in the period of enforced idleness could possibly be prevented.

Thus, missionaries' efforts to introduce the cooperative system met urgent need in rural areas, and it was employed not only as a temporary means of famine relief but a permanent measure to help poorer peasants. Considerable attention was paid to the rural cooperative movement in the 1920s under the direct promotion of missionaries. Rural cooperative societies had been formed in many localities. Most of the credit societies had done good work, and they were being extended all over the country so as to place cheap credit at the disposal of the farmers. The majority of cooperative members only deposited about 5-10 yuen, which represented a very small fraction of their household income. Peasants were reluctant to deposit most their savings with the cooperatives despite that fact that they received interest of 5% on their deposits. However, it was still significant that within a decade fairly firm foundations had been established. The CIFRC's successful experience was recommended nation-wide. Accurately speaking, this rural cooperation in the 1920s never involved more than a tiny fraction of Chinese farmers and the work was still in the experimental period. However, it was an effective and feasible for assisting poor farmers and starting point. According to one survey, 39% of farmers were in debt in the years of 1929-1933. It was estimated that 56% of farmers in 1933 had borrowed cash and 48% had borrowed grain for food.¹¹⁴ The serious situation of overwhelmingly the rural debt showed the urgent

Commission Annual Report, 1929, and Herr Raiffeisen among Chinese Farmers, 1930 (Peking); Walter H. Mallory, "Rural Cooperative Credit in China," Quarterly Journal of Economic (May 1931); D.K. Lieu, China's Industries and Finance, Chap.2; and Nankai Weekly Statistical Service (19 Oct. 1931).

¹¹²See H.R. Williamson, p.263.

¹¹³See J.B. Talyer, A Policy for Small-scale Industry (Shanghai, 1931).

¹¹⁴John Lossing Buck, Land Utilization in China: A Study of 16,786 Farms in 1689 Localities, and 38,256 Farm Families in Twenty-Two Provinces of China, 1929-1933, 3 vols. (Nanking, 1937), p.462; Nung-ch'ing pao-kao, Vol.2, No.4 (April 1934), p.342; Chi-lien Hsu, "The Rural Credit in China," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Vol.12, No.2 (April 1928), pp.273-286.

need of further recommending the credit system in a larger scope. The credit cooperative system had become more and more mature by the early 1930s and the work of the CIFRC with Christian enterprises had done the most basic work for China to popularize this system in rural areas. In 1926 Walter H. Mallory predicted that the rural cooperative credit movement "will in a few years revolutionize the present credit practices of China."¹¹⁵

In addition to cooperative credit, the missions also played an important role in cooperative selling of agricultural products - especially wheat and cotton, a process whereby the middlemen were cut out and greater income was retained by the peasant. Here important studies by Tayler,¹¹⁶ also reported by Tawney¹¹⁷ aided the diffusion of the best practices, while this cooperation also drew on Christian university support, as at the Wukiang cooperative society of Nanking University.¹¹⁸ These Westerners helped enlarge and improve rural markets and increased farmers' bargaining ability.

In short, its activities for the better utilization of agricultural resources were varied. At first, the improvement of agricultural production became a major target of its essential research work. Second, in the rural projects it also put emphasis on improvement of marketing and associated problems, covering introduction of modern marketing methods, recommendation of better transportation. Third, agricultural extension services were also available, such as an adult-education programme,¹¹⁹ a new rural financial system - credit societies, establishment of experimental centres to demonstrate modern agricultural techniques and knowledge, improvement of rural people's health. The work of mission rural improvement in the 1920s thus emphasized that all phases of improvement mentioned above had to be carried out coordinately and simultaneously rather than the improvement in one line alone. This agricultural development strategy provided the most valuable experience for China's later rural regeneration.

4. Summary

Mission rural improvement movement directly affected official Chinese attitudes. The trends in Chinese national ideals in the late 1920s were very clear, and rural problems were increasingly paid great attention. Every effort made by the Christian agricultural agencies had already

¹¹⁵Walter H. Mallory, China: Land of Famine (New York, 1926), p.129.

¹¹⁶R.H. Tawney, A Memorandum on Agriculture and Industry in China (Honolulu, 1929), p.44.

¹¹⁷R.H.Tawney, Land and Labour in China (London, 1932), p.57.

¹¹⁸Hsu, Paul C., "Rural Cooperation in China," Pacific Affairs (Oct.1928).

¹¹⁹A rural Workers' Training School (nung-shih Chiang-hsi suo) as accordingly founded in 1922 so as to trained special rural-needed talents and popularize the agricultural scientific knowledge; in 1930 drought-resistant seeds were encouraged; a circulating library was opened with 5 branches.

secured more and more adequate and active cooperation of the government, ready to make missionary agricultural activities the models for its own reforms. First, the KMT government formulated plans for the reconstruction of the countryside. The basis of their political thought was along Dr. Sun Yat Sen's "Three Principles of the People" and his "Five Power Constitution." In order to help in the solution of the livelihood problem of rural people, the KMT emphasized the cooperation between Government and people in agricultural development, the fostering of textile industries, the construction of standard houses on a large scale, and the improvement of means of communication.

Second, the general conditions of rural progress and application of remedies available were recognized by the National Congress on Agricultural Economy held in December 1929. A historical turning point appeared, and a Ministry of Agriculture and Mines was formed in 1930 and a comprehensive programme was laid out.¹²⁰ This strategy of all-round treatment of rural problems was carried out on the basis of Chinese-foreign cooperation and taking Western experts as advisers. It was noted that significant progress was being made along the lines of the missions and CIFRC, but on a much larger scale than previously owing to the direct participation of Government.

Third, Government also began to interest itself in the promotion of cooperation among farmers, and gave its endorsement to the movement. The credit societies were adopted as an important policy in the programme of the state agricultural development. For example, by January 1930 there were in Chekiang 143 rural credit societies in 15 counties, and an aggregate membership of 4,524.¹²¹ In 1927, 251 agricultural experimental stations were established.¹²² In the mid-1930s many government and private agencies sprang up, reportedly over 600 organizations for rural welfare work, and 1,000 experiment stations.¹²³

Fourthly, a good start in agricultural education was made in China after 1930 building on to existing missionary models. For instance, the Central University established its College of Agriculture and undertook the rural work. To train students in modern farming Government launched in 1939 a three-year plan for the establishment of 36 agricultural schools, both advanced and elementary, in the northwest, southwest, and west, to add to

¹²⁰Owen L. Dawson, Studies of Relief and Rehabilitation in China (No. 14: Rehabilitation Problems in Agriculture) (New York, 1980), p.6.

¹²¹See "Report of Bureau of Reconstruction of Chekiang Province," Statistics of Rural Credit Cooperative Societies, January 1930 (Nanking).

¹²²Li Wen-chih and Chang Yu-i, comps., Chung-kuo chin-tai nung-yeh shih-tzu-liao (Source materials on China's modern agricultural history), 3 vols. (Peking, 1957), Vol.2, p.182 (hereafter cited as Chang, Agricultural History). The first volume in this collection, edited by Li, covers 1840-1911; the second and third, edited by Chang, cover 1912-1927 & 1927-1937 respectively.

¹²³Y.S. Djang and S.L. Hsu, pp.122-124.

the existing 41 farming institutions.¹²⁴ By the late 1940s agricultural colleges in universities and as independent institutions had been organized in 17 of China's 36 administrative provinces. There were 25 agricultural colleges (both state and missionary) and 9 agricultural schools. Over 6,000 graduates had found opportunities to serve in agricultural and related fields.¹²⁵

Fifthly, agricultural research in China was organized under the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, centring in: Government's Bureau of Commerce and Industry; the National Economic Council; and the National Agricultural Research Bureau, established in 1932.¹²⁶ The Chinese Physio-pathological Society was established in the late 1920s; plant quarantine organized in important seaports in 1932; the Department of Entomology and Plant Pathology founded by the National Agricultural Research Bureau in 1933.¹²⁷ They all encouraged agriculture research and the diffusion of agronomic knowledge. It was also in the late 1920s that China entered a phase political stability and reconstruction. Young students, after having participated in the previous revolution, began to calm down and think about more fundamental issues. Protestant missions' agricultural services directly inspired young students to make practical observations of community life and instructing them how to carry on field studies. In the late 1940s there were some splendid research accomplishments produced by young Chinese scholars.¹²⁸ However, mission agricultural research work still undertook the major tasks and influenced the development direction of agricultural research work.

Mission agricultural activities reflected that they not only wished to interpret for China the scientific knowledge of the West in mission institutions, but also to recommend practical applications of that knowledge to meet and overcome the difficulties of economic organization. Their agricultural work demonstrated to the Chinese people that "the Chinese farmer has a great deal to learn from modern agricultural science."¹²⁹ Government admitted and accepted this reality, the great stride made since the 17th century by Western agriculture depended on chemistry, biology and mechanical invention. China's agriculture should not stop in its primitive systems. Missionaries' rural work thus left to China an

¹²⁴Hubbert Freyn, Chinese Education in the War (Shanghai, 1940), p.105.

¹²⁵Ibid., p.353.

¹²⁶Shen, T.H., p.352; Ramon H. Myers, "Agrarian Policy and Agricultural Transportation: Mainland China and Taiwan, 1895-1954," Hsiang-kang Chung-wen ta-hsueh Chung-kuo wen-hua yen-chiu-so hsueh-pao (Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hongkong), Vol.3, No.2 (1970), pp.532-535.

¹²⁷Shen, T.H., p.62.

¹²⁸See Hsiao-T'ung Fei and Chih-i Chang, Earthbound China: A Study of Rural Economy in Yunnan (London, 1948), pp.IX, X, XI; Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, p.197.

¹²⁹Condliffe, p.52.

important cultural legacy. Protestant missions and the CIFRC as well as other Chinese private organizations, related to the Church, constituted the major force for agricultural improvement. The fundamental measures for agricultural reform in China nearly completely relied on these foreigners' endeavours which received little support from the Chinese government until 1928. The missionary rural movement had thus served in a pioneering way to arouse the interest and attention of the whole nation in agricultural improvement.

VI. Influence of Missionary Social Reform

During the 1920s the missionaries made great endeavours to link religion and social reform. Their social services provided an integral part of the most spectacular foreign philanthropy in modern China. The missionaries followed a humanitarian approach to various social reforms. It was very clear that they had employed Christian principles and yardsticks as the analysing methods of Chinese social problems. The 1920s' missionary newcomers were not only greatly concerned with all sorts of social issues but also directly helped modern China develop social welfare work as a secular profession. It showed that the Church had a strong sense of duty to engage in dealing with the immediate and long-term evils in China which called for missionary practical actions. Obviously, the absolute (evangelistic) goal of the Church did not exclude the use of other means and techniques - such as alleviating social inequality and injustice, setting up the system of moral and material welfare of the Chinese people, - in a word, of everything that was necessary for Chinese well-being. As Fairbank summarized, "Protestant missions in China showed a decidedly secular trend, toward dealing with the problems of the social scene rather than the spirit only. This trend was in response to the human needs of the Chinese situation."¹³⁰ In the 1920s the gradual unfolding of mission social reform plans for meeting the multiple social needs was more clearly comprehended. The scope of their social services was no longer confined within a limited number of welfare institutions in large cities as in the last century, but penetrated not only into the spiritual life but also the material life of the Chinese people, not merely in large coastal cities but also remote rural areas, not only in industries but also agriculture; and they not only launched social campaigns inside churches but also combined with governmental programmes of national reconstruction. Mission social work represented a movement which had exerted an important and vital influence on the development both of professional and lay activities in social services. Their miscellaneous social activities introduced many modern methods of tackling China's social problems in a comprehensive way.

Missionary social services therefore left invaluable legacies to China. Due to their help, China moved much further in the 1920s than

¹³⁰Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, p.194.

previously. The revolution and innovations in this field did not fail to accompany the great changes in political forms and ideas, economy and religion, and the intellectual unrest. They provided China with valuable help in transforming the whole social structure and creating a new social mood, rather than minor changes within the old frame-work. Many of the old forms of etiquette were passing and were being reformed. They laid the groundwork for China's later achievements in perfecting social welfare and launching further social reform. Their social services gave us a picture of another vital aspect of missionary endeavours in 1920s' China, indicating the intimate relationship between Protestant missions' social reform and the changes in China's social condition. Especially during the initial stages of the Kuomintang government, missionaries seemed to be the best-qualified professional social workers in Chinese society, they showed exceptional leadership ability and an understanding of current social trends. Their social activities largely interpreted the true meanings and contents of social welfare and social reform, and also pointed out the correct direction for the national government, so hastening the process of Chinese social transformation.

Directly through their activities, social reform and welfare was taking its place with the other professions in modern China such as education and medicine. Protestant missionaries not only were the earliest social workers in China, but also, consciously and unconsciously, trained the earliest native social workers for China through their services, who were mainly Chinese Christians and mission school students. This training aimed to let these Chinese gain practical experience in improved techniques through the planning and operation of large-scale and diversified relief activities, and also to secure the advice and assistance of these Western specialists. Mission bodies through universities and other institutions deliberately provided such training facilities as was practicable for the preparation of personnel for welfare work, including opportunities for field work observation, and practice. Thus, by the late 1920s these places had already become welfare work training centres for professional social workers in China. This was a dynamic programme of social work personnel training, which amply showed the long-sighted characteristics of mission social reform and welfare.

The development of public opinion was a natural result of social progress, and in this way British missionaries took an important share through their social reform programmes. Their personal influences directly promoted the radical change of the old structure of Chinese life from the grass-roots. Mission social reform accelerated the process of China's modernization and reform. Through their social activities, there were more and more thoughtful Chinese who looked to find methods for the reform of the state and society, basing their ideas on the Western social welfare system. Thus, missionaries helped China to create an intelligent social consciousness, assisting in a large degree to revolutionize the general

mood of Chinese society as the basis for reform by Government.

Social reform was not only one of the Protestant missions' greatest objectives but also one of the most important marks of demonstrating the Church's new cultural accomplishments in the 1920s. It was very obvious that missionaries who first went among factory workers, rural peasants and other ordinary Chinese people with various reform and welfare schemes. Their devotion and self-sacrifice in the remotest areas had led us even today, when we wish to speak of an ideal social worker to say that he has a missionary spirit. The Chinese people's earliest understanding of the ideas of altruistic voluntary social work were acquired from the devotion of these missionaries. This won respect for the Christian message.

CHAPTER 7: THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims at introducing the history of the missionary contribution to Chinese women's emancipation in the 1920s. There were no great events and no great intellectual movements in this history. However, they did help Chinese women penetrate the male world of action and thought, which in traditional Chinese society had been forbidden to Chinese women for 2,000 years. But until recently, there is little understanding of the women's work of these missionaries in the 1920s' China.¹ This chapter will examine the ways in which they helped to emancipate Chinese women in the light of their aim. It will also look at the solutions that missionaries found for the problems that were created for Chinese women by the Christian moral standards and theological aspiration.

The feminist thinking of missionaries was important. It had a close connection with the development of theological teaching of the Church about feminism and women's emancipation movements in the West. In the first generation of British feminists, both Quakers and Unitarians were prominent, but those with an Anglican background constituted its highest proportion.² The League of the Church Militant, formerly the Church League for Women's Suffrage, in the late 1910s and 1920s was very vigorous and worked for sex equality in the Church of England. It also launched the campaign for the ordination of women, while it joined other feminist groups and extended the suffrage campaign to the right to vote to all women.³ The late 19th century and first two decades of this century were an important period in which Christian dogma was becoming more and more positive about women.⁴ Christianity's doctrine of love was the essence of the Christian faith which was so fundamentally written into the hearts of people in the West. Women became active participants in the Student Volunteer Movement

¹Kwo Pui-lan's Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927 (Atlanta, 1992) is the only work.

²Olive Banks, Becoming a Feminist: The Social Origins of 'First Wave' Feminism (Brighton, 1986), p.15.

³Olive Banks, The Politics of British Feminism. 1918-1970 (Hants, Eng., 1993), pp.13, 14.

⁴K. Armstrong, The Gospel according to Women: Christianity's Creation of the Sex War in the West (New York, 1987), p.ix; A.M. Allchin, The Silent Rebellion: Anglican Religious Communities 1845-1900 (London, 1958), p.251; D. Hampson, Theology and Feminism (Oxford, 1990) pp.1, 2, 4, 6; S. Dowell & L. Hurcombe, Dispossessed Daughters of Eve: Faith and Feminism (London, 1987), pp.6, 7, 9, 12, 18. S. Neill, A History of Christian Missions, p.255. Neill called this a 'revolutionary change'. B. Heeney The Women's Movement in the Church of England 1850-1930 (Oxford, 1988) (See pp.2, 6, 8-9, 19) describes the growth of Church feminism in England and a 20th century rebellion against the tradition of Victorian women's subordination to men. This mixed with the movement for democratic church membership and an effort by women to share Church councils. The late-Victorian years were an important period for British women to endeavour joining the male world on equal terms and the feminist challenge stroke at the heart of Christianity. In the 19th century the churches in Britain launched a modern women's movement. See J. McCabe, The Religion of Woman: An Historical Study (London, 1905), p.95. In Britain Quaker and other nonconformist women were among the first to speak out of women's equality, and their feminism was a direct outgrowth of their liberal faith. See Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930, ed. by G. Malmgreen (London & Sydney, 1986), p.6.

for Foreign Missions at the turn of the century and even predominated in numbers in this movement in the 1910s.⁵ British women were the first to serve in foreign fields, both as missionary wives and as unmarried career missionaries, and the first to establish their own organizations for sponsoring female personnel.⁶ Soon North American female missionaries followed the British examples.⁷ As early as in the 1860s and 1870s, the expansion of women's work in a few British missions offered to young Christian women opportunities for fulfilment without "the bold assault on female conversions demanded of the new 'professional' women."⁸ Prospects overseas seemed more promising. "Many were able to exercise initiative, abilities and energies with fewer of the frustrations and obstacles they might have encountered at home." In order to enlarge and develop the women's work in China, the LMS first worked out the recruitment policy with regard to women candidates and examined the motivation, education, and social and employment background of female applicants to the society.⁹ The feminization of the foreign missions in China formed the most powerful element in the 1910s' and 1920s' social gospel movement while reforming the tradition that was giving Protestant women a greater share in the life and work of the Church in their home countries. These British women undoubtedly strengthened greatly the work among the Chinese women and children. They were one of the most important factors in greatly increasing the size of British missionary operations in China.¹⁰ The British women physically and emotionally created an example of Christian family life that would serve as a model for the "heathen." British missions' influence sought also to imbue the struggle for woman's rights in China with a religious fervour.

The status of Chinese women before the 1920s emphasized their dependence on men. The NCC found that Chinese women were universally seen as inferior beings, men's chattels with no independent rights. They were considered spiritually and intellectually weaker than men; their whole duty in life was to pander to male comfort. The manmade order of superiority and inferiority between man and woman in ancient China still powerfully

⁵Malmgreen, pp.255-6; Heeney, p.5; K. Armstrong, The End of Silence: Women and the Priesthood (London, 1993), p.168.

⁶"The 'great Century' Reconsidered," by Wilbert R. Shenk, Missiology: An International Review, 12 (Apr.1984), p.133; William R. Hutchison, Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions (Chicago, 1987), pp.44, 93.

⁷R.P. Beaver, American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1980), pp.49; R.C. Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and Indian Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto, 1990), p.14.

⁸Jane Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China (New Haven, 1984), p.36.

⁹Rosemary Seton, "'Open Doors for Female Labour': Women Candidates of the London Missionary Society, 1875-1974," in Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues, ed. by Robert A. Bickers & Rosemary Seton (Richmond, Surrey, 1996), pp.50, 51, 69.

¹⁰See C.P. William's Paper in S.Gilley's book, p.401.

manipulated Chinese women's lives.¹¹ The daughter in China "is a dreaded burden, liable to be destroyed, and certain to be despised."¹² The old China gave no opportunities for women in family or society. By 1920 just as these Protestants said, the social status between Eastern and Western women was as far apart as heaven and earth. The situation of Chinese women did not tally with the liberal ideas and theories of natural rights and equality of the sexes as well as Christian teaching of freedom, equality and universal love. Christ came as a brother, not as a father. The Protestant missionaries used the teachings of Christ as moral standards and launched the women's revolution against Oriental patriarchal familism; and they thought that Christianity had a great deal to offer which was lacking in the old Chinese civilization. Besides, women's emancipation in the early 1920s still masked the continued discrimination against women in education and the workplace. Those professions and vocations had been labelled "for men only," Chinese women could still be comfortable about their time and attention on homemaking and childrearing. The attitude prevalent in China then was that the female section of the community were consumers and dependents on the productivity of the men. Chinese society was semi-paralysed - the male half robust and the female half inoperative, a condition which was seriously handicapping China as a whole.¹³ Women's liberation still met with huge social barriers, to a large extent on account of the exclusion of women from education. The old moral adage that "Only stupid women are virtuous" was insulting and had to be abandoned. In this field the Protestant missionaries launched a new challenge.

From this ideological starting-point, the missions sought in important ways to reform the position of women in society. The mission programme for girls and women concerned two areas: First, doing away with the "evil" customs; and second, giving them both religious and secular education. Mission women's work also gave impetus to the establishment of women's organizations and to government and other programmes designed to reduce social discrimination against women. British missions directly borrowed the experience of "first-wave" feminism at home in the 19th century, which mainly advocated domestic liberation, pioneered the opening of higher education to women and the medical profession, and launched the suffrage campaign.¹⁴ The results and influences of their work in China were very significant, and well reveal that many Chinese women, even if they hold no

¹¹The cosmological foundations for the women's subordinate position originated from the first millennium BC, see Cheng Yu-kaio, tran., Manual of Chinese Quotations (Hongkong, 1903), p.173.

¹²Smith, Arthur H., Chinese Characteristics (New York, 1894); and his Village Life in China (New York, 1899).

¹³Hu Shih, "Nu-tzu wen-t'i ti k'ai-tuan" (The source of the woman problem), Fu-nu tsa-chih, Vol.8 (Oct.1922), p.10; and his "Nu-tzu wen t'i" (The woman problem), *ibid.*, Vol.7 (May 1922), p.5.

¹⁴O. Bank, Becoming a Feminist, pp.4, 5, 7.

Christian beliefs or knowledge of the Christian faith, now still behave in the ways that the missionaries had taught them since the last century. Chinese women still translate, subconsciously, Christian ideas about women into secular idiom.

I. REFORMING SOCIAL CUSTOMS

One of the major methods of mission women's work was to combine running social welfare institutions for Chinese women with fighting against traditional social customs. They paid particular attention to the problems of prostitution, infanticide, footbinding, traditional family life restraints, matrimonial conditions, early betrothals, child marriages, polygamy, concubinage, girl slavery and domestic maids. In 1922 the Committee of Social and Welfare Problems of the NCC (CSMW) was founded. It mainly studied girl social problems, collected and classified information on Chinese women's conditions and seeking such information as would lead to definite measures of social reform.¹⁵

Of the specific social problems faced by women, missionary attention was first directed to prostitution. Here their policies concentrated on reform of individual prostitutes by the provision of refuges for them. The first was the Door of Hope and Children's Refuge, founded in Shanghai in 1900 by five female missionaries, who thought these miserable and unhappy Chinese prostitutes lived near the bottom of hierarchies of class and gender.¹⁶ Some missionary doctors devoted much time and energy to the charitable undertakings.¹⁷ The refuge in its first decade alone rescued and looked after a thousand or so women and girls. It enabled a large proportion of the prostitutes to begin a wholesome life.¹⁸ Even after the establishment of the Republic many girl prostitutes were still rescued by this refuge. It was enlarged into four parts in the 1920s, namely, for admission, education, industrial and moral training.¹⁹ It was reported by British missions that the campaign against prostitution in Canton was still going on in 1923. The Fukien Provincial Moral Welfare Committee also dealt with prostitution. The Shanghai Moral Welfare League between 1922 and 1927 did a great deal of promulgation work for the elimination of brothels from the International Settlement and was widely supported by the public. The Nanking White Cross League also engaged in similar rescue work. Significantly, in the movement, missionary activists did not regard Chinese

¹⁵See the report of the NCC 1922-23, p.346.

¹⁶Christina K. Gilmartin, Gail Hershatter, Lisa Rofel & Tyrene White ed., Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1994), p.148.

¹⁷K. C. Wong & Wu Lien-teh, History of Chinese Medicine, p.348.

¹⁸Ibid., p.412; Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, p.603.

¹⁹See Report of Women's Hospital, Wuchang for 1920, 1 Jan. 1921, LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 8-1920.

prostitutes as 'fallen women' but as innocent and helpless victims of exploitation by their own society, to whom universally applicable human right standards applied which transcended class and race. Missionaries helped them to escape their bondage and gave them educational opportunities, and even assisted them to enter successful careers which brought them self-affirmation and economic independence. Missionaries had long been in the forefront in this potent campaign against prostitution.

Missionary anti-prostitution activities in China evoked urgent social discussions. Some thoughtful Chinese found that the harm of prostitution was also as a site of the spread of disease, which had serious consequences for the strength or weakness of the race.²⁰ "The amount of money wasted in Shanghai on prostitution in half a year," observed one Chinese Christian, "is enough to redeem the railways which have been mortgaged to the Japanese."²¹ Prostitution was one of the important elements by which China was weakened and had a low profile in the international arena.²² They thus advocated that Chinese people ought not to go to brothels and forbid prostitution.²³

The second problem tackled by the missionaries was that of female infanticide. This derived above all from deeply-held religious ideas covering ancestors-worship which ascribed a unique role to male heirs, while indirectly devaluing women. Thus, many parents bore a son they congratulated each other, but when they bore a daughter they killed her.²⁴ Since ancient times Chinese women had been in this plight, "How sad it is to be a woman, nothing on earth is held so cheap."²⁵ Missionaries were the first foreigners to register serious and prolonged concern at female infanticide. In the 20th century, the Chinese custom of abandoning baby girls still continued. Missionaries thus started baby homes to bring up and educate these abandoned girls. The EPM opened the Home for Cast-out Baby Girls in Changpu. At Chichow the SPG had a home for 50 orphan girls left destitute. In the trial study of sex ratios in Yenching, it was found in 1930 that as a result of female infanticide, there were approximately 10.8 extra male babies for every 100 female babies. Dr. Gray in the British Charitable Hospital in Peking and Dr. Lennox in the PUMC did similar study

²⁰Lin Ch'ung-wu, "Ch'ang-chi wen-t'i chih yen-chiu" (Research on the Prostitution Problem), Min-chung chi-k'an (Mass Quarterly) 2.2 (June 1936), p.221.

²¹Chinese Recorder (Aug.1920), pp.579-580.

²²Pu Ming-hui, M. D. of the Shanghai Moral Welfare League, writing in Shen-pao, 19 May 1919, p.11.

²³Huang Jen-ching, Hu-jen pao-lan (Precious Mirror of Shanghai), English title: "What the Chinese in Shanghai Ought to Know" (Shanghai, 1913), pp.134-135.

²⁴Han Fei-tzu, Hsin-pien ch'u-tzu chi-ch'eng (Taipei, 1972), p.319.

²⁵Quoted in R.W. Guisso & S. Johannesen, Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship (Philo Press, 1981), p.165.

and revealed similar problems.²⁶ Obviously, better treatment of male children and female infanticide in China helped to raise the male ratio. Many prominent Chinese were inspired by these examples and also attempted to do something for the unfortunate classes. As a result, the National Child Welfare Association of China, a cooperative organization between the Church and national welfare organizations, was set up in 1928 to secure the rights of children. Gradually, too, missionary aspirations were satisfied by legal sanctions. Both the criminal law of 1928²⁷ and the Republican Penal Code of 1935²⁸ aimed to punish mothers who killed their new-born babies. In practice, however, this custom continued to exist long after the promulgation of these laws.²⁹ The eradication of female infanticide was still a long-term task in the 1930s, but missionaries had given the original stimulus to this humanitarian movement.

Thirdly, the realization of the unbinding of feet so that Chinese women could "walk at liberty" was due almost wholly to the work of Western missionaries. This custom started from the Song Dynasty, when the smaller bound feet of Chinese women appeared more beautiful in Chinese men's opinion. Some ignorant little girls were even so coquettish and so proud of their tiny feet. At the age of four or five, Chinese girls had to have their feet bound. This resulted in the bone of toes being heavily distorted due to binding. For centuries it had crippled women. "Three inch golden lilies" into which Chinese women's feet were bound were the ideal. The suffering entailed was very great, and at times the results were shocking. What effect centuries of mutilation of nearly half its population had on the health and welfare of the nation, there were no statistics to show. This immobility and tears of young girls drew more British women's attention to the horrors of footbinding.

In many a city and hamlet, missionaries had raised the voice of protest against this form of torture. The abolition of footbinding was obviously pursued by missionary reformers in the 1920s. For while in large cities this custom ceased generally in 1911, it was still rampant in many areas in the 1920s, especially among the poorer women in inland China and countryside, who clung to the custom for fear of ridicule. This custom still continued in the backward villages in some instances until the mid-20th century. Missionaries worked very hard to eliminate the binding of Chinese women's feet, of which they had been strongly critical from the latter half of the 19th century. Thus J. MacGowan with his wife had founded a society for natural feet in Amoy in the early 1890s. Mrs. Archibald

²⁶"Some Aspects of the Chinese Population Problem," by Leonard Shihlien Hsu, The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Vol.14, No.3 (July 1930), pp.285, 286.

²⁷Chung-hua ming-kuo chin-hsing-fa, 1928, Article 284.

²⁸Chung-hua min-kuo hsin-fa, 1935.

²⁹Fei Hsiao-tung, Peasant Life in China: A field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley (London, 1939), pp.32-34.

Little (A British businessman's wife) regarded as the Chinese Goddess of Mercy initiated the Natural Foot Society (T'ien-tsu Hui) in 1895, and she with a few female missionaries conducted an anti-footbinding campaign throughout the country.³⁰ Thus, British missionaries were the first foreigners who opposed footbinding, "one of China's oldest, most deep-rooted, domestic customs."³¹ In the 1920s, missionaries still persistently and rightly set their faces against foot-binding and steadfastly used their influence for its abolition. Missionaries combined this work with female education for they were thought related to each other. All mission schools firmly rejected girls with bound feet, and the girls who had bound their feet would only be allowed to enter mission schools if they freed their feet immediately. They encourage woman believers to do the same before being received into church membership. This was an important way for Chinese women to gain physical liberation.

Missionaries also did their best to reduce parental and girlish fears that they would not be able to marry, many missionaries even found themselves taking on the role of matchmakers locating spouses for their natural-footed students and providing dowries to make them more acceptable as brides. Missionaries approached the gentry of the official classes to become members of the natural-foot societies, and push them to pledge themselves to marry or have their sons marry natural-footed girls. Meanwhile, missionaries published many pamphlets and tracts to mobilize public opinion against this custom. Thus the dissemination of the anti-footbinding campaign was far beyond the small Christian communities. For instance, the provincial government of Shansi put an anti-foot-binding policy in law in the late 1920s, and it was hereafter an offence for parents to bind their girls' feet. This sentiment created by the example of the Church in China which was directly responsible for this reform. Churches even appointed women inspectors to visit the homes of the people and report on those who were not conforming to law in this respect, and these were fined or otherwise punished. Protestant missionaries led the way in breaking up this custom of crippling the women of China, in an amazingly short time.

"Amongst all the triumphs that England can point to in the uplift of nations with whom her arms have brought her in contact, there is none more glorious than the deliverance of the women of China," through these British missionaries, from the terrible bondage and suffering that footbinding had inflicted upon them during the long ages of the past.³² The success which the missionaries had in persuading country women to unbind their feet was

³⁰Mrs. Archibald Little, The Land of the Blue Gown (London, 1902), p.356.

³¹Ibid., p.305.

³²See John MacGowan's summary, from C. A. Middleton Smith, The British in China and Far Eastern Trade (London, 1927), pp.204-205.

surely one of the most visible achievements in the 1920s. They had offered valuable help in eradicating this social custom from Chinese society. In the late 1920s footbinding with all its pain and disability was disappearing fast. It was a great pleasure for Chinese and missionaries to see more and more girls walking as they should, naturally and gracefully, and taking part in games and physical exercises. Schools were now open to them, and their enthusiasm for education was most commendable. Their life was very different from that which custom imposed on their mothers and grandmothers. Footbinding was no longer the major obstacle for the young female generation to seek more employment opportunities.

The fourth outstanding social question concerning women was that of domestic slavery. Driven by poverty, fathers regularly sold their daughters into slavery, becoming the absolute property of their owners, and liable to neglect and abuse. Thus in 1918 it was reported in Hongkong that almost all prosperous households contained domestic slaves.³³ Yet no feeling was more deeply-rooted within Western Christianity than hostility to slavery, and no institution was deemed more harmful to the image and spirit of the Chinese nation.³⁴ As in the case of prostitution, the missionaries first sought to establish refuges for such slaves, as at Kulongsu in 1923. But they also pursued legal actions to free individual girls, as at Hankow in 1924.³⁵ In fact, after 1923 the practice of selling girls as slaves became illegal due to the new law of the Republic of China, but the commercial trade in women continued in many places. This necessitated a continuing role for the missions in the provision of refuges, although they were only able to help a small percentage of all enslaved girls. But as in the case of infanticide, the invaluable missionary work had aroused public opinion to the iniquities of existing social customs.

In a similar vein, the missions also took up a strong stance against the practice of concubinage, that is the keeping of second or more wives. This remained legal and common in the 1920s, with some notorious examples such as that of Chang Tsung-ch'ang, the governor of Shantung.³⁶ But the missions and Chinese Christians conducted an active propaganda campaign against this custom, exposing the harm it did to Chinese women. Typically, in 1923 the YWCA and National YWCA produced a public statement opposing all concubinage, and orchestrated pressure by local branches.³⁷

³³M. Jaschok, Concubines and Bondservants: A Social History (London & New Jersey, 1988), p.106.

³⁴Ting Shu-ching, "Fei-pi yun-tung" (The movement to abolish domestic maids), Nu-ch'ing-nien (Young women) (March 1928), p.54.

³⁵LMS. Central China, report in 1924.

³⁶H.A. Van Dorn, Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic, p.235.

³⁷Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien-hui min-tsu wei-yuan-hui, Ti-i-tz'u chuan-kuo ta-hui chi-lu (The Records of the First National Conference of the National Committee of the YWCA in China) (Shanghai, 1923), p.163.

More typically, perhaps, Chinese women slowly began to benefit within marriage from knowledge of birth control, which it seems the missionaries themselves helped diffuse through their translations of popular works such as Wise Parenthood, Contraception and Birth Control.³⁸ In these book they indicated positive impacts of birth control on Chinese women, and the correct relations between birth control and sexual morality. They thought that the implementation of birth control would result in Chinese women's new contribution to their nation. Many thoughtful Chinese people were greatly enlightened by this advocacy, and suddenly found that "sexual equality would possibly enter a new era as long as Chinese women obtained physiological liberation. That would be the new period which in various respects would be in conformity with really civilized significance."³⁹

The women's work of the Protestant missions was not easy in the 1920s, but it had given Chinese women a sense of their importance and taught them how to appeal for their own rights. Missionaries had helped Chinese women to struggle and enlarge their options for self-determination and meaningful work. Missionary work directly changed Chinese women's role in the family, and this was the first step towards women's liberation from traditional family values and progress towards choosing their own partners. Missionary societies were important sources of support for women's claims for independence. In fact, modern marriage had its first success among the Christians, and Chinese male Christians first attempted to recognise women as real partners. Christian co-education created more opportunities for young people to know each other before making further commitments. Christian married life based on freedom gained respect. These missionaries directly helped Chinese women champion their rights in family and society through their humanitarian work in acts of compassion and charity generally. Chinese women were beginning to look at the marriage question through Western eyes, and justly speaking, Christian girls had a much higher ideal and more liberal thinking of marriage than their non-Christian sisters.

Many other aspects of the traditional subordination of women began to be questioned in the 1920s, including protests against unequal legal status of wives (who had few legal rights against abuse by husbands)⁴⁰ and against the loss of identity through the elimination of family and personal names on marriage.⁴¹ One group of women even campaigned against marriage itself, forming the movement, called "Girls Who Do Not Go to the Family," based on

³⁸See A Classical Index to the Christian literature of the Protestant Christian Churches in China.

³⁹Chin Chung-hua, "Birth Control and Women Physiological Liberation," Fu-nu tsa-chih, Vol.17, No.9 (1931), p.10.

⁴⁰E. Croll, Feminism and Socialism in China, p.32.

⁴¹A. Murong Pu Lin, Grandmother Had No Name (London,1990), p.14.

the silk mills of the Shun-te district of Kwangtung.⁴² Perhaps more widely, and especially among the more highly educated Chinese, there were growing protests against arranged marriages, and in favour of divorce. However, much of this movement, while stimulated initially by the missionaries' concerns for the freedom and equality of women, now went beyond them. For example, the movement for divorce owed far more to the nationalist government than it did to the missions,⁴³ while the CCP also took important strides to emancipate rural women and to modernize marriage laws.⁴⁴ Even so, the missionary effort remained important, for the missions themselves in person and ideals had provided an outstanding model of Western marriage based on love, equality and individual commitment, itself a powerful ideological force undermining the traditional patriarchal structures of Chinese family life.

Missionaries had spearheaded the new upheaval of the movement of women's liberation in the 1920s. They had made strenuous efforts to stop these abuses of women. From the missionary attitude towards prostitution, infanticide, footbinding, domestic slavery, concubinage, and marriage, we can therefore see that in important and path-breaking ways the missionary movement had challenged many traditional features of Chinese life, setting up new standards towards which women would direct their aspirations in the future. Their women's work directly helped the Chinese female to cast off the shackles of traditional family. All these problems peculiarly affected women's status, but it is also important to note that the types of moral reform we have already considered in Chapter 5 also were specifically directed towards women and therefore briefly deserve separate consideration. The Chinese Woman Christian Temperance Union (CWCTU) initiated in 1882 was a branch of the World Woman Christian Temperance Union.⁴⁵ Its Moral Society was started in 1918. This union organized women for the protection and betterment of their homes and for opposition to alcohol, opium, and cigarettes. This union maintained a regular column in Nu-tuo Pao and frequently published on "Temperance and Reform" in the pages of Woman's Work in the Far East. These articles discussed a series of temperance issues and used Western examples to show how foreign governments engaged in these social reforms.⁴⁶ In 1922 its membership reached 6,300 with branches in 11 provinces; its official organ - The Temperance

⁴²O. Lang, Chinese Family and Society (New Heaven, 1946), p.108.

⁴³Harold Archer Van Dorn, pp.233, 235; Croll, p.136.

⁴⁴See "Women in the Chinese Revolution," International Socialist Review, June 1970, p.13; William Hinton, Fan-shen (Monthly Review Press, 1967), p.457; Ono Kazuko, ed. by Joshua A. Fogel, Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850-1950 (Stanford, 1989), p.152.

⁴⁵see Juan Jen-tse and Kao Chen, Shanghai tsung-chiao shih, pp.870, 871.

⁴⁶Kwok Pui-lan, p.122.

Quarterly was started.⁴⁷ At the beginning, it mainly engaged in the work of banning opium and alcohol. Later, its targets were enlarged to advocate the system of monogamy, equal social employment between sexes, national peace and unity.⁴⁸ Under its direct influence and encouragement, in 1921 the Shanghai Women Temperance was founded, led by Chinese Christians. This organization had become one of the most powerful advocates of temperance movement in Chinese society by the early 1930s.

In addition, British missions opened some comprehensive women's social educational centres in local communities to cope with all types of women problems. The Edward's Memorial Institute at Taiyuanfu (EMIT) (1922-1933) was just one of the most prominent centres. Its weekly lectures and discussion were arranged, including "American Women," "Education," "How Early Marriage Effected Education," "Kindergarten work," "Hellen Keller and Mary Slessor." It also had discussion and lectures on household management, the rearing and training of children, and the vexed question of servants.⁴⁹ Cooperating with the YWCA, the BMS missionaries deliberately made the EMIT a centre for temperance work among women and girls. Through this work the BMS found itself up against many of the big problems of Chinese women's life.⁵⁰ Actually, the EMIT was a popular and moral educational centre or a special community school. The BMS by designing this programme attempted to get the whole community together to consider the common problems of women. A parallel Women's International Institute of the FFMA in Chungking did similar work.⁵¹

There was also a growing demand for literature, dealing with all phases of the sexual problems. Raising Chinese women's social status, teaching them modern home knowledge, dealing with public health, suggesting methods of moving against vice were all highlighted by mission literary work. The most famous books included Place of Women in Establishing a Nation, Human Relationships, Home Problems, and What a Young Girl Ought to Know. In 1921 over 1,000 copies of pamphlets and books on sex problems were distributed to a carefully selected list of Chinese and foreign leaders by the CCC.⁵² The general idea of these publications was to make young people who left their schools capable of building true homes in Christian moral standards. In order to coordinate this ideal home plan, the NCC urged many mission schools to start the systematic teaching of sociology and home

⁴⁷Ibid., p.133.

⁴⁸Juan Jen-tse, p.872.

⁴⁹BMS. CH/25 Shansi Taiyuanfu Women's Institute 1922-33.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹It was founded in 1920. See FFMA Publications 1911-27, Vol.2, International Friends Institute, Chungking, p.7.

⁵²CBMS. E/T China, Box 348, Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the CCC, Shanghai, 5-11 May 1921, p.72.

economics. The books and pamphlets related to children in the home, the health of the home, and the family budget were prepared one by one. The branches of the NCC's CCH in Moukden and Tientsin were especially interested in studying the marriage question, emphasizing equality of sexes, purity and true love between men and women. Hangchow centre studied home education. Chengtu centre made a study of the system of concubinage with a view to its abolition. In Chinching of South Fukien, it worked on home economics. The Methodist Church in Chihli, Tsinan and Hongkong held "Better Home Campaign."⁵³ The women's liberation and the removal of the taboo on sexual questions gained their initiative from their literary dissemination which advocated the free discussion of all problems and obtained a tremendous headway through their literary influence on Chinese women's emancipation.

In the late 1920s, with regard to home life training of young girl students, not only all the middle and higher primary schools but also local churches began to provide courses on domestic science. To improve home conditions, many churches organized a lot of short-term classes, mother's associations, "Mothers' Pattern," Useful Knowledge Society, Women's Service League, Women's Temperance Union, Women's Training Institute, and Home Improvement Lecture Campaigns. Local churches also organized "anti-tuberculosis drive," public playgrounds for recreation, child welfare groups, an "anti-fly campaign," the establishment of street-cleaning department in cities and towns, and the introduction of a pure water supply. Missionaries felt health education (included "home nursing," "hygiene" and "baby welfare") very much needed in China.⁵⁴ In these activities, Chinese women learned how to care for their children not only mentally and spiritually but also physically; hygiene and sanitation were also promoted.

The missionaries used Christian values to advocate women's role. Its true impact lay in the spread of secular egalitarian ideologies among non-Christian society. The powerful combination of this ideological infusion and incessant mission women's work to a certain degree led to the curbing of traditional practices now deemed "evil" customs. Missionaries played a great part in spurring prominent non-Christian Chinese actively to attack these social problems. The massive social influence exerted by the Church against these customs could be identified from the last century. Mission women's work in the 1920s became more and more in the public eye. Many ordinary Chinese women began fundamentally to suspect old customs and habits, conventions, outmoded moral rules and dogmas; whoever came into contact with new ideas thought that women were also human beings; and Nu-chieh (girls' commandments), Nei-hsun (admonishments of wives), Nu-lun-yu

⁵³CBMS. Box 348, E/T China, The NCC Annual Report 1924-25.

⁵⁴LMS. Central China, Reports, Box 9-1925, Report for 1925 by Dr. Alic Clark, Shanghai Medhurst Girls' School.

(the analects of Confucius of women), and Nu-fan (Women's moral rules), which had been regarded as moral and conduct standards since ancient Chinese history, were all trampled underfoot. Chinese women's awakening was considered one of the greatest and quickest ideological innovations in the 1920s by Chinese people themselves.⁵⁵

Keeping in mind that Protestant missionaries in the 1920s continued to make great efforts to eradicate the maltreatment of women, the Church in China was the spearhead of advocating women's liberation. Missionaries' role as social reformers was by no means decreased due to more and more Chinese awakening but they enlarged their working scope among women through popular education, social work, and literacy dissemination. The better treatment of women in Christian families was very remarkable. This new social mood affected other Chinese homes. The knowledge of hygiene and of the care of children was having a great influence on Chinese families. The very fact of getting ready for school was a great thing. There was a growing desire to have their children educated. The change also affected the position of little daughters. They were no longer looked on as a mistake in the family, so girls were much better treated and their value changed in the eyes of Chinese people. But one thing should be noted, that the change of social mood was much more obvious in the life of Chinese women and girls in the coastal areas and the areas where mission central stations located, but it was not seen too much yet in other interior or inland regions.

However, reforming customs and moral education alone among Chinese women were not enough for missionaries to help them gain real liberation. Without the education and employment of girls, the nation would still be weak and women would continue to live simply a survival and unhappy life. Thus, missions made new efforts to lift the standards of female education in order to accelerate the process of women's emancipation.

II. FEMALE EDUCATION

No women received any education whatever in ancient China. In initiating female education in modern China British missionaries played the most important pioneering role.⁵⁶ The reason why missions wanted to set up female schools in China was their disagreement with traditional Chinese educational principle, which was particular about training women's virtue rather than ordinary female education. Confucius tells the Chinese people: "Women must not be taught to read and write, because it is to waste time. Women are mentally incapable of learning."⁵⁷ Thus one father said, "See

⁵⁵Se Lu, "Tsui-chin shih-nien nei teh fu-nu chieh" (The Women's World in the Recent Ten Years), Fu-nu Tsa-chih, Vol.10, No.1 (1924), see Se Lu's paper, p.21.

⁵⁶The archives of the Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India and the East. Minutes, Vol.1 (1834-5).

⁵⁷PCI. The Women's Work-1920, the Zenana Mission Quarterly, p.200.

those animals? It would be better spent time to touch them than to try to teach my slaves (daughters)."⁵⁸ To the girl's family, it seemed a poor investment to spend money educating a daughter. Any advanced training for girls seemed pointless, so the little girls grew up untaught, knowing nothing whatever of the world of books. Chinese women who were half of the total population were almost all illiterates,⁵⁹ but vast numbers of Chinese treated it as the norm, and thought it right and proper. Even in the 1920s the majority of Chinese girls still spent most of their time sitting cross-legged on the brick K'ang making shoes and cotton socks, and doing exquisite embroidery.

As a result, the educational system of China before 1905 still excluded female students and opposed establishing female schools. The national educational commission did not publish "The Regulations of Female Education" until 1907. But this only stipulated starting only girls' primary and female teachers' training schools. Meanwhile, missions in China had already set up primary schools for girls from 1835, girls' middle schools in the last century and a women's university in 1904. But female education as one of the main accomplishments in the Revolution of 1911 only meant that women's educational opportunities were opened up by the law of the Republic in the 1910s. Educated Chinese women accounted for only a tiny percentage of the whole population in the early 1920s. Even by the late 1920s the majority of national universities and colleges still closed the doors for women students. Thus female education was of relatively recent origin and still in its initial stage. Missionaries continued to help China revolutionize the general mood of Chinese society on female education.

Above all, missionaries persuaded Chinese parents to let their daughters go to school. These parents were as surprised as if the sky and earth were spinning round, and they asked and questioned the wisdom of educating girl children: "Do girls really have brains? Are they qualified to study at schools? Where is there the theory on opening girls' schools between heaven and earth? It is never heard! And what is the use for Chinese girls to read and write at all?" They acknowledged that the women in the West would read books, but in China it was unnecessary, "because Chinese women are used merely to do needle work, housework and raise families. Otherwise the women would be criticised for not holding to the women's moral and Confucian codes of ethics for women."⁶⁰ Many parents did not see any reason to send their daughters to school - "why should we pay out money to educate other people's daughters in law?" Money was scarce, too and a girl might often earn a little when living at home, whereas when

⁵⁸PCI. The Women's Work-1927, the Zenana Mission Quarterly, p.9

⁵⁹See Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Yin Ping-shih wen-chi (The Collected Works of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao) (Shanghai, undated).

⁶⁰Hunter Corbett, Kuo Hsien-teh mu-shih hsing-ch'uan ch'uan-chi (Memoirs of the Rev. Hunter Corbett) (Tsinan, 1926), see "School", p.172.

she went to school not only was this opportunity lost, but money had to be paid out for fees.⁶¹ This was typical of the Chinese attitude to girls' schools, in most girls' elementary schools the number of pupils thus still remained small. Though modern education had been advocated for more than ten years, it was still not very popular in many inland and remote areas. Female education was still very weak, compared with male education.

Hence, missionaries made great efforts to promote the change of national sentiment on this subject. They had been insisting on educating Chinese girls in Western ways since the last century and the growing number of mission-educated Chinese women and girls provided the most telling examples that the sayings of Confucius were absolutely wrong and untrue. These missionaries showed how in China the old social order that for centuries was fixed and seemingly immovable was giving way to the new. But progress was slow. Therefore, in the 1920s British missions began to expand their female educational work and to increase their educational standards while many local churches taught Chinese women to read and write. They even encouraged married women to take their position in classrooms. The main methods by which British missions stimulated female education included: a larger financial proportion of home board appropriations for female education; establishing more girls' middle schools; enlarging the scale of female higher education;⁶² providing vocational and professional education, such as teachers' training, medicine, literature, social service and even business; offering more educational chances for adult women through their popular educational activities; and increasing both the number and qualifications of female teachers.

In 1920 there were 1,963 British mission infant primary schools with 49,127 pupils, of which girls comprised about 30.5%; and 243 British mission junior primary schools with 8,132 pupils, with around 37% girls.⁶³ On the one hand it showed that the rate at which the female pupils entered into junior primary schools was particularly high. On the other hand, in certain areas some British missions gave more stress on girls' primary education than boys'. The CMS and CEZMS were such a typical example, and the number of their female pupils in higher primary schools was even larger than the boys'.⁶⁴ Both took enlarging girls' schools as their major educational task. The EMS carried a special fund for girls, prepared a tract in the form of a letter to all Christian parents for the encouragement of girls' education, and urged the immediate appointment of

⁶¹LMS. Fukien, Report of Work in Hweian and Changchow, 1920.

⁶²The National Christian Conference, 1922, p.398.

⁶³See TABLE 4.1.

⁶⁴CMS. G1/CH4/O, No.110, pp.9-11.

inspectors for girls' educational work.⁶⁵ There were 11 girls' primary schools of the LMS in Hupeh but only 4 boys' in 1923. In 1929 the number of the girls in the LMS vernacular schools of Hongkong was 1,075, compared with 881 boys.⁶⁶ In many centres British missions were very successful in developing boarding schools for girls and also started many day schools for girls in order to enlarge entrance more quickly. At each residential station of the BMS there was a full 6-year primary school for girls, including both boarding and day pupils. It also had four-year village primary schools for girls maintained mainly by means of grants-in-aid from the BMS. In Shantung alone it had 46 village girls' primary schools in 1924.⁶⁷ Some mission girls' schools in the remote areas also had a fine record for the quality and quantity of work. For instance, the PCI in 1928 had 839 female students in its 20 girls' schools compared with 388 in 16 schools in 1921. Its teachers were also increased by 14 between 1921 and 1930.⁶⁸ The tone and discipline in mission schools were better than those of government schools.

The secondary education of girls followed much the same policies as the education of boys, but on a smaller scale. Mission middle schools for girls were the most important educational development project. They emerged still as a new matter in the 1920s, and there were very few full six-year girls' middle schools. The majority of them were two or three-year middle schools. Certainly, some of mission junior middle schools for girls were enlarged into six-years' secondary institutions in the late 1920s. For instance, the EPM Peiyung Girls' School in Chuanchow became six-year middle school; in the spring of 1929, 3 of its graduates easily passed the entrance examinations to Ginling College and Nanking Christian University.⁶⁹ In the 1910s the BMS middle schools opened the door only to boys. But in the 1920s it developed a most successful project of female secondary education, establishing one senior and one junior middle school in each province where its missionaries worked, even in Shensi, one of the most backward provinces in China.⁷⁰ The Ying Wa Girls' Schools in Hongkong and Shanghai, the David Hill Girls' School in Hanyang and St. Stephen's Girls College of the CMS in Hongkong had both junior and senior departments. British mission girls' middle schools began to make a marked contribution to the ranks of teachers. In the Girls Normal School in

⁶⁵BMS. Minutes of Shensi Conference, Sanyuan, 4 & 22 Nov. 1922.

⁶⁶LMS. Minutes of South China District Committee, 3-6 July 1929.

⁶⁷BMS. See the annual reports in 1920 & 1930.

⁶⁸PCI. See Reports of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions-1921 to 1930.

⁶⁹EPM. 12/1 Overseas, General Correspondence, South Fukien, Letters, Minutes, Reports 1930, Box 12, File 1, Chuanchow - Peiyung Girls' School: Report for 1929.

⁷⁰BMS. CH/25, Shensi WMA Conference, 1922.

Moukden there were almost 300 girls studied in the various departments from kindergarten to senior middle school in 1928.⁷¹ The Hoai-jin Girls' School of the EPM at Amoy in the early 1920s added a department of teachers' training, some of its graduates entered the Normal Department of Hoai-tek School to become kindergarten teachers. It testified to the high standard set.⁷² Many graduates of the Hwa Ying Girls' Boarding School at Fatshan became kindergarten and primary school teachers.⁷³

Some courses in these schools were very new and original. A number of girls' middle schools even provided courses on community responsibility and social problems. In 1920 LMS's Medhurst Girls' School in Shanghai first started sociology course in its 2 upper classes. Even theological schools were requested to give women students training in sociology in general and in the particular social problems which individual ministers were likely to face. Missionary teachers also gave lectures on First Aid, sewing and knitting, cooking and other household skills. These girls often made some valuable contributions to Chinese society. For instance, during those famine years, some mission school girls made padded coats and sent them to the famine relief committees, the expenses were always defrayed by themselves.⁷⁴

During the 1920s public sentiment was changing. More and more Chinese girls were taught to read and write. Tens of thousands of schools in the city by-ways and country villages were being taught by many mission-trained Chinese women. The superiority of women as teachers of primary schools even for boys,⁷⁵ was more and more coming to be recognized. This was a significant reform. However, during the 1920s, the social prejudice against the position of women education was still deep-rooted. The Church hence determined to continue its challenging conventional ideas of women. The girls' mission schools were re-organized on co-educational policy, the mission grants for both boys' and girls' schools being pooled in one fund. Mixing girls and boys in one school became an inexorable tendency in mission schools around the late 1920s. The relation of the sexes was defined by the phrase, "Shou shou pu ch'in" - "In giving and receiving (objects of any kind passing from hand to hand) the hands (of the man and woman) should not touch." This admonition made the practice of some male missionaries of introducing the Western customs of shaking hands with Chinese Christian women at that stage of society (the 1920s) a little

⁷¹PCI. The Women's Work-1928, the Zenana Mission Quarterly, pp.36-37.

⁷²Ibid., p.66.

⁷³WMMS. Report of the Fatshan Girls' Boarding School for 1925.

⁷⁴See Report for Sept. to Dec. 1920 of Medhurst Girls' School - Shanghai, LMS, Central China, Reports, Box 8-1920.

⁷⁵BMS. Minutes of China Sub-Committee Conferences, pp.147, 150.

premature, for it exposed women to needless ridicule.⁷⁶ Thus, the mixture of the sexes in educational institutions was still not an easy thing, but mission schools bravely gave a first try.

The main form of co-education was in infant primary schools. After the mid-1920s it was enlarged into some mission junior primary schools and individual middle schools. It was reported that there were 11 mixed primary schools of the LMS in Hupeh in 1923. In 1925 the LMS in Tsangchow started a central co-educational school on vocational lines. It also built up a six-year co-educational school comprising 280 pupils in the West City of Peking. The BMS made up the co-educational policy of day-schools for children under ten years age in Shansi as early as in 1920;⁷⁷ and in Shensi from 1922.⁷⁸ Szechwan was a more ill-informed and more backward province in China compared with other large provinces. In 1921 the FFMA's Suining School first started a co-educational system. 90 boys and girls studied together here. The EPM was the first British mission to start co-education in its middle schools. Its junior secondary school - Chang Hsien at Yungchun of Fukien and six-year middle school - Yu Huai at Swatow first practised co-education. The SPG was the second British mission to carry out the co-educational policy in Yu Ying junior middle school at Taian of Shantung.

Although co-education was initiated in the fields of elementary and higher education in the 1920s, it did not yet happen in most of the mission secondary schools. Most British societies were still very conservative in their secondary school policy. The majority of their girls' and boys' middle schools were not run together until the 1940s. This was partly affected by British school system at home, in which separate boys' and girls' boarding middle schools in this phase were the most common. Partly because separate teaching content for girls and boys had been existing in British secondary schools up to the 1940s. To a certain degree British missions consciously or unconsciously went along with the socially conservative taste for female education and met some Chinese parents' requirements. They gave special attention to educating their girls to be model Christian wives in future. But they offered much broader subjects for their boys. However, with the enlargement of mission schools, the curriculum differences between the boys' and girls' schools were increasingly lessened.

In addition, how large a part of Western missions through their institutions had created the new sentiment in favour of the women's higher education in China, can never be accurately gauged, though some of their

⁷⁶PCI. The Zenana Mission Quarterly, 1930, p.39.

⁷⁷BMS. Baptist Missionary Society Deputation to the China Mission Field 1919-1920 - Reports of Mission Conferences in Shantung, Shansi and Shensi and the Inter-Provincial Conference Tsinan, January, 1920 (London, 1920), p.14.

⁷⁸BMS. Minutes of Shensi Conference, 4 & 22 Nov. 1922.

achievements have been summarized by historians. Co-education occurred in Christian higher educational institutions in the 1920s, and its starting time was earlier than that in government institutions. Before 1919 there was no Chinese women's university but missionary ones. By 1922 there were 665 women students in Chinese public and private universities and colleges.⁷⁹ Before 1920 almost all Christian colleges and universities had not made a regular practice of co-education and admitting female students. However, joint Christian colleges and universities with their safeguards and inspirations had already taken co-education as its 1920s' special task. By the mid-1920s they had first made this cherished wish a reality.⁸⁰ Nothing stimulated women's education so much as the opening of mission men's colleges to women in the 1920s. The field of higher education for women offered a most challenging opportunity for Christian colleges. Lingnan took practical steps earlier than other Christian union universities in the 1910s. Its first woman graduate received her B.A. degree in 1921. Around 1920 it admitted 23 women to the regular college classes.⁸¹ Hongkong University admitted women from 1921. There were 94 women students in Yenching in 1922;⁸² 92 in 1926 which made up 17% of its total student body; 229 in 1930 (28.34% of the total).⁸³ It had not only the largest number of female undergraduates in mission higher institutions but also first trained women postgraduates (10 in 1930).⁸⁴ In 1924 the WCUU enrolled its first 8 woman students;⁸⁵ the women constituted 15% of its total students in 1925 but 37.5% in 1933.⁸⁶ In 1932 the female student body in Huachung was able to be nearly one-third (31) of the total of students.⁸⁷

Co-education also took place in mission medical colleges. They took much earlier steps to admit female medical students than any other physical scientific and engineering subjects. Cheeloo in 1923 became a national-wide model; the MMC set an outstanding example in Manchuria. The Hangchow Medical College and Hongkong University began to enrol woman medical students from 1924. In 1925, at Cheeloo a class of 10 female medical

⁷⁹Ch'en Tung-yuan, *Chung-kuo fu-nu sheng-huo shih* (The History of Chinese Women's Life) (Shanghai, 1984), pp.389, 390.

⁸⁰CMS. G1/CH1/O, No.4, p.12.

⁸¹See Lingnan annual reports for 1920-21 and 1924-25.

⁸²LMS. North China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1922, see F. H. Hawkins' letter.

⁸³See its report in 1930 in LMS.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵FFMA. China Committee, 5 Sept. 1923.

⁸⁶See its annual reports, 1925-26, 1929-30 & 1933-34 in CMS.

⁸⁷WMMS. See its President's Report for the Year 1932-1933.

students graduated while it enrolled 18 new women.⁸⁸ Even more conservative theological colleges opened their doors to woman students.⁸⁹

Thus, by the mid-1920s all Christian colleges and universities had opened their doors to women with amazing speed. According to incomplete statistics, the enrolment of women in Christian universities quadrupled to 530 in 1925 from 115 in 1920, and became 967 in 1931.⁹⁰ The admittance of women to these universities and colleges marked one of the most significant educational efforts. Twenty years earlier women had been regarded as incapable of higher education and their status was largely due to their not being educated at all, or very slightly. Now Chinese women were capable of receiving not only undergraduate but postgraduate academic training. This example further uplifted the status of women in Chinese intellectual circles. The social influence of new womanhood radiated not only from mission medical services and all their social reform among women but also from their higher co-educational activities. Christian educational enterprises found in rich abundance the raw materials for the future woman leadership in China, the greatest of China's undeveloped resources. These highly-trained Chinese women constituted an important part of the first female elite in China.

Co-education as part of the furtherance of girls' education was therefore one of the newest and most important features in the 1920s' mission education. Missionary educators' common sense showed Chinese people that women could and should have equal opportunities for education with men. Co-education between two sexes was accepted as one natural alternative, and was being widely adopted, both in most infant elementary, some junior primary and secondary schools, and all mission colleges and universities (excluding special Christian women's institutions).

Of course, the whole of Christian female education had certain defects at the same time. Mission female education in China consciously or unconsciously followed the pattern of their women's work in the late-Victorian years, emphasizing the training of traditional female virtues.⁹¹ Embroidery, domestic economy, cookery, needlework and hygiene featured highly in the curriculum and were the most popular courses. Probably, on the one hand, the bias reflected both missionary difficulties and parental demands. On the other hand, even in the 1920s the Church still had to combat the prejudice against educating girls, so sometimes missionaries also had to make certain concessions to social convention. Also, several mission girls' institutions in large cities gave special attention to

⁸⁸See Report of the School of Medicine of the SCU 1924-25.

⁸⁹LMS. South China, Incoming Letters, Box 23-1924, see Minutes of Annual Meeting of South China, D.C., 1-2 July 1924; PCI. See the care in Moukden Theological College, The Zenana Mission Quarterly 1928, p.38; PCI. The Zenana Mission Quarterly 1930, pp.37-38.

⁹⁰Ti-i-tz'u Chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien, Vol.4, pp.34-37.

⁹¹S. Dowell, p.9; Armstrong, The End of Silence, p.168.

attracting the daughters of wealthy families and even the wives of upper class men.

Moreover, the general tendency of mission female education in the 1920s was developing in both extensive and intensive ways. Until this time, female secondary and higher education were still something unknown in China. Government schools in the 1920s were still more conservative than missions'. The percentage of the female students in mission institutions had been much higher than the former's. In 1922 less than 7% of the total enrolment of state primary schools was female, against 30% for mission schools;⁹² the percentage of girls in mission secondary schools was 9 times as many as those in government's.⁹³ Although the general number of women in Chinese own universities was more than that in Christian institutions, the percentage of their women students (3.8% in Government's and 0.6% in private Chinese colleges) was much smaller than the latter's (8.71%). There was no government university for women until 1926. Only 4.5% were female students in state universities in 1929 and less than 9% in 1931,⁹⁴ but in mission universities 15.2% in 1925 and 21% in 1932.⁹⁵ The number of mission girls' middle schools was further increased to 95 in 1937 while there were 54 co-educational mission secondary schools. The proportion of boys to girls in Christian middle schools was 5 to 1, which was much better than Government's.⁹⁶ The proportion of boys and girls in the mission infant primary was 68 to 32, and in the junior primary 71 to 29, while in government schools 96 to 4 and 95 to 5.⁹⁷ Although the demands for women's rights led to more girls being admitted into Chinese schools and universities, the rate of growth of female students was terribly slow. The phenomenon of male-domination in non-mission institutions was very serious. Thus Christian education maintained its leadership in the relative emphasis given to female students. The Christian community was more ready to educate girls than the rest of Chinese society.⁹⁸ In bringing about a social demand for women's education, mission educational enterprises made an exceedingly

⁹²Dzung Lu-Dzai, A History of Democratic Education in Modern China (Shanghai, 1934), pp.145-146.

⁹³Christian Education in China (Shanghai, 1922), p.234.

⁹⁴Arend The. Van Leeuwem, Christian in World History: The Meeting of the Faiths of East and West, tran. by H. H. Hoskins (London, 1965), p.409; T'ao Chih-hsin, Chih-hsin shu-hsin (T'ao Chih-hsin's Correspondence) (Shanghai, 1929), see p.144; Florence Ayscough, Chinese Women Yesterday and Today (Boston, 1957), p.84; and John Israel, Student Nationalism in China 1927-37 (Stanford University Press, 1966), p.5.

⁹⁵Wang Chih-hsing, p.312; O. A. Petty ed., Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, Fact-Finders' Reports, China, Vol.V, p.536.

⁹⁶Teng Yu-ming, p.58.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp.115-116.

⁹⁸The National Christian Conference, 1922, pp.113-114; CMS. G1/CH4/0, No.110, pp.9-11; BMS's Report of Inter-Provincial Conference, Jan. 1920; UFS. Abstracts of Station Accounts for 1924.

strong impact. The missions were the heralds of a new period of female education.

The missions still took the lead in the social enlightenment of female education in China.⁹⁹ Even until the mid-1920s Chinese women desiring education on an equal basis with men could find it only in mission institutions. Christian enterprises in drawing woman students had blazed a trail that Chinese institutions followed. Under their pushing, a mushrooming interest in female education in Chinese society was rapidly increasing in the 1930s.

III. SOCIAL INFLUENCE

In the efforts of liberating Chinese women, the missionaries met with extraordinary success in the 1920s. They directly promoted social progress. They, particularly female missionaries, played an important part in helping Chinese women to find their place in practical life. They had done much more thorough and patient women's work in founding new ideal - mental, moral, spiritual and physical components on a sound and lasting basis in the 1920s than previously. Their activities helped accelerate the disintegration of the old social order while undermining the traditional assumption of women's inferiority. Mission women's work helped China develop and strengthen new womanhood. In the early 1930s Chinese women, especially in cities and coastal areas, with unfettered minds, had emerged from the age-long seclusion of their "behind-the screen" existence, and they were enjoying a physical and mental and social liberty which a few decades earlier had been inconceivable.

Under female missionaries' direct influence, the changing mode of dress was also one of the most obvious social progress. Western-style shoes became popular, leather shoes instead of cloth ones and widespread adoption of the short skirt. It was an amazing sight that not only in mission but also state schools many keen girls were in smart school uniform, consisting of short black shirt, blue Chinese coats, white stockings and black shoes. The hair of the majority was parted at the side in a soft wave, kept in place by a clip, and rolled round the ears in the fashion known at that time as "wireless". This was one of the fruits of the new educational policy. "The modernization of Chinese women's dress had gradually become a sort of artistic expression." The style of Chinese women's attire had got rid of the conventional dressing trammels,¹⁰⁰ quietly, courageously, and in womanly fashion winning their emancipation.

The manners of missionaries were taken as standards by Chinese girls and women. More visible evidence of the changing status of women was to be

⁹⁹The National Christian Conference, 1922, p.78; PCI. Annual report, 1924, p.26; Ibid., p.104; PCI. The Zenana Mission Quarterly 1929, p.58.

¹⁰⁰Yeh Ch'ien-yu, "Hsie-tsai hsien-ch'iu chih chuang-shu ch'ien-mien" (Essay written before new autumn's fashion), Fu-nu tsa-chih, Vol.16, No. 8 (1930), p.126.

seen on the streets and in other public places. Chinese women, particularly younger generation, accompanied their husbands to restaurants and places of entertainment and sat with them in the public theatres.¹⁰¹ The association between two sexes in cities became a very ordinary thing.

Missionaries were also the most enthusiastic advocates of female sports and paid special attention to girls' physical development.¹⁰² As for emphasis on physical education, there was no difference between mission girls' and boys' schools.¹⁰³ In 1915 the YWCA founded the first Physical Training Normal School for Women in Shanghai, which supplied well-trained Chinese physical educational directors for many places. In 1921 the Far East Games were held in Shanghai. The one thousand girls' gymnastic performance at the inauguration, organized and trained by this school, won great reputation for China. By 1927, apart from the National Peking Women's University, only Christian universities were able to provide physical training.¹⁰⁴ In the late 1920s China founded her own women's basketball team and women's tennis team to take part in the Sports Games of the Far East.¹⁰⁵ Encouraging female's physical training was of social significance for women's physical liberation. The modern girl, competing in the schools sports with bare legs and running shorts, was a far different sight from her grandmother who hobbled on bound feet that peeped out from long trousers. These activities enabled the field of Chinese women's social life to be further widened.

As the missions continued to pioneer female education in the 1920s, they helped Chinese women find more careers apart from marriage and housewives, being employed as teachers, nurses, doctors, managers, social workers. Some of them even stepped on the political stage or took position in commercial life as heads of businesses. A number of Chinese women were to be found on the staff of newspapers as reporters. A few of them even went to England to be trained as professional industrial welfare leaders.¹⁰⁶ Among these professions, higher education and medicine held first place. The mission institutions were directly in defiance of the existing unreasonable and unfair social structure, because they not only let girls learn general knowledge but gave their role greater social acceptance. With historical progress and the opening of Chinese vision, the attitude of Chinese people towards female education had undergone a great change from

¹⁰¹See Dorn, pp.242, 243.

¹⁰²Edith Benham & Luella Miner, Women's Work, (Centenary Missionary Conference, Paper No.5) (Shanghai, undated), p.25.

¹⁰³LMS. Fukien, Report, Box 5, Changchow Women's Work and Girls' School, 1921.

¹⁰⁴PCI. The Women's Work-1920, the Zenana Mission Quarterly, p.248.

¹⁰⁵See the photographs after the "Contents," in Fu-nu tsa-chih, Vol.16, No.9 (1930).

¹⁰⁶The Missionary Herald of PCI, March 1922, p.129.

indifference and suspicion to approval and widespread acclaim. Through mission work Chinese women became more and more highly-regarded in society.

In mission enterprises, Chinese girls and women had many more opportunities to have contact with Western scientific knowledge, nurtured in the capitalist democratic thoughts. Thus these missionaries, to some degree, helped to accumulate the power for Chinese women to achieve their own liberation. For instance, at the establishment conference of the NCC nearly a quarter of Chinese delegates were women.¹⁰⁷ Herman C. E. Liu became a top women's leader in various fields, such as the president of the Women Suffrage Association, vice-president of the Birth Control League, founder of the Shanghai Settlement House for slave girls and beggars, and general secretary of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Liu Chi-wen was elected a member of the People's Political Council of the Nationalist government in 1938. H. C. Mei was the president and officer of the Shanghai Women's Club, chairman of the joint committees of Shanghai Women's Organizations, the vice-president for the Far East of the World YWCA and vice-president of the Pan-Pacific Relations. Prof. C. L. Hsia was elected chairman of the YWCA National Committee in 1929. Mrs. T. T. Lew had made her own mark as a university professor, a theorist on education, President of the Federation of Women's Clubs. Yau Tsit Law became Dean of Women in Lingnan. Roberta M. Ma was a distinguished professor at Kwangsi University. There were also a large number of women doctors, such as Drs. Yamei Kin, Ida Kahn, Meiung Ting, Mary Stone, and S. M. Tao.¹⁰⁸ These mission-educated female talents became the backbone in women's emancipation movement. They were without doubt becoming one of the great creative forces in society.

It was more important that the main effect of mission women's work lay in playing the role of social enlightenment. The Church showed that solving women's problems became one of the main tasks of social reform which China should immediately carry out. In the revolt against feudal customs, Christian women's and other radical magazines provided a forum for the discussion of new ideas and were the source of many of the new ideas from Europe and America. The Chinese women's world which had been thought to be silent in the past, owing to the lashing of the world tides brought in by Western missionaries, began to appear a turbulent phenomenon. The influx of Western missionaries' attitude towards women stimulated many Chinese to call for women's rights. The Chinese were able to regard the degree of women's liberation as one of the major standards of justifying the extent of social civilization. They regarded European and American society as the

¹⁰⁷Roe, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1905-1954, p.337.

¹⁰⁸Helen Foster Snow, Women in Modern China (The Hague & Paris, 1967), pp.79, 80, 81; Mary A. Fearn, My Days of Strength, deals with medical work for women in China.

model of respect for women.¹⁰⁹ The journalistic interest in the women's issues greatly increased. Their targets were "to rouse women as means of reforming society" and "educate women and enable them to take part in the progress of society."¹¹⁰ The topics of women's liberation ranged from getting rid of familial and social restraints, to economic independence and even political suffrage. Western ideas of women permeated all these discussions. Chinese writers and journalists created all types of opportunity to call women's attention to a consciousness of their subordinate position.¹¹¹ More and more Chinese women stood up to speak for themselves, concerned with the betterment and uplifting their own status.

Advocating women's liberation was the essence of the self-strength of China.¹¹² "Good life comes from good education."¹¹³ Thus, more and more Chinese leaders in feminist movement firmly believed: "New education was the important expression of life value and individual ability, so women did absolutely not give the impression of weakness; whatever men could do, women were also able to do it."¹¹⁴ They took educational work as the major method of solving women's problem in rural areas and even the whole Chinese social problem.¹¹⁵ This ideology clearly originated from missionaries. By the 1930s developing and constructing female educational enterprises had become general practice throughout the nation. All over China there were fine schools for girls, organized by Government, and colleges, where the women students were trained daily how they could compete with men, "often, indeed, taking a better place and degree than their brothers and demonstrating clearly by their brilliant scholarships, how wrong was the old-time idea of their inferior mentality."¹¹⁶

Women were elected even as elders and deacons and took part in the public life of the Church and community. Educated young women were among the most popular and the most effective speakers, not only in meetings of Christian men and women, but also in mixed assemblies with non-Christians. Daughters of China would like to either live in liberty or die for their

¹⁰⁹Li Yu-ning & Chang Yu-fa ed., Chin-tai Chung-kuo nu-ch'uan yun-tung shih-liao, 1842-1911 (The Historical Materials of Modern Chinese Women's Liberation Movement, 1842-1911) (Taipei, 1975), p.700.

¹¹⁰Chow Tse-tung, The May Fourth Movement (Harvard, 1964), p.258; and his Research Guide to the May Fourth Movement (Harvard, 1964), p.64.

¹¹¹M.T.Z. Tyau, China Awakened (New York, 1922), pp.59-60; China Weekly Review, 4 Feb. 1922.

¹¹²"Women are a Nation's Mother," Tung-fang tsa-chih (Oriental Magazine), the first year, No.1, pp.109, 110.

¹¹³Hsiung An-ming, pp.182, 183.

¹¹⁴Yu Chia-chu, Chung-kuo chiao-yu shih-yao (Concise History of Education in China) (Shanghai, 1934), p.135.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p.188.

¹¹⁶PCI. The Women's Work-1927, the Zenana Mission Quarterly, pp.10-11.

own rights.¹¹⁷ More and more Chinese advocated increasing women's rights in every way. In 1920 women in Changsha participated in demonstrations demanding personal freedom against arranged marriage. The Women's Association of Hunan was organized in 1921 and well-known as "five proposal movement", demanding the rights to vote, to be elected to office, to education, to work, and to self determination in marriage. Finally, their requirement was written into the Hunan constitution and women's representatives had been elected to the provincial legislature.¹¹⁸ Similar movements were launched in Peking, Kwangtung and Chekiang.¹¹⁹ The "nationalist" youth trend - the former "Young China Society" in their political programme embraced "Women as well as men shall be eligible to become government employees and to sit in legislatures."¹²⁰ It deemed that male and female were entitled to the equal right of voting and election.¹²¹

In 1924 China began to celebrate International Women's Day while the KMT inaugurated a women's department at its headquarters. It passed a resolution in 1926 for improving the treatment of female labourers in the countryside.¹²² In order to train the propagandists of women's movement, Soong Ching-ling in Hankow in 1926 set up the Women's Training School. Under Ho Hsiang-ning's leadership, an organization of female telephone workers, a "liberation" society and the All-Kwangtung Women Alliance were designed to organize and educate women of the masses and to awaken them politically.¹²³ Government's Civil Code in 1930 stipulated the equal right of succession between the two sexes, the right of the equal freedom of marriage, electoral and elected rights. In the early 1930s one woman became chief magistrate in a county in Hopeh. Government also promulgated the new inheritance law among both male and female children.¹²⁴ All state laws relating to women based on the principle of equality between sexes.¹²⁵ However, the CCP's women liberation work attracted more attention. After the 1920s, it transferred its strategic attention from urban to rural

¹¹⁷G.T. Seton, Chinese Lanterns (New York, 1924), p.232.

¹¹⁸Katie Curtin, Women in China (New York, 1974), p.19.

¹¹⁹Chu Ching, "Wen-t'i shih yuan-feng-pu-tung teh ke-che" (Unsolved Problems), Fu-nu tsa-chih, Vol.17, No.1 (1931), p.2.

¹²⁰The China Christian Year Book 1931, p.82.

¹²¹Ibid., p.32.

¹²²Hsu Hui, "The Policies of the National Party on Women," Fu-nu Yueh-k'ian (Women Monthly), Vol.1, No.6 (Feb. 1942), pp.25.

¹²³Helen Foster Snow, Women in Modern China, p.107.

¹²⁴See Dorn, pp.243, 244.

¹²⁵Pao Chia-lin, Chung-kuo fu-nu shih lun-chi (The Collection of the Academic Theses of Chinese Women's History) (Taipei, 1979), pp.400, 405.

areas,¹²⁶ so it made more contributions to mobilizing rural women than did the KMT. Its women's movement displayed that "one of the greatest masses of disinherited human beings the world has ever seen." And because it found the keys to the heart of these women, it also found one of the keys to victory over Chiang Kai-shek.¹²⁷

With Chinese women increasingly awakening, quite a number of women's organizations sprang up between 1928 to 1937, at least 26 organizations were established to carry out a variety of tasks. The major names included the Philanthropic Association of Shanghai Women, the Patriotic and Courageous Anti-Japanese Team of Nanking Women, the Organization of Chinese Women for Consolation, the Association of Women in the Capital for the Promotion of National Products (1931), and the organization of Canton Women for the Care of refugees (1932). Government also created two important national women's organizations to coordinate activities, namely the Women's Work Committee of the New Life Movement in Nanchang (1934) and the Head Quarters of Chinese Women for the Consolation of Self-defence and Resistance Soldiers in Chungching (1937). These organizations were assisting Chinese women to increase their voice in society.

In spite of much social progress made at this time, there still existed many obstacles in the movement. In many places, especially in vast rural and remote areas, divorce still raised very thorny issues though many women were seriously concerned with the problem.¹²⁸ Though labour movement in urban districts had been significant in the 1920s, the village women still unwillingly talked to strangers and remained far more conservative.¹²⁹ Hence, too many problems were still left in women's emancipation to be solved by the Chinese themselves; and these also indicated that such liberation was a long-term and arduous task.

At this turning point of China's modernization in history missionaries stood at a pivotal point for their views on the role of women had influenced Chinese life since the latter part of the 19th century. Their women's work resulted in a series of social chain reaction. Under this impact women and girls emerged as important factors in national life. The profound transformation of women's status took place not merely in Chinese political structure, economic organization and educational system, but also in cultural values and social life. With the industrial development and social reform, the old conditions of life were broken up, the old customs and conventions were losing their power and ceased to be a safeguard.

¹²⁶See "Chung-hua Su-wei-ai kung-he-kuo hun-yin t'iao-li," published in *Hung-se Chung-hua*, 18 Dec. 1931; also "Chung-hua Su-wei-ai kung-he-kuo hun-yin-fa" published in *Su-wei-ai fa-tien* (Jui-chin, 1934); Delia Davin, *Women-Work* (Oxford, 1976), pp.22, 26; "Women in the Liberated Areas," by Delia Davin, in M. B. Young, *Women in China* (Ann Arbor, 1973), pp.73-91.

¹²⁷J. Belden, *China Shakes the World* (London, 1951), pp.316-317.

¹²⁸Anna Louise Strong, *China's Millions* (Peking, 1965), p.115.

¹²⁹Marilyn B. Young ed., *Women in China: Studies in Social Change and Feminism* (Ann Arbor, 1973), p.62.

Female education had become one of the innovations of mission work and a symbol of social progress. The 1920s was marked by further penetration and steady increase of missionary influence in women's emancipation.¹³⁰ This door had been opening wider and wider. There was a social change from the old patriarchal system to the era of liberty.¹³¹ Radical changes and dramatic breakthrough in women's life were partly due to mission women's work. Missions did much to break down social and unjust barriers of two sexes within both the Church and the whole social field. British missions had an important share in this work.¹³² Through their work, girls and women were taught leadership, self-reliance and self-respect. China now was wholly different from the China the missionaries first saw over forty years ago. Sex equality was one of the many slogans often heard.¹³³ Surprisingly, one could find that even in more conservative middle schools for men, biology teachers had been given permission to discuss sex problems in their classes.¹³⁴ No change had been of greater significance, more apparent and more beneficent, than the emancipation from the age-long bondage of the womanhood of China; in no other respect was China changed so completely as in the treatment of girls and women.¹³⁵

Mission women's work was the first social enlightenment and the earliest social mobilization of women's liberation in Chinese society. In the 1920s Christian missions continued being leaders and pioneers of liberating Chinese women in many ways, and they helped China launch a new climax of women's liberation. Indeed, missionaries no longer fought against discriminating Chinese women in isolation, and more and more Chinese individuals, social organizations, political parties intensified their participation in the movement of women's emancipation. The fact just demonstrated the social influence of mission women's work, and their activities awakened more and more Chinese people to deal with women's problems. Missionaries were the most powerful initiators and one of the supporters of this movement.

Missionaries' new cultural achievements in this field were absolutely praiseworthy; and the positive historical roles were much more than negative ones. The fact that the movement launched by the missions was an immense boon to the women of China cannot be doubted. The history of the movement of Chinese women's liberation shows the close connection with

¹³⁰Croll, p.87.

¹³¹"China's Revolutions," by Harry T. Silcock, in FFMA's Success Daily News, 16 March 1927.

¹³²PCI. The Zenana Mission Quarterly, 1927, see Miss Huston's paper, p.11.

¹³³PCI, see the magazine of its women's auxiliary, 1930.

¹³⁴See Dorn, p.242.

¹³⁵I. Dean, "The Women's Movement in China," Chinese Recorder, Vol.58, No.10 (1927), p.652.

missionary cultural activities not only in the last century and the first two decades of the 20th century but also in the 1920s. Missionaries not merely played a pioneering role in educating Chinese women through mission schools, protecting the health of Chinese women, and advocating women's liberation through their literature, but also but also concerned themselves with the problems of thousands of rural illiterate women and factory women's welfare. Western missions geared up their mobilization work in this important historical period.

Although many Chinese historians think that the CCP was the real leader of women's liberation movements in modern China, I would argue that the missionaries' view of women and the Christian emotion about women still affect us at a very deep level. During the 1920s the feminist movement in China should include the following tasks: domestic, physical, religious, moral, educational, economic, legislative and political liberation. Actually, mission women's work had touched on all these fields, but Christian missions had their own characteristics and emphases in this emancipation. They mainly concentrated on welfare work, reforming social customs, temperance issues, and domestic problems - solving immediate issues - while powerfully influencing the system of modern female education since the 19th century, launching a female labour movement and solving the problem of female illiteracy in rural areas (long-term questions). The CCP, in particular, emphasized economic and political liberation, believing these two aspects to be more important as the preconditional guarantee of women's emancipation, while regarding other types as side issues. However, the historical facts prove that all the above types of women's work together constituted the major tasks and needed to be carried out at the same time.

Domestic liberation was of course the first step through which missionaries aimed to solve the most essential female problems. It was absolutely not a minor issue or a secondary question, compared with women's economic independence and political liberation. Missionaries did a great deal of practical work to emancipate Chinese women in everyday life. Christian moral education taught Chinese women that freedom, universal love and equality were their inborn rights; Christian religious and moral standards were a great advance in contrast to feudal ones. Obviously, in female education the missionaries made a tremendous contribution, however, it was impossible for women to gain real and final economic independence and political liberation without modern female education, because women's earning power and standard of life can only be raised by suitable education and training. The effects of good education were practical - inwardly it improved the mind while outwardly it ensured a good livelihood. Education was the basis of the former two types of liberation. The mission labour movement among female factory workers was an integral part of the work in advocating economic equality between two sexes and better treatment of female workers which aimed to help women workers consolidate and strengthen

their status of economic independence. Mission-trained female graduates constituted the major part of the first generation of Chinese women elites who obtained real economic independence. Many of them became the real leaders of women's political emancipation. Thus, the advocacy of modern female education was a truly long-sighted strategy of the feminist movement. All types of women's work were absolutely necessary and were designed to meet different demands at all levels. There was no primary and secondary difference among them. Therefore it was unfair to conclude that the CCP's contributions were more important than the missions' in this movement in the 1920s. The work between them, roughly speaking, was not duplicated but met the needs of women's emancipation at different levels and in different aspects and supplemented each other. The missions had a share in this work.

In the 1920s the depth and range of mission women's work far surpassed that in the pre-1920s' period. These female missionaries played a vital role in sustaining such women's enterprises. Their continuous effort generated personal and cultural turmoil - and social change. They helped Chinese women enjoy the greater opportunities and option of a better quality of life. In these mass movements, many ordinary Chinese women, who had been untouched by the first revolution in 1911, were awakened by these missionaries. Their women's work had erected a new landmark in the further development of the movement of Chinese women's liberation. The 1920s' wave of feminism coincided with China's political revolution. Now Chinese women started to reappraise their position in society as a whole. The new womanhood was to have a large and useful share in the creation of a better, healthier and stronger China. The missionaries smoothed the path for future feminists by breaking social taboos. On the basis of the 1920s' feminist revolution Chinese women later began to campaign for greater freedom and equality in other spheres.

CHAPTER 8: PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WEST IN THE 1920S

In the 1920s Protestant missionaries remained the main mediators in the process of cultural exchange between China and the West. This study has highlighted the importation of Western culture into China by them rather than the exportation of Chinese culture to the West. Any programme of cultural relations was a project of communication. Cultural relations neither duplicate nor replace political, military, diplomatic and commercial relations among the countries of the world, though they may both strengthen and facilitate these other relationships by giving them a basis of friendly understanding. The influence of cultural factors is a new dimension to the study of international relations, but it has been generally ignored.¹ For the cultural relationship is essentially that of friendship from people to people, from the citizenry of one country to the citizenry of another,² through channels of mutual acquaintance. Cultural relationship is of great importance. Thus, it is sometimes called the "third pillar,"³ or "the fourth dimension after politics, trade and defence,"⁴ or "one of the three main elements,"⁵ or an essential dimension in international relations.⁶ But cultural exchange has a far broader import than cultural diplomacy, confined to the business of governments. Missionaries as voluntary workers, whose cultural activities lay beyond government guidance, overcame the conventional barriers that separated the Chinese and Western people and promoted the understanding between them. British missionary activities in the 1920s were thus an important integral part of the Sino-British relations as a whole.

In the first place, the institutions of Western culture were the summary of the total of their achievements, an expression of missionaries' national identity and therefore a factor in international affairs.⁷

¹R.P. Anand ed., Cultural Factors in International Relations (Honolulu, 1981), p.29.

²R.E. McMurry & M. Lee, The Cultural Approach: Another Way in International Relations (Chapel Hill, 1947), p.3.

³The first and second are politics and commerce, see Willy Brandt (German Foreign Minister), North-South. A Programme for Survival (London, 1980), p.16.

⁴See P. H. Coombs, "The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy," from Educational and Cultural Affairs (New York, 1964), p.ix.

⁵The similar point had been made less conspicuously by British foreign Office, namely political, economic and cultural elements made up British influence abroad, see Foreign Office (1938), Memorandum on the British Council & the Maintenance of British Influence Abroad, FO431/4 (London: Public Record Office), p.7.

⁶See A. MacLeish's Introduction in McMurry's book, p.viii.

⁷See McMurry, p.2; Anand, p.15; A.B. Bozeman, Politics and Culture in International History (Princeton, 1960), p.3.

National identity is often reinforced by cultural identity.⁸ The cultural projects of Christian missions in China were the method of making Western culture known to Chinese people. However, that backward China should study advanced states is an indispensable tendency of historical development. Mission cultural activities were effective means of helping China's national development. Meanwhile, learning from the West in the 1920s was still the main task of China. Their work was favourable to bringing about an advantageous fusion of Sino-Western cultures at an accelerated rate.

Secondly, the missionaries continued to promote and accelerate China's national awakening. Western culture was challenging each field of traditional Chinese culture. However, this great change was mainly the result of the external pressure rather than an awakening to the need of such intercourse from within. Napoleon Bonaparte prophetically once said, "When China awakes she will change the face of the earth." Opening the historical picture scroll of the Christian Movement in China, we find that missionary cultural activities and old Chinese culture were as incompatible as water and fire. Thus their work in the 1920s continued to break down the old basis of Chinese culture. More Chinese found that reforming and transforming Chinese society was advantageous to understanding and facilitating the flow of the culture between China and the West. Indeed, both the Chinese themselves and British missionaries who had been only a few years in China saw that she was changing and awakening.⁹ China used to be absolutely the most conservative land in the world. By the late 1920s she had fundamentally altered. Western civilization had destroyed feudalist fortresses, a new social life of a nation was forming. Through learning from the West, the Chinese people made more enormous strides than before. They were more educated, more civilized, more industrialized.

Thirdly, mission cultural activities played a role as an instrument of peace.¹⁰ Cultural relations are "the best means devised by civilization for preventing international affairs from being governed by politics alone."¹¹ Obviously, the essential policies of missions were to concert their cultural work to promote peace rather than to provoke wars between the West and China. They were not only in the service of preservation of peace - and opposed to all wars but also in the service of shaping peace. Besides, better understanding of various societies and their cultures would lead only to better relations between states.¹² Although cultural relations

⁸J. M. Mitchell, International Cultural Relations (London, 1986), p.16.

⁹PCI. The Women's Work-1920, the Zenana Mission Quarterly, p.201.

¹⁰Mitchell, p.13.

¹¹Lord Gore-booth ed., Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice (London, 1979), p.8.

¹²Anand, p.29.

are a minor form of foreign relations, the entire foreign policy process is itself subordinate to larger cultural dynamics.¹³ Thus British missionaries through their cultural activities created a more favourable impression on foreigners in leading positions in China than British politicians and merchants,¹⁴ either directly as with higher culture, or indirectly through their reputation built up by cultural operations in China.¹⁵ Although the method of mission cultural work in the 1920s was strictly non-political, their long-term cultural efforts more or less turned British government from political-commercial relations towards other ways of making its presence known to China and consciously or unconsciously helped their government to develop more fully the other forms of contact with the Chinese government and people. It was very clear that missionary cultural ventures postulated friendship as the inevitable fruit of Chinese-British cultural relations.

Observing modern Chinese history, one can easily find that, among British politicians, diplomats, military officers and soldiers, merchants and missionaries in China, the last group, by the very nature of Christian calling, were the most friendly British people to China. The lack of a desire for political interference,¹⁶ the real Christian sympathy felt in these missionaries with the striving of the Chinese people, especially the humbler classes. Their charitable work unselfishly performed, had given the Church the great confidence of the Chinese people. They sought always first the interests and welfare of the people among whom they came to serve; they mostly worked hard to solve China's social problems and to promote her national development. China benefitted greatly from British missionaries. We can affirmatively conclude that a purely religious aim represented most missionaries' intentions in China, and that the number of missionaries who harboured ulterior motives were very few. Such individual cases can not represent the general pattern of British mission work. The purposes for which most missionaries went to China were not so complicated and insidious

¹³F.A. Ninkovich, The Diplomacy of Ideas: US Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations (Cambridge, 1981), p.2.

¹⁴Mitchell, p.15.

¹⁵See McMurry, p.ix.

¹⁶The leaders of the Church demanded, "that missionaries in China should not engage directly or indirectly in politics and should not allow the institutions under their charge to be used for political purposes." They also recommended that all missions make no claim on their governments for the armed defence of their missionaries and their property. See BMS. CH/67, the file of J. S. Whitewright, his letter of 5 Sept. 1925; Hewitt, p.207. Besides, British missionaries were the earliest group of British citizens who appealed and urged their government to give up extra-territoriality. See China Centenary Missionary Conference: Records (Shanghai, 1907), p.743; Williamson, British Baptists in China, pp.123-124; Latourette, History of Missions, p.811; Varg, pp.311-315. Missionaries opposed British government's military demonstration, see "Glasgow Quakers & Chinese Situation" in FFMA's The Scotsman, 9 Feb 1927; and "Quakers Regret China's Policy: Liverpool Friends' Fear of Grave Conflict," in Liverpool Daily Courier, 28 Jan. 1927; C.P.William's paper in S.Gilley's book, p.398.

as what the traditional Chinese historians have thought,¹⁷ but were very simple. Their essential historical role was that of the friendly envoy to spread Western culture rather than a political group.

Fourthly, in the 1920s the percentage of Chinese Christians had been lower than 1% of the total Chinese population,¹⁸ though thousands of missionaries worked in China. It was obvious that Western Christian community touched only the fringe of Chinese society in their evangelistic work. The view that Christianity did not concern itself with social problems had remained prevalent among the Chinese people. This situation had resulted in Chinese people's indifferent attitude towards all things religious. Their interest in mission cultural work lay essentially in their finding the road to a prosperous and powerful new China through Christian models. Mission religious influences on China in the course of the whole cultural activities was not a main trend but merely a branch. The majority of Chinese accepted only advanced Western scientific knowledge and culture - the useful and practical parts of mission cultural work. They were thus often thought very "pragmatic and cold-minded" by these missionaries.¹⁹ The real accomplishments of the Protestant missions thus did not lie in their religious conversion but social enlightenment and moral influences, and material contributions. Such cultural legacies occupied a permanent place in modern China. Their secular impacts, especially in urban areas (though the people in huge rural districts were still not too much enlightened by mission work), were not fully anticipated by the missionaries themselves, nor was their value really understood by most Chinese people in the 1920s, but it was nevertheless the primary achievement of Christianity in China.

Fifthly, Christian literary work in introducing China to the West as was of equal importance to their contributions as the mediators in exporting Western learning and culture into China. Missionaries were the most important pioneers of Western Sinology. The majority of the best literature relevant to Chinese life, customs, cultural traditions, history and academy was written in English by missionaries. They mainly introduced pre-modern Chinese philosophy, history, and classical literature, because the classical Chinese knowledge and learning were thought the real essence of Chinese civilization to the West. In the 1920s they were still the most enthusiastic learners of Chinese language and culture.²⁰ The establishment of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London

¹⁷See Chapter 1.

¹⁸Lutz, China and the Christian Colleges 1850-1950, p.526.

¹⁹R.O. Hall, The Art of the Missionary: Fellow-Workers with the Church in China (London, 1942), p.5.

²⁰The detailed catalogue of missionaries' English books on China published in this decade can be seen in "Reviews of Recent Books" in JNCBRAS (1920-30).

was intimately connected with the name of many missionaries.²¹ Some of them became famous professors in Chinese language and Sinologists in the West. Some even served on the Board of the Boxer Indemnity Fund and continued to render their valuable help for the development of Chinese-British friendship and cultural exchange.²² Missionaries were the most important tie and bridge promoting mutual understanding between the East and West. Thus, they were the most important agencies of friendship in the two-way Sino-British cultural exchanges.

Sixthly, contrary to the orthodox Western view,²³ missionary work did not begin to decline after 1925. The only touchstone for measuring the success or failure of this movement is to discover whether the Christian missions continued to make new contributions to Chinese society or not, and whether they were still positive elements in pushing modern Chinese history forward. Indeed, the 1920s were the most complex and tortuous period in the history of the Christian movement in China; foreign missionaries lost their political prominence, and their religious activities and influence were confined within a much narrower sphere. However, despite this unfavourable political context, their place as mediators of Western civilization did not change. In most of this period China was under the harsh rule of the warlords, and the 1920s saw successive years of chaos caused by warfare between rival warlords. Government had no time to attend to other matters, and its lethargy and passivity in developing national cultural enterprises was noticeable. The domestic Chinese cultural institutions were only in their early stages and did not lay a solid foundation, or replace feudalistic ideas and traditional values. Hence, mission enterprises were still the strongest competitors and models for the national cultural institutions.

More importantly, owing to the social gospel policy, the new cultural achievements of these 1920s' missionary newcomers far surpassed their pioneers' in almost all cultural fields and were most impressive as the thesis has attempted to show. Not only was Western medical science fully transplanted into China, but the Protestant missions dominated modern medical work in China until the early 1950s. The modern Chinese educational system was further perfected; mission institutions played a leading role in research and higher educational work; the already over-expanded programme of mission higher education around 1930 to 1931 was again enlarged on its existing basis.²⁴ The Christian missions launched a large number of significant and new social reform projects; they recommended to China a modern social welfare system. In the late 1920s the Church

²¹See Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tz'u-tien.

²²Ibid.

²³See Chapter 1.

²⁴LMS. South China, Correspondence file in/out, Box 26, see A.L. Warnshuis' letter on 5 June 1931; Box No.27, "Canton Hospital Reorganization", from G.W. Greene, A.J. Fisher, and J.O. Thomson, Canton, 30 May 1930.

particularly intensified its involvement in the work for rural reform and industrial welfare, and threw more manpower and financial sources into famine relief. Missionaries had also had a large and formative share in liberating Chinese women, especially in the spheres of domestic emancipation, industrial welfare, female education and increasing women's earning ability. Women's legal rights thus became more acceptable. Certainly, after 1925, the missions had not passed their peak; the Christian movement fell neither into stagnation nor into decline. A great quantity of facts in the above chapters have demonstrated the constructive role of the missions and the greater success and progress of their cultural enterprises in China throughout the 1920s.

In the seventh place, in China, many traditional scholars have drawn a negative conclusion regarding missionary cultural activities in the 1920s. One of the greatest obstacles preventing a just assessment of the real cultural position of these Protestant missionaries has been that many of their significant social gospel activities are still unknown both to most Chinese and Western people. But the missionaries' devotion to the social gospel in the 1920s allowed them to feel the pulse of the nation and to endeavour to shape accordingly the direction of their mission cultural work. They had made great efforts to keep abreast of modern ideas in all their cultural work. It was absolutely not a small share that these missionaries took in introducing new thought, new philosophy, new medical science, new educational systems, new political and judicial ideals, new religious theories, a new philanthropic system, new ideals of womanhood, a new sympathy and a traditional yet revitalized Christian conscience. These practitioners of the social gospel were still one of the major forces in introducing Western learning, though they were no longer the only mediators in the 1920s as they had been in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Their constructive role in reforming Chinese society went far beyond their supposed negative influences.

Mission cultural work was a cross-fertilization that few Chinese people understand. In China no boundary line could be indicated as to the point reached by the flood of Western learning. The missionaries had made modern Chinese culture more dynamic. This dynamism was actually reflected in many aspects of social life in both elite and popular cultures. China in the 1920s underwent changes so gigantic in scale and profound in implication that they led China up a totally different path in the unfolding of her modern history. All mission cultural activities served as an invisible export. Chinese national culture really needed constant challenges in order to avoid fossilization and decadence. Mission social gospel work contributed to making the 1920s an exciting epoch, one pregnant with possibilities of national reconstruction. Their work made a lasting impact on the Chinese social transformation and people's lives, deeply influencing several Chinese generations.

Eighthly, the definitive history of the cultural contributions of

these missionaries in China in the 1920s remains to be written. Such a history must, among other things, incorporate the reality both of China and the world. In the above chapters, I sketched out one possible way that such a study might proceed. My goal here, however, has not been to cover the cultural history of British missions in the 1920s in all its complexity and detail. Rather, I have attempted to introduce (many Chinese and Western historians of the subject with traditional views) to a new way of looking at the matter. Although I have mentioned different approaches, no historical evidence is likely to resolve disagreements based on fundamental differences in outlook. I hope, however, to have shown the plausibility of a new approach to cultural mission history in China. If other interpretations have not been driven from the field, at least a new one has entered it, an interpretation that may lead historians to rethink the role and place of Protestant missionaries in China, even in other Asian countries, in the 1920s, and even until the end of World War II.

In general, there can be little doubt that without Christianity China could hardly have developed in many fields of cultural work in the 1920s. The influence of missions in Chinese people's lives had been very powerful. Their purpose was not merely the propagation of Christianity, but also the introduction of the Western way of life. Their cultural enterprises became a predominant factor in the spread of Western learning, and formed the centres leading China towards modernization. Protestant Christianity made a broad and multifaceted contribution to China's modernization.²⁵ It was certainly true that the Chinese people were eager to follow in the footsteps of Western countries in their national development and modernization. Among all the specific influences of Western nations in China in the 1920s, the mission cultural work should be given the highest assessment. Their enterprises had helped China to better organize her social life in many important fields, ensuring that the Chinese people had a great respect for these missionary mediators of Western culture in the 1920s, even if this was and can only now be properly re-assessed.

²⁵Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, p.194.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In this list of works given below no attempt is made to deal with the whole cultural history of British missions in China during the 1920s. References are given to the principal publications, which narrated the development of Christian movement in China at this time. The bibliography is intentionally selective. Its modest purpose is to list the most essential materials of this research.

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

(1) UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

a. Archives of British Missions (the mid-1910s--the mid-1930s):

BMS, located in Angus Library of Regent's Park College, University of Oxford (Minutes/ Reports/ Correspondence & Papers)

CEMS, located in the Library of School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London (Minutes/Records/Reports: The China Continuation Committee, 1913-1921; and the National Christian Council, 1922-1932)

CMS, located in Heslop Room, the Central Library of Birmingham University (Although its medical missionaries in China provided a great amount of medical services, there is a gap from 1921 to 1930 in its Medical Archives.) (Letters, Precis Books & Original Papers; Papers of Medical Department in 1920 & 1931: Minutes/ Correspondence/ Memoranda/Reports)

CEZMS, located in the same library as the CMS (Minutes/ Correspondence/ Reports in Fukien & Kwangsi-Hunan)

CSFM, located in the same libraries as the UFS (Reports/ Minutes)

CIM, located in (1) its headquarters at Sevenoaks of Kent, England; (2) the SOAS Library, University of London (Reports/ Minutes/ Annual Accounts)

EMMS, located in Headquarters Library of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society in Edinburgh, Scotland.

EPM, located in the SOAS Library (Papers/ Reports/ Correspondence)

LMS, located in the SOAS Library (Reports/ Incoming Letters/ Correspondence)

FFMA, located in Friends' House Library, Euston Road, London (Minutes/ Correspondence/ Reports)

PCI, (1) Parts of its archives are located in Edinburgh (see the UFS); (2) Headquarters Library of the PCI in Belfast, Northern Ireland; (3) Library of Queen's University in Belfast; (4) Public Record Office of Northern Ireland in Belfast (Minutes/ Reports/ Correspondence)

UFS, located in (1) National Library of Scotland; (2) Library of New College, University of Edinburgh; (3) Dept. of Manuscripts, Edinburgh University Library; (4) Headquarters Library, Church of Scotland in Edinburgh (Reports/ Minutes/ Correspondence/ Papers)

WMMS, located in the SOAS Library (General Correspondence/ Synod Minutes/ Correspondence)

b. British Foreign Office archives

British Foreign Office Archives of China, located in the Public Record Office Library (PRO) at Kew Gardens, London.

(2) INTERVIEWS

Norman Cliff in London on 6 Nov. 1991.
Rev. Colin Corkey at Newtownabbey, Belfast, on 3 Feb. 1993.
Dr. Agatha R. Crawford in Belfast on 1 Feb. 1993.
Margaret E. Garvie at Falkland, Scotland, on 14 Oct. 1992.
Dr. I. Garven in Glasgow on 17 Oct. 1992.
Dr. D. Faulkner at Ballynahinch of Belfast on 2 Feb. 1993.
Dr. M. Findlay at Leven, Scotland, on 13 Oct. 1992.
Flora Fulton in Belfast on 4 Feb. 1993.
Tom & Kay Hawthorn in Birmingham on 16 Nov. 1992.
George Hood in London on 11 Nov. 1991.
Elisabeth Houston in Edinburgh on 12 Oct. 1992.
Dr. and Mrs. D. Littlewood & Mrs. Peggy Pogue in Edinburgh on 12 Oct. 1992.
Joey McCausland in Belfast on 1 Feb. 1993.
Dr. Geof Milledge in London on 13 Nov. 1993.
Drs and Mrs. E.H. Paterson on 12 Sept. 1992 in London.
Hester Stewart in Belfast on 1 Feb. 1993.
Rev. Dr. A.J. Weir in Belfast on 2 Feb. 1993.

(3) PUBLISHED ORIGINAL MATERIALS

The Anti-Christian Movement: A Collection of Papers originally issued by the Anti-Christian and translated for the Student YMCA and YWCA of China (Shanghai, 1925).

A Century of Protestant Missions in China 1807-1907, ed. by MacGillivray, D. (Shanghai, 1907).

Cheeloo University, Bulletin, 1922-32.

Chen Tu-hsiu. Chen Tu-hsiu hsuan-chi (Selection of Chen Tu-hsiu) (Tientsin, 1990).

Cheng-kuang tsa-chih (The True Light Review) (Shanghai, 1925-28).

Chen-li (The Truth Weekly) (Peking, 1924-26).

Chiao-yu tsa-chih (Chinese Christian Advocate) (Shanghai).

Chih-tao Chou-k'an (The Right Way Weekly) (Shanghai, 1927).

Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tz'u-tien (Who's Who among Foreigners in Modern Chinese History) (Peking, 1978).

China Christian Advocate, 1914-41.

The China Christian Educational Association, Bulletin (1928).

The China Mission Year Book (Shanghai, 1910-1925).

- The China Christian Year Book (Shanghai, 1926-1930).
- The China International Famine Relief Commission Annual Reports 1922-30 (Peking).
- The China International Famine Relief Commission, Publications, series A, 1922-36; series B, 1922-35; Series E, 1932.
- The China Journal of Science and Arts (Shanghai, 1920-30).
- The China International Famine Relief Commission, Minutes/ Records/ Reports, 1922-36.
- Chinese Medical Journal (CMJ) (Shanghai, 1920-1931).
- China's Millions (London, 1920-1930).
- China News (Boston, 1927).
- China Weekly Review (Shanghai, 1925).
- The China Year Book (London, 1914-36).
- China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey 1829-1923, ed. by Teng Ssu-yu & Fairbank, J.K. (Cambridge, 1954).
- Chinese Economic Journal (1926-30).
- Chinese Economic Monthly (Peking, 1925-26).
- The Chinese Recorder (Shanghai, 1920-30).
- The Chinese Social and Political Science Review (Peking, 1928-29).
- Ch'ing-nien chin-pu (Association Progress) (Shanghai, 1922-28).
- Ch'ing-nien chun-jen (Young Soldiers) (Canton, 1925).
- Ch'ing-nien you (The Youth's Friend) (Shanghai, 1924-26).
- The Christian Literature Society for China, Annual Reports, 1888-1930.
- Ch'uan-kuo chiao-yu kung-tso-hui chi-lu (The Records of the National Education Working Conference), ed. by the Nanking Government (Nanking, May 1928).
- Chung-hua chi-tu-chiao ch'ing-nien-hui wu-shih chou-nien chi-nien-tse (The Autograph Book of the Fifth Anniversary of the YMCA of China) (Shanghai, 1935).
- Chung-hua kui-chu: Chung-kuo chi-tu chiao shih-yeh t'ung-chi (1900-1920) (The Christian Occupation of China), ed. by Milton Theobald Stauffer, tran. by Tsai Yung-ch'un (Peking, 1985).
- Chung-kuo chin-tai chiao-yu shih-liao (Documents on Chinese Education 1860-1922), 3 vols., ed. by Shu Hsin-ch'eng (Peking, 1962).
- Chung-kuo chin-tai ching-chi shih t'ung-chi tzu-liao hsuan-chi (Selected statistics on China's modern economic history), ed. by Yen Chung-p'ing (Peking, 1955).
- Chung-kuo chin-tai nung-yeh shih tzu-liao (Source materials on China's modern agricultural history), 3 vols., ed. by Li Wen-chih and Chang Yu-i (Peking, 1957).
- Chung-kuo chin-tai t'i-yu shih tzu-liao (The Historical Materials of Modern Chinese Sports), ed. by The Institute of Physical Training Historical

Research of the Physical Training College of Chengtu (Chengtu, 1988).

A Classified Index to the Chinese Literature of the Protestant Christian Churches in China, ed. by Kwang Hsue Publishing House (Shanghai, 1933).

Educational Review, ed. by The CCEA (Shanghai, 1920-30).

Fu-nu tsa-chih (The Ladies' Journal), ed. by the Commercial Press (Shanghai, 1920-31).

Ginling College, Bulletin, 1920-35.

1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China, ed. by Boynton, C.L. & Boynton, C.D. (Shanghai, 1936).

Hsien-feng (Vanguard) (Canton, 1920s).

Hsing-hua (Chinese Christian Advocate) (Shanghai).

Hsing-shih (A Wakened Lion) (Shanghai, 1925-26).

Hsueh-heng (The Critical Review) (Nanking, 1922-27).

Hsueh-sheng tsa-chih (The Students' Magazine) (Shanghai, 1920-1928).

Jen-ch'uan yue-k'an (Human Rights Monthly) (Peking, Aug.-Dec. 1925).

Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JNCBRAS) (Shanghai, 1920-1930).

Journal of the West China Border Research Society (Chengtu, 1933-34).

K'e-hsueh yu jen-sheng-kuan (Science and Philosophy of Life) (Shanghai, 1926).

Kuo-chi kung-pao (International Journal), 1923-28.

Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, Fact-Finders' Reports, China, Vol. II, Vol. V, ed. by Petty, Orville A. (New York & London, 1933).

Liang Shu-ming. Chung-kuo min-tsu tzu-chiu yun-tung chih tsui-hou chue-wu (The Chinese Self-Saving Movement's Last Awakening) (Shanghai, 1933).

Lingnan Agricultural Review, 1925-27.

Lingnan Science Journal, 1927-31.

Lingnan Science Bulletin, 1930.

The National Christian Conference Held in Shanghai, 2-11 May 1922 (Shanghai, 1922).

The National Christian Council of China, Bulletin, 1922-37.

The New China Review, ed. by Samuel Couling (Shanghai, 1920-1922).

The North China Famine of 1920-1921 with Special Reference to the West Chihli Area Being the Report of the Peking United International Famine Relief Committee (Peking, 1922).

North China Herald (Shanghai, 1919-1936).

Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1926-30.

Rawlinson, Frank. Naturalization of Christianity in China: A Study of the Relation of Christian and Chinese Idealism and Life (Shanghai, 1927).

Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, 1877 (Shanghai, 1977).

Records of the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries of China, 1890 (Shanghai, 1890).

Report of the Conference on Christianizing Economic Relations Held under the Auspices of the National Christian Council of China (Shanghai, 1927).

Report of the Proceedings of the International Industrial Welfare (Personnel) Congress Held in Flushing, Holland, June 1925 (Zurich, 1925).

Richard, Timothy. Forty-Five Years in China (Shanghai, 1916).

_____. Conversion by the Million in China (Shanghai, 1907).

Sheng-ming (The Life) (Peking, 1922-26).

Shih-hsueh nien-pao (Historical Annual), 1929-33.

T'ao Chih-hsing. Chih-hsing shu-hsing (T'ao Chih-hsin's Correspondence) (Shanghai, 1929).

T'i-yu (The Sports) (Shanghai, 1927-28).

T'i-yu chou-pao, t'ek-k'an (The Sports Weekly, Special Issue) (Ch'angsha, Jan. 1920).

University of Nanking, Bulletin, 1915-34; Agriculture and Forestry Notes, 1924-36; Agriculture and Forestry Series, 1920-25.

West China Missionary News (Chengtu, 1920-1930).

World Missionary Conference Reports, Vol.III.

Yenching hsue-pao (Yen-ching Journal of Chinese Studies) (1927-36).

Yenching University, Department of Biology, Bulletin, 1930.

Yenching University, Department of Sociology and Social Work, Social Research Series, 1930.

Young China Magazine (Shanghai, 1924-1930).

2. SECONDARY MATERIALS:

(1) MISSIONARY MOVEMENT HISTORY

Abell, Aaron I. The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900 (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

Addison, James Thayer. Chinese Worship: A History of the Meaning and Its Relations with Christianity (Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, 1925).

Ballou, Earle H. Dangerous Opportunity, the Christian Mission in China Today (New York, 1940).

Band, Edward. Working His Purpose Out: The History of the English Presbyterian Mission 1847-1947 (London, 1948).

Beaver, R. Pierce. "Missionary Motivation through Three Centuries," in Reinterpretations in American Church History, ed. by Jerald C. Brauer (Chicago, 1968).

Bickers, Robert A. & Seton, Rosemary ed. Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues (Richmond, Surrey, 1996).

- Brandt, W. North-South, A Programme for Survival (London, 1980).
- Broomall, A.J. Strong Man's Prey (London, 1953).
- Cable, Mitdred & French, Francesca. Ambassadors for Christ (London, 1935).
- Ch'en Hsiu-p'ing. Ch'en-fu lu - Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien yun-tung yu chi-tu-chiao nan-nu ch'ing-nien-hui (History of the Movement of Chinese Youth and the YMCA and YWCA) (Shanghai, 1989).
- Chin-tai chung-kuo chiao-an yen-chiu (Studies on Modern Chinese Anti-Christian Movements), ed. by Social Scientific United Association of Szechwan and Historical Institute of Modern Chinese Anti-Christian Movements in Szechwan (Chengtou, 1987).
- Cohen, Paul A. China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Anti-foreignism 1860-1870 (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).
- Corbett, Hunter. Kuo Hsien-teh mu-shih hsing-ch'uan ch'uan-chi (Memoirs of the Rev. Hunter Corbett) (Tsianan, 1926).
- Covell, Ralph R. Confucius, the Buddha and Christ: A History of the Gospel in China (Maryknoll, 1986).
- Davis, George T.B. China's Christian Army: A Study of Marshal Feng and His Soldiers (Taipei, 1974).
- Fairbank, John King. The Missionary Enterprise in China and America (Cambridge, Mass., 1974).
- Fulton, Austin. Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire-Church and Mission and Mandarin, 1867-1950 (Edinburgh, 1967).
- Gernet, Jacques. China and Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).
- Goodall, Norman. A History of the London Missionary Society - 1895-1945 (London, 1954).
- Hayward, V. Christians and China (Belfast, 1974).
- Hewitt, Gordon The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942 (London, 1977).
- Hood, George. Neither Bang Nor Whimper: The End of a Missionary Era in China (London, 1991).
- _____. Missionary Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China: A Study of the Interplay between Mission Methods and their Historical Context (New York, 1986).
- Juan Jen-tse & Kao Chen. Shanghai tsung-chiao shih (Religious History of Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1992).
- Ku Ch'ang-sheng. Ch'uan-chiao-shih yu chin-tai Chung-kuo (Missionaries and Modern China) (Shanghai, 1991).
- _____. Tsung Ma Li Hsun tao Si Tu Lei Teng: Lai-hua hsin-chiao chuan-chiao-shih ping-chuan (From Robert Morrison to J. Leighton Stuart) (Shanghai, 1989).
- Kraemer, H. The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (London, 1938).
- Kung, Hans & Ching, Julia. Christianity and Chinese Religions (London, 1989).
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. A History of Christian Missions in China

(London, 1929).

Lin Chih-p'ing & Ch'a Shih-chieh. Chi-tu-chiao yu Chung-kuo li-shih t'u-pien lun-wen chi (Christianity and Selection of Chinese Historical Pictures and Dissertations) (Taipei, 1979).

Lutz, Jessie Gregory. Chinese Politics and Christian Missions - The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-28 (Notre Dame, 1988).

_____. Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What? Problems in Asian Civilizations (Boston, 1965).

Milo, Thornberry. American Missionary and the Chinese Communists: A Study of Views Expressed by Methodist Episcopal Church Missionaries, 1921-1941 (London, 1974).

Neill, Stephen. Colonialism and Christian Missions (New York, 1966).

_____. A History of Christian Missions (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1964).

Neils, Patricia. United States Attitudes and Policies toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries (New York, 1990).

Roe, James Moulton. A History of the British And Foreign Bible Society 1905-1954 (London, 1965).

Soothill, W. E. Timothy Richard of China (London, 1924).

Stanley, Brian. The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Leicester, 1990).

_____. The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992 (Edinburgh, 1992).

Teng Yu-ming. Erh-shih shih-chi Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao wen-t'i (The Chinese Christian question in the Twentieth Century) (Taipei, 1980).

Thompson, H.P. Into All Lands: The History of the SPGFP (London, 1951).

Tyzack, Charles. Friends to China: The Davidson Brothers and the Friends' Mission to China 1886 to 1936 (York, 1988).

Varg, Paul A. Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952 (Princeton, 1958).

Walls, Andrew F. "The British," International Bulletin of Missionary Research 6 (Apr. 1982), pp.60-4.

Wang Chih-hsin. Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao shih-kang (The Historical Outline of the Christianity in China) (Shanghai, 1940).

Williamson, H.R. British Baptists in China 1845-1952 (London, 1957).

Whyte, Bob. Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity (London, 1990).

(2) SOCIAL GOSPEL

Backstrom, P.N. Christian, Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England. Edward Vansittart Neale and the Cooperative Movement (London, 1974).

Bebbington, D.W. Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's (London, 1989).

_____. The Nonconformists Conscience: Chapel and Politics, 1870-1914 (London, 1982).

- Binfield, C. So Down to Prayers: Studies in English Nonconformity 1780-1920 (London, 1977).
- Bowen, Desmond. The Ideas of the Victorian Church: A Study of the Church of England 1833-1889 (Montreal, 1968).
- Braithwaite, W.C. The Second Period of Quakerism (London, 1919).
- Budd, Susan, Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850-1960 (London, 1977).
- Carter, P. A. The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel (Ithaca & New York, 1956).
- Chadwick, O. The Victorian Church, Part I (London, 1966) & Part II (1860-1901) (London, 1970).
- Charlton, William, Mallinson, Tatiana & Oakeshott, Robert. The Christian Response to Industrial Capitalism (London, 1986).
- Christensen, Toben; & Hutchison, William R., eds. Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920 (Aarhus, Denmark, 1982).
- Clark, G.K. Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885 (London, 1973).
- Cox, Jeffrey. The English Churches in a Secular Society Lambeth, 1870-1930 (New York & Oxford, 1982).
- Cripps, S. Towards Christian Democracy (London, 1945).
- Curtis, S. A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture (Baltimore & London, 1991).
- Darwinism and Divinity: Essays on Evolution and Religious Belief, ed. by Durant, John (Oxford, 1985).
- Drummond, H. Natural Law in the Spiritual World (London, 1883).
- _____. The Ascent of Man (London, 6th ed. 1897).
- Gilbert Alan D. Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914 (London & New York, 1976).
- Gorrell, Donald K. The Age of Social Responsibility: The Social Gospel in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920 (Macon, Geor., 1988).
- Handy, Robert T. The Social Gospel in America 1870-1920 (New York, 1966).
- Hawley, J.S. Fundamentalism and Gender (Oxford, 1994).
- Hays, Samuel P. Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920 (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).
- Hilton, B. The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865 (Oxford, 1988).
- Holt, R.V. The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England (London, 1952).
- Hopkins, C.H. The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915 (New Haven & London, 1940).
- Hutchison, William R. The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism (Cambridge, Mass., 1976).
- Inglis, K.S. Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London,

1963).

Jessop, W. An Account of Methodism in Rossendale and the Neighbourhood (Manchester & London, 1980).

Keller, Adolph & Stewart, George. Protestant Europe: Its Christ and Outlook (New York, 1927).

Machin, G.I.T. Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1869 to 1921 (Oxford, 1987).

Martin, David. The Breaking of the Image: A Sociology of Christian Theory and Practice (Oxford, 1980).

Marty, Martin E. & Appleby, R. Scott. Fundamentalism Observed (Chicago & London, 1991).

Miller, Jon. The Social Control of Religious Zeal: A Study of Organizational Contradictions (New Brunswick, & New Jersey, 1994).

Moorhouse, G. The Missionaries (London, 1973).

Moorman, J.R.H. A History of the Church in England (London, 1954).

Poole-Connor, E.J. Evangelicalism in England (London, 1966).

Preston, R. Religion and the Persistence of Capitalism (London, 1979).

Raistrick, A. Quakers in Science and Industry (London, 1950).

Raven, C. Christian Socialism 1848-54 (London, 1920).

Reardon, Bernard M.G. From Coleridge to Gore: A Century of Religious Thought in Britain (London, 1971).

Reed, Bruce D. The Dynamics of Religion: Process and Movement in Christian Churches (London, 1978).

Smith, Leonard. Religion and the Rise of Labour: Nonconformity and the Independent Labour Movement in Lancashire and the West Riding 1880-1914 (Keele, 1993).

Stark, Werner. The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom (London, 1967).

Stromberg, Roland N. Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth-Century England (Oxford, 1954).

Symondson, A. The Victorian Crisis of Faith (London, 1970).

Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (London, 1952).

Taylor, Haward. Hodson Taylor's Spiritual Secret (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1900).

Temple, W. Christianity and Social Order (London, 1942).

Thompson D.M. Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century (London & Boston, 1972).

Thompson, E.P. The Making of the English Working Class (London, 1968).

Thornton, L.S. The Incarnate Lord (London, 1928).

Underwood, A.C. A History of the English Baptists (London, 1947).

Warren, Max. Social History and Christian Mission (London, 1967).

Wauzzinski, Robert A. Between God and God: Protestant Evangelicalism and the Industrial Revolution, 1820-1914 (London & Toronto, 1993).

Wearmouth, R. Methodism and the Working Class Movements of England 1800-1850 (London, 1937).

Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1945).

Weber, M. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904-5), tran.by Parsons, T. (London, 1930).

White Jr., Ronald C. & Hopkins, C.H. The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America (Philadelphia, 1976).

Williams, C. Peter. "British Religion and Wider World: Mission and Empire, 1800-1940," A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present, ed. by Gilley, S. & Sheils, W.J. (Oxford & Cambridge, Mass., 1994).

Wolffe, John. God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945 (London & New York, 1994).

Yates, Nigel; Hume, Robert & Hastings, Paul. Religion and Society in Kent, 1640-1914 (Woodbridge, Kent, 1994).

(3) MEDICAL SERVICES

Alice Ho Miu Ling Nethesole Hospital Hongkong 1887-1967 (In Chinese) (Hongkong, 1968).

Balme, Harold. China and Modern Medicine: A Study in Medical Missionary Department (London, 1921).

Brief History of the Moukden Medical College, ed. by China Medical University (Shenyang, 1992).

Bullock, Mary Brown. An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College (Berkeley & London, 1980).

Chao, Hung-chun. Chin-tai chung-hsi-i lun-chen shih (Modern Chinese History of Controversy between Western and Chinese Medicine) (Shihchiachuang, 1982).

Chen, C.C & Bunge, Frederica M. Medicine in Rural China: A Personal Account (Berkeley & London, 1989).

Chen, P.H. A History of Chinese Medicine (Shanghai, 1936).

Ch'en Pang-hsien. Chung-kuo i-hsueh shih (Medical History of China) (Peking, 1984).

Cheng Man-ching & Lin Pin-shih. Chung-kuo i-yao-hsueh shih (1982).

Cheung, Yuet-wah & New, Peter Kong-ming. "Missionary Doctors VS Chinese Patients: Credibility of Missionary Health Care in Early Twentieth Century China," Social Science & Medicine, Vol.21, No.3 (1985).

"Toward a Typology of Missionary Medicine: A Comparison of Three Canadian Medical Missions in China before 1937," Culture (Journal of Canadian Ethnology Society), Vol.3, No.2 (1983).

Choa, G.H. "Heal the Sick" Was their Motto: The Protestant Medical Missionaries in China (Hongkong, 1990).

Christie, D. Thirty Years in Moukden 1883-1913 (London, 1914).

Christie, E. Dugald Christie of Manchuria: Pioneer and Medical Missionary - the Story of a Life with a Purpose (London, 1932).

_____ . Jackson of Moukden (New York, undated).

Chu, H.B. "New Trends in Christian Medical Work," The Chinese Recorder, Vol.72, No.2 (1941).

Faber, K. Report on Medical Schools in China (Series of League of Nations Publications), III8, 1931.

Feng Dja-chien, "Prostitution in Shanghai," MA Thesis, Shanghai College Library, 1929.

Ferguson, Mary E. China Medical Board and Peking Union Medical College (A Chronicle of Fruitful Collaboration 1914-1951) (New York, 1970).

Grant, J.B. "The Faber Report on Medical Schools in China," Chinese Medical Journal (CMJ), Vol.49 (1935).

Gray, Annie. A Scotswoman in China 1925-1951 (Buchan, undated).

Hillier S.M. & Jewell, J.A. Health Care and Traditional Medicine in China, 1800-1982 (London & Boston, 1983).

Hsu Ch'ang-ch'eng. "Chi-tu-chiao tsai Ningpo teh kui-chi" (The Orbit of Christianity in Ningpo), Tsung-chiao (Religion) (Nanking) (Feb. 1990).

Hume, Edward H. Doctors East Doctor West: An American Physician's Life in China (London, 1949).

Kao, Frederick F. & Kao, John J. Chinese Medicine - New Medicine (New York, 1977).

Keyte, J.C. Andrew Young of Shensi (London, 1924).

Kung Chien-min. Chung-kuo i-hsueh shih-kang (The Outline of China's Medical History) (Peking, 1989).

Lennox, W.G. "A Self Survey by Mission Hospitals in China," CMJ, Vol.46 (1932).

Lai & Chang, "Syphilis and Prostitution in Kiangsu," CMJ, Vol.42 (1928).

Lucas, An Elissa. Chinese Medical Modernization: Comparative Policy Continuities, 1930s-1980s (New York, 1982).

Maxwell, J.L. "The Mission Hospitals in China," CMJ, Vol.46 (1932).

Moorshead, R.Fletcher. "Heal the Sick" - the Story of the Medical Mission Auxiliary of the Baptist Missionary Society (London, 1929).

Paterson, E.H. A History for Hongkong: The Centenary History of the Alice Ho Miu Ling Nethersole Hospital 1887-1987 (Hongkong, 1987).

Read, B.E. "Modern Treatment of Leprosy," The China Journal of Science and Arts, Vol.1, No.2 (March 1923).

Tao, S.M. "Medical Education of Chinese Women," CMJ, Vol.47 (1933).

Thatchell, W. Arthur. Medical Missions in China in Connexion with the Wesleyan Methodist Church (London 1909).

Tsai, H.H. "Scottish Women Medical Pioneers: Manchuria 1894-1912," Scottish Medical Journal, Vol.37 (1992).

Weng Chih-lung. "Chung-kuo teh hsin-i-hsueh" (The New Medical Science of

China), Wen-hua chien-she (The Cultural Construction), Vol.1, No.2.

William Lockhart. The Medical Missionary in China: A Narrative of Twenty Year's Experience (London, 1861).

Wong, K. C. & Wu, Lien-teh. History of Chinese Medicine (Tientsin, 1932).

Wu, Lien-teh. Plague Fighter: The Autobiography of a Modern Chinese Physician (Cambridge, 1932).

Yen, F.C. "Medical Education in China, Past and Present," CMI, Vol.49 (1935).

(4) EDUCATION

Anderson, Elam J. English Teaching Efficiency in China (Shanghai, 1925).

Buck, Peter. American Science and Modern China 1876-1936 (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

Ch'en Chao-ch'ing. Chung-kuo nung-ts'un chiao-yu kai-lun (Village Education in China) (Shanghai, 1937).

Ch'en, Ch'ing-chih. Chung-kuo chiao-yu shih (History of Education in China, 2vols (Shanghai, 1938).

Ch'en Chin-p'an. Chung-kuo chin-tai chiao-yu shih (Modern Educational History in China) (Shanghai, 1979).

Chiang Shu-ko. Chung-kuo hsien-tai chiao-yu chih-tu (The Present-day Educational System in China (Shanghai, 1934).

Corbett, C.H. Shantung Christian University (Cheeloo) (New York, 1955).

The Educational Scientific Institute of Educational Department of East-China Normal University ed. Chung-kuo hsien-tai chiao-yu-shih (Contemporary Chinese Educational History) (Shanghai, 1983).

Gregg, Alice H. China and Educational Autonomy: The Changing Role of the Protestant Educational Missionary in China 1807-1937 (Syracuse, 1946).

Fu K'e. Chung-kuo wai-yu chiao-yu shih (History of Chinese Foreign Linguistic Education) (Shanghai, 1986).

Harrison, B. University of Hongkong: the First 50 Years, 1911-1961 (Hongkong, 1962).

Hayhoe, Ruth & Bastid, Marianne ed. China's Education and the Industrialized World Studies in Cultural Transfer (Armonk, New York & London, 1987).

Huang Yen-pei. Chung-kuo chiao-yu shih-yao (Concise History of Education in China) (Shanghai, 1933).

Jen Shih-hsian. Chung-kuo chiao-yu su-hsiang shih (Chinese Educational Ideological History) (Shanghai, 1986).

Kuo, Hsi-fen. Chung-kuo t'i-yu shih (History of Physical Culture in China) (Shanghai, 1931).

Li Tsung-tung. Chung-kuo li-tai ta-hsueh shih (Symposium on the History of Higher Education in China) (Taipei, 1958).

Liao Shih-ch'eng. Chung-kuo chih-yeh chiao-yu wen-t'i (Problems of Vocational Education in China) (Shanghai, 1929).

Lutz, Jessie Gregory. China and the Christian Colleges 1850-1950 (Ithaca, 1971).

_____. "Chi-tu tsung-chiao tsai-hua chiao-yu shih-yeh hui-lu" (Christian Education in China), tran. by Ling, Jui-ch'i Ting (Tripod), No.48 (Dec. 1988) (Hongkong).

Scott, R.P. The Boxer Indemnity: Its Relation to Chinese Education (London, 1924).

Scott, Roderick. Fukien Christian University: A History Sketch (New York, 1954).

Shu Hsin-ch'eng. Chin-tai Chung-kuo liu-hsueh shih (A History of Chinese Students Studying abroad in Recent Times) (Shanghai, 1933).

T'ai Shuang-ch'iu. Chung-kuo p'u-chi chiao-yu wen-t'i (Problems of Universal Elementary Education in China) (Shanghai, 1937).

Ti-erh-tz'u Chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien (The Yearbook of the Second Chinese Education).

Ti-i-tz'u Chung-kuo chiao-yu nien-chien (The Yearbook of the First Chinese Education).

Ting Chih-p'ing ed. Chung-kuo chin ch'i-shih-nien-lai chiao-yu chi-shih (Chronology of Chinese Education during the Last 70 Years) (Shanghai, 1933).

Wu Wen-chung. Chung-kuo ti-yu fa-ch'an shih (History of Sports Development in China) (Taipei, 1986).

Yang Shao-sung. Chung-kuo chiao-yu shih-kao (History of Education in China) (Peking, 1989).

Yu Chia-chu. Chung-kuo chiao-yu shih-yao (Concise History of education in China) (Shanghai, 1934).

(5) SOCIAL REFORM

Blocker, J. S. American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform (Boston, 1989).

Buck, John Lossing. Land Utilization in China: A Study of 16,786 Farms in 168 Localities, and 38,526 Farm Families in Twenty-Two Provinces of China, 1929-1933, 3 vols (Nanking, 1937).

Chai K'e. Chung-kuo nung-ts'un wen-t'i chih yen-chiu (A study of problems of the Chinese village economy) (Canton, 1933).

Chang, C. C. "China's Food Problem," Data Papers on China, 1931 (Shanghai, 1931) pp. 1-29.

Chang Chin-lu. Chung-kuo ch'u-pan shih-liao pu-bien (Peking, 1957).

Chang, John K. Industrial Development in Pre-Communist China. A Quantitative Analysis (Edinburgh, 1969).

Charlton, W., Mallinson, T. & Oakeshott, R. The Christian Response to Industrial Capitalism (London, 1986).

Chesneaux, Jean. The Chinese Labour Movement, 1919-1927 (Stanford, 1968).

Chung-kuo chin-tai nung-ye shih tzu-liao (Historical materials on modern China's agriculture). 3 vols., vol. 1, ed. Li Wen-chi, vols. 2 and 3, ed. Chang Yu-yi (Peking, 1957).

- A Commercial and Industrial Handbook (Washington, 1926).
- Condliffe, J. B. China Today: Economic (Boston, 1932).
- Coughlin, B. J. Church and State in Social Welfare (New York & London, 1965).
- Dawson, Owen L. Studies of Relief and Rehabilitation in China & Fong, H. D., Lin, k. Y., and Koh, Tso-Fan. Problems of Economic Reconstruction in China (New York and London, 1980).
- Eisenlohr, L. E. S. International Narcotics Control (London, 1934).
- Fang Fu-an. Chinese Labour (London, 1931).
- Fang Han-chih. Chung-kuo chin-tai pao-kan shih (History of Modern Chinese Mass Media) (Taiyuan, 1981).
- Fei Hsiao-tung. Peasant Life in China: A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley (London, 1939).
- Feuerwerker, Albert. Economic Trends in the Republic of China, 1912-1949 (Ann Arbor, 1977).
- Fitzgerald, Robert. British Labour Management & Industrial Welfare 1846-1939 (London, 1988).
- Forrest, R.J. & Hillier, W.C. China Famine Relief Fund (Shanghai, 1879).
- Gamble, S. D. and Burgess, J. S. Peking: A Social Survey (New York, 1921).
- Honig, Emily. Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949 (Stanford, 1986).
- Ke Kung-ch'en. Chung-kuo pao-hsueh shih (History of Chinese Newspapers) (Peking, 1955).
- Kelly, Eleanor T. Welfare Work in Industry (London, 1925).
- Lee, F. C. H. and Chin, T. Village Families in the Vicinity of Peiping (Peking, 1929).
- Lee, Mabel Ping-hua. The Economic History of China (with Special Reference to Agriculture) (New York, 1969).
- Mallory, Walter H. China: Land of Famine (American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 6) (New York, 1926).
- _____. "Rural Cooperative Credit in China, A Record of Seven Years of Experimentation," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol.45, No.3 (May 1931).
- Malone, C. B. and Tayler, J. B. "The Study of Chinese Rural Economy," China International Famine Relief Commission Publications, Ser. B, No. 10 (Peking, 1924).
- Myers, Ramon H. "Agrarian Policy and Agricultural Transformation: Mainland China and Taiwan, 1895-1954," Hsiang-kang Chung-wen ta-hsueh Chung-kuo wen-hua yen-chiu-so hsueh-pao (Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hongkong), 3.2 (1970), pp.532-35.
- _____. The Chinese Economy Past and Present (Belmont, 1980).
- _____. The Chinese Peasant Economy: Agricultural Development in Hopei and Shantung, 1890-1949 (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).
- Nathan, Andrew James. A History of the China International Famine Relief

Commission (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

National Convocation of Rural Rehabilitation, Vol.1 (Shanghai, 1934); Vol.2 (Shanghai, 1937) (in Chinese).

Shen, T. H. Agricultural Resources of China (Ithaca, 1951).

Sheridan, Mary & Salaff, Janet W. Lives Chinese Working Women (Bloomington, 1984).

Taylor, J. B. "The Study of Chinese Rural Economy" in The Chinese Social and Political Review, Vol.8, No. 1, Jan. 1924.

Tawney, R. H. A Memorandum on Agriculture and Industry in China (Honolulu, 1929).

_____. Land and Labour in China (London, 1932).

Teng Yun-t'ek. Chung-kuo chiu-huang shih (Famine Relief History of China) (Shanghai, 1984).

Todd, O.J. Two Decades in China, Comprising Technical Papers, Magazine Articles, Newspaper Stories and Official Reports Connected with Work under his own Observation (Peking, 1938).

Vinacke, Harold M. Problems of Industrial Development in China: A Preliminary Study (Princeton, 1926).

Walker III, William O. Opium and Foreign Policy: The Anglo-American Search for Order in Asia, 1912-1954 (Chapel Hill and London, 1991).

Wales, Nym (Snow, Helen Foster). The Chinese Labour Movement (New York, 1945).

Walmsley, Lewis Calvin. Bishop in Honan: Mission and Museum in the Life of William C. White (Toronto, 1974).

Work of the National Flood Relief Commission of the National Government of China (Shanghai, June 1932).

Yen, Y.C James. The Mass Education in China (Peking, 1925).

(6) THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Anderson, Mary Raleigh. Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in the South China (Alabama, 1943)

Andors, Phyllis. The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women 1949-1980 (Bloomington and Sussex, 1983).

Armstrong, Karen. The Gospel according to Woman: Christianity's Creation of the Sex War in the West (London, 1986).

_____. The End of Silence: Women and the Priesthood (London, 1993).

Aysough, Florence. Chinese Women Yesterday and Today (Boston, 1957).

Banks, O. Becoming a Feminists: The Social Origins of 'First Wave' Feminism (Brighton, 1986).

_____. The Politics of British Feminism, 1918-1970 (Hants, Eng., 1993).

Beaver, R.P. American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1980).

- Bordin, Ruth. Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (New Brunswick & London, 1990).
- Bourque, Susan C. & Divine, Donna R. Women Living Change (Philadelphia, 1985)
- Brouwer, Ruth C. New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto, Buffalo & London, 1990).
- Chang Ch'ing-yun & Li Chi-ch'ing. Fu-nu lun-li hsue (Women's Ethics) (Shenyang, 1987).
- Ch'en Tung-yuan. Chung-kuo fu-nu sheng-huo Shih (The Story of Chinese Women) (Shanghai, 1937).
- Chin Chung-hua. "Chieh-chih sheng-yu yu fu-jen sheng-li teh chieh-fang" (Birth Control and Women Physiological Liberation), Fu-nu tsa-chih, Vol.17, No.9 (1931).
- Croll Elisabeth. Feminism and Socialism in China (London, Henley and Boston, 1978).
- _____. The Women's Movement in China, A Selection of Readings 1949-1973 (Nottingham, 1974).
- Curtin, Katie. Women in China (New York & Toronto, 1975).
- Cusack, Dymphna. Chinese Women Speak (London, 1958).
- Daniel, Robert L. American Women in the 20th Century (San Diego, New York & London, 1987).
- Douglas, Ann. The Feminization of American Culture (New York, 1977).
- Dubois, Ellen Carol & Ruiz, Vicki L. Unequal Sisters (New York & London, 1990).
- Gilmartin, Christina K., Hershatter, Gail, Rofel, Lisa and White, Tyrene, ed. Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1994).
- Guisso, Richard W. & Johannesen, Stanley. Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship (Philo Press, 1981).
- Hampson, Daphne. Theology and Feminism (Oxford, 1990).
- Heeney, B. The Women's Movement in the Church of England 1850-1930 (Oxford, 1988).
- Hill, Patricia Ruth. The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920 (Ann Arbor, 1984).
- Honig, Emily. Sisters and strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949 (Stanford, 1986).
- Hunter, Jane. The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China (New Haven, 1984).
- Jaschok, Maria. Concubines and Bondservants, A Social History (London & New Jersey, 1988).
- Jaschok, Maria & Miers, Suzanne. Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape (London & New Jersey, 1994).
- Kao Hong-hsing, Hsu Chin-chun & Chang Ch'iang. Fu-nu feng-hsu k'ao (The History of Chinese women's Customs) (Shanghai, 1991).

Kazuko, Ono and Fogel, Joshua A. Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850-1950 (Stanford, 1989).

Kwok Pui-lan. Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927 (Atlanta, 1992).

Lin, Alice Murong Pu. Grandmother Had No Name (London, 1990).

Lin Ch'ung-wu. "Ch'ang-chi wen-t'i chih yen-chiu" (Research on the Prostitution Problem), Min-chung chi-k'an (Mass Quarterly), 2.2 (June 1936).

Mrs. Little, Archibald. The Land of the Blue Gown (London, 1902).

Liu Wang Li-ming. Chung-kuo fu-nu yun-tung (The Feminist Movement in China) (Shanghai, 1934).

MaCabe, J. The Religion of Women: An Historical Study (London, 1905).

Malmgreen, Gail. Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930 (London & Sidney, 1986).

Pao Chia-lin. Chung-kuo fu-nu shih lun-chi (The Collection of Academic Theses of Chinese Women's History) (Taipei, 1979).

Pao Tsung-hao. Hun-su wen-hua: Chung-kuo hun-su teh kui-chi (The Culture of Marriage and Customs: The Changes of Marriage and Customs in China) (Shanghai, 1990).

P'i I-shu. Chung-kuo fu-nu yun-tung (The Women's Movement in China) (Taipei, 1973).

Siu, Bobby. Women of China: Imperialism and Women's Resistance 1900-1949 (London, 1982).

Snow, Helen Foster. Women in Modern China (Paris, 1967).

Ting Shu-ching. "Fei-pi yun-tung" (The movement to abolish domestic maids), Nu-ch'in-nien (Young Women) (March 1928).

Tyrrell, Ian. Woman's World - Woman's Empire: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930 (Chapel Hill & London, 1991).

Wilkinson, H.P. The Family in Classical China (London, 1926).

Wolf, Margery & Witke, Roxane ed. Women in Chinese Society (Stanford, 1975).

Woloch, Nancy. Women and the American Experience (New York & London, 1994).

Young, Marilyn B. Women in China: Studies in Social Change and Feminism (Ann Arbor, 1973).

(7) CULTURE THEORY

Anand R. P. Cultural Factor in International Relations (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1981).

Bozeman, Adda B. Politics and Culture in International History (Princeton, 1960).

Brandt, Willy. North-South, A Programme for Survival (London, 1980).

Chang Hsing-liang. Qu-hua tung-chien shih (History of Westernization in the East) (Shanghai, 1935).

- Coate, D. Christianity the Means of Civilization (London, 1937).
- Coombs, P.H. "The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy," Educational and Affairs (New York, 1964).
- McMurry, Ruth Emily & Lee, Muna. The Cultural Approach: Another Way in International Relations (Chapel Hill, 1947).
- Mitchell, J. M. International Cultural Relations (London, 1986).
- Nida, E. A. Customs, Culture and christianity (London, 1963).
- Ninkovich, F. A. The Diplomacy of Ideas: US Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations (Cambridge, 1981).

(8) MODERN CHINA AND THE WEST

- Balazs, Etienne. Political Theory and Administrative Reality in Traditional China (London, 1965).
- Bickers, Robert A. Changing British Attitudes to China and the Chinese, 1928-1931 (Ph.D Thesis, at the SOAS library, University of London, 1992).
- _____. Changing Shanghai's "Mind": Publicity, Reform and the British in Shanghai, 1927-1931 (London, 1992).
- Biggerstaff, Knight. "Modernization - and Early Modern China," The Journal of Asian Studies, 24.4; pp. 607-621 (August 1966).
- Buck, David D. Urban Change in China: Politics and Development in Tsinan, Shantung, 1890-1949 (Madison, 1978).
- Ch'en, Jerome. China and the West, Society and Culture 1815-1937 (London, 1979).
- Chien, Tuansheng. The Government and Politics of China (Cambridge, Mass., 1950).
- Chong, Key Ray. American and Chinese Reform and Revolution, 1898-1922: The Role of Private Citizens (New York, 1984).
- Dorn, Harold Archer Van. Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic, Two Decades of Progress (London, 1933).
- Eastman, Lloyd. The Abortive Revolution: China under Nationalist Rule, 1927-37 (Harvard, 1974).
- Fairbank, John King. The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985 (London, 1988).
- Franke, Wolfgang. A Century of Chinese Revolution (1851-1949) (Oxford, 1970).
- _____. China and the West, tran. by Wilson, R. A. (Oxford, 1967).
- Goodman, David S. G. China and the West: Ideas and Activists (Manchester & New York, 1990).
- Hu Sheng. Ti-kuo chu-i ho Chung-kuo cheng-chih (Imperialism and Chinese Politics) (Peking, 1977).
- Hughes, E. R. The Invasion of China by the Western World (London, 1937; 1968).
- Isacecs, Harold Robert. The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (Stanford,

1966).

Israel, John. Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937 (Stanford, 1966).

Levy, Marion J. Revolution in Modern China (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1949).

Liu Ta-nien. Chung-kuo chin-tai shih wen-t'i (Issues of Modern Chinese History) (Peking, 1978).

Mackerras, Colin. Western Images of China (Hongkong, Oxford & New York, 1989).

MacNair, Harley Farnsworth. China's New Nationalism and Other Essays (Shanghai, 1926).

Mao Tse-tung. Yu-i hai-shih ch'ing-lueh (Friendship or Invasion?) (30 Aug. 1949).

Pelissier, Roger. History in the Making - The Awakening of China 1793-1949, ed. and tran. by Kieffer, Martin. (London, 1967).

Pusey, James Reeves. China and Charles Darwin (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

Rozman, Gilbert. The Modernization of China (New York & London, 1981).

Smith, C. A. Middleton. The British in China and Far Eastern Trade (London, 1927).

Soothill, W. E. China and England (London, 1928).

Spence, Jonathan. The Search of Modern China (New York, 1991).

_____. To Change China: Western Advisers in China 1620-1960 (Boston and Toronto, 1969).

Ting Ming-nan. Ti-kuo-chu-i ch'in-hua shih (History of Imperialist Aggression in China) (Peking, 1985).

Treadgold, Donald W. The West in Russia and China: China, 1582-1949, Vol.2 (Cambridge, 1973).

Wang, Y. C. Chinese Intellectuals and the West 1872-1949 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1966).

Yorke, Gerald. China Changes (London, 1935).

APPENDIX I: THE RESIDENT STATIONS OF BRITISH MISSIONS

BB&TD: HONGKONG.

BCMS: (whose first missionary sent to Szechwan in 1923). Resident Mission Stations: Kwangsi--Moning, Nanning, Yamchow; Hongkong--Taipo, New Territories.

BFBS: (which commenced its work in China in 1836). The headquarters was in Shanghai. The sub-agencies: Manchuria, Mongolia, Hopei, Shantung, Szechwan, Yunan, Honan, Hupeh, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi, Hongkong, Indo-China.

BMS: (1867) Resident Mission Stations: Kiangsu--Shanghai; Shansi--Sinchow, Taichow, Taiyuan; Shantung--Chowtsun, Tsinan, Tsingchowfu; Shensi--Fuyingtsun, Sanyuan, Sian.

CBMS: ?

CEZMS: (1884). Resident Mission Stations: Fukien--Nantai, Foochow, Foochow City, Kianning, Kutien, Louan, Pucheng; Hunan--Hengchow, Yungchow; Kwangsi--Kweilin.

CI: (1893) Resident Mission Station: Shantung--Chefoo.

CIM: (1865) Resident Mission Stations (here only the names of provinces are given): Anhwei; Chekiang; Hunan; Chilih (Hopei); Hunan; Hupeh; Kansu; Ningsia; Tsinghai; Kiangsi; Kiangsu; Kweichow; Shansi; Suiyuan, Shantung; Shensi; Sinkiang; Szechwan; Yunnan. The CIM was initiated by Hudson Taylor. Its character was indiscriminate nationalities and unlimited cliques, the persons whoever was voluntary to work in the inland of China could join the CIM. The missionaries of the CIM had no regular salaries, and the life was very hard. The missionary field of the CIM on the scale was the largest mission in China. According to the statistics of 1936, there were over 4,000 churches in the CIM and its missionaries constituted 23% of all over missionary community, and mainly scattered in the China' interior and remote areas, and even went deep into Kansu, Yunnan, etc. British missionaries in the CIM accounted for 60% of the its workers and also shouldered major leading work. Its annual income also mainly came from Britain. Thus it was generally regarded as a British mission, but in fact, it was an international missionary society.

CM: Resident Mission Station: Ningpo in Chekiang Province.

CML: (1885) (Christian Brethren). Resident Mission Stations: Kiangsi--Angi, Fengsin, Ifeng, Kaoan, Kiukiang, Kuling, Nanchang, Sengmeichan, Shaohochen, Shangkao, Siushiu, Teian, Tsingan, Tuchianu, Tungku; Shantung-- Pa-hsien dien, Kuanksiakia, Shihtao, Weihaiwei, Wenteng; Manchuria--Chaoyang, Chihfeng, Hada; Chengteh (Johol)--Lingyuan, Luanping, Pingchuan, Tatzukow.

CMS: (1844) Resident Mission Stations: Chekiang--Chuki, Hangchow, Ningpo, Shaohing, Taichow; Kiangsu--Shanghai; Fukien--Foochow, Nantai, Funing, Futsing, Hinghwa, Kienow, Kutien, Lienkong, Loyuan, Ningteh,; Hunan--Hengchow, Kianghwa, Ningyuan, Tachow, Yungming; Kwangsi--Chuanchow, Kwanyang, Kweilin; Szechwan--Anhien, Chengtu, Chengjiang, Chungpa, Hangchow, Mienchow, Mienchu, Mowchow, Sintu, Teyang; Hongkong; Kwangtung--Canton, Limchow, Pakhoi; Yunnan--Yunnanfu.

CSFM: (1878) Resident Mission Station: Hupeh--Ichang.

EMM: Resident Mission Station: Nanning of Kwangsi.

EPM: (1847) Resident Mission Stations: Fukien--Amoy, Changpu, Chuanchow, Yungchun; Kwangtung--Wukingfu, Chaochow, Swabue, Swatow.

FFMA: (1865) Resident Mission Station: Szechwan--Chengtu, Chungking, Suining, Tungchwan, Tungliang.

IPTCA: ?

LMS: (1807) Resident Mission Stations: Hupeh--Hankow, Hanyang, Hwangpei, Siaokan' Tsaoshih, Wuchang; Kiangsu--Nanking, Shanghai; Fukien--Amoy, Changchow, Tingchow, Hweian; Chilih (Hopei)--Peking, Siao-chang, Tientsin, Tsangchow; Shantung--Tsinan; Hongkong; Kwangtung--Canton, Poklo.

NBSS: (1859) Its headquarters in Shanghai, and there were Central China, North China, South China, East China, West China five agencies.

NKM: Resident Mission stations: Kiangsi.

PCI: (1869) Resident Mission Stations: Manchuria.

PMU: (1912) Resident Mission Stations: Yunnan--Chihtsun, Fumin, Iliang, Kai Yuan, Likiang, Wen Shan, Kurming.

RTS: (1844) Its headquarters was in Shanghai, and its branches included Central China, East China, North China, and Manchuria.

SA: (1916) Resident Mission Stations: Chilih (Hopei)--Paoting, Peking, Tientsin, Ting Hsien; Shansi--Ta Tung Fu, Tai Yuan Fu; Shantung--Tsinanfu; Suiyuan--Feng Chen.

SPG: (1849) Resident Mission Stations: Chilih; Shansi; Shantung.

SYM: (1915) Resident Mission Stations: South Yunnan Province.

TSM: Resident Mission Station: Tsehchow of Shantung Province.

UFS: (1873) Resident Mission Stations: Manchuria.

UMC: (1861) Resident Mission Stations: Chekiang--Ningpo, Wenchow; Chilih--Tangshan, Tientsin; Shantung--Wuting; Yunnan--Chaotung, Miao, Nosu, Tungchwan, Yunnanfu.

WMMS: (1852) Resident Mission Stations: Hunan--Changsha, Kiyang, Paoking, Pingkiang, Yiyang, Yungchow; Hupeh--Anlu, Chungsiang, Hankow, Hanyang, Shih Hui Yao, Suichow, Tayeh, Wuchang, Wusueh; Kwangtung--Canton, Fatshan, Siuchow.

APPENDIX II: MAIN BRITISH MISSION HOSPITALS DURING THE 1920S: (TOTAL 198 HOSPITALS AND 28 SPECIAL MEDICAL HOMES)¹

CMS and CEZMS: 44 hospitals and 18 medical homes.

The South China Mission:

3 hospitals and 1 medical village at Pakhoi--one general hospital (1886); Men's and Women's Leprosy Hospitals (1895) and one Leper Village; One hospital in Yunnanfu (1915)--Yunnanfu General Hospital (CMS).

Kwangsi and Hunan Mission:

Kweilin Way of Life Hospital (CMS) (1910)--both Men's and Women's.

The Fukien Mission:

16 hospitals in Fukien in 1920: Hinghwa--Putien St. Luke's Hospital (CMS) (both men's and women's hospitals) (1895) (which was the largest CMS hospital in Fukien with 340 beds); Funing (CMS) Universal Aid Hospital--

¹All British mission hospitals had ever existed in the 1920s have been listed inside this table. All men's and women's hospitals in the same station are calculated as two. Chung-hua kui-chu; see the annual medical working statistics in China and the Gospel - Report of the China Inland Mission, (1920-1930), CIM(ed.) (London); CBMS, London, Asia Committee, E/T China, FBN 19, Box 409, No.12, see the statistics of mission medical work in 1935; 1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China; Wang Chih-hsin, Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao shih-kang; Chin-tai lai-hua wai-kuo jen-ming tsi-tien; The Chinese Medical Journal in the 1920s; and the archives of main British missions.

(Men's Hospital and Women's Hospital (1878); Foochow Christ's Hospital (CMS)--general (1899) (Chacang), Men's--1905 (Nantai), its branch at Lienkong--1910, and Women's--1924 (CEZMS), so 4 hospitals; Futsing (Women's--1889 whose building was transferred to general mission uses in about 1926, Men's--1908 which was closed in 1921, a small twenty-five-bed hospital at Kaosanshih, Po Ai Hospital (CMS cottage hospital) opened before 1920, totally 3 hospitals); Ningteh Women's hospital (1905) (CMS); Kienning (General hospital--1889; a small branch cottage hospital at Chungan set up before 1922, totally 2 hospital); Sienyu (Christian Union Hospital cooperated with American MEFB, and a branch hospital of Hinghwa, totally 2 hospitals); Dongkau Christian Hospital (CEZMS women's hospital) (1902); Kien-ow Men's Hospital (CEZMS) and Women's Hospital (CMS) (existed in 1935); Loyuan Christ's Doctrine Hospital (CEZMS women's hospital) (existed in 1935); Kucheng hospital; Hochiang hospital; Dushun hospital (CMS).

The Chechiang Mission (CMS):

13 hospitals and 8 medical treatment homes in total--Hangchow Kwangchi Hospital (1871) (9 branch hospitals and 8 homes); Ningbo: both men's and women's hospitals (1886); Taichow: both men's and women's hospitals (1905) (which were closed in 1921 but reopened in 1923).

The Western China Mission:

Mienchu General Hospital in Szechwan (CMS) (1908) and Mienchu Women's Hospital (the cottage hospital).

(* Another CMS 10 Lepers' institutions should be added to the general number besides two in Hangchow and two in Pakhoi which have been included in the figures of hospitals owing to their completed treating equipment.)

LMS: 27 hospitals and 2 lepers' homes.

4 hospitals in Hongkong:

Alice Memorial and Affiliated Hospitals--Alice Memorial Hospital (1887); Nethersole Hospital (1893); Alice Memorial Maternity Hospital (1904); Ho Miu Ling Hospital (1906).

2 hospitals in Kwangtung:

Canton Hospital; Poklo Hospitals (both which had been closed in this decade).

7 hospitals in Chihli:

Siaochang General Hospital--Men's and Women's (1889); Tsangchow Robert Memorial Hospital--Men's and Women (1899 and reopened in 1901) and a branch hospital at Yensan (1910); a small country hospital at Ts'ai Yu of Peking; Tientsin Mackenzie Memorial Hospital (1868); PUMC Union Hospital (which was erected by LMS in 1861).

2 in Kiangsu:

The Lester Chinese Hospital of Shantung Road in Shanghai (1844) (men's and women's)--two hospitals (whose former name before 1927 was the Shantung Road Chinese Hospital, when its new buildings were built mainly by a part of the heritage of Henry Lester, so his name was adopted after 1927).

9 hospital and 2 Lepers' homes in Hupeh:

Siaokan Mission Hospitals (men's and women's) (1907); and Leper Men's and Women's homes at Siaokan (1895); Tsaoshih Mission (Men's and Women's) Hospitals; Wuchang Men's Hospital (1885), and Wuchang Women's Hospital (1903); Hankow Union Hospital(1926)--The Thomas Gillison Hospital and the Margaret Memorial Hospital for Women; Hwangpei Hospital (1909) (which had ever been closed for some years owing to without foreign doctors).

2 hospitals in Hunan:

Hengchow Hospitals--Men's and Women's (1903) (which were once closed and later reopened).

3 hospitals in Fukien in 1920:

Changchow Hospital (1890) (which became Union Hospital LMS & RCA in the late of the decade); Hweian General Hospital (1903); Tingchow Hospital (1909) (was once closed due to the absence of foreign doctors).

CIM: 24 hospitals and 4 lepers' homes.²

4 hospital in Chechiang:

Taichow--men's and women's with medical school; Sungyang; Linghai General Hospital (1923).

2 hospitals in Kansu:

Pingliang Mission Hospital; Kaolan (Lanchowfu) Borden Memorial Hospitals (Men's and Women's and Leper colony) (1904).

2 hospitals in Kiangsi:

Jaochow men's and women's with one medical school; Poyang Mission Hospital (still existed in 1935).

1 hospital in Kiangsu:

The CIM Shanghai Hospital.

5 in Shansi (during the 1920s):

Luanfu men's and women's; Pingyangfu men's and women's (1906); Changchih Wilmay Memorial Hospitals (still existed in 1931)--Men's and Women's; Linfen Wilson Memorial Hospital (1898); Saratsi Mission Hospital.

1 hospital in Kweichow:

Anshunfu Gospel Hospital; and a lepers' home.

2 hospitals in Szechwan:

Suiting Hospital; Paoning Henrietta Bird Memorial Hospital (1907); Langchung Mission Hospital (existed in 1935).

1 hospital in Shantung:

Chefoo Foreign School Hospital (1879); and a lepers' home in Wuting.

3 in Hunan:

Hungkiang Ailien Hospital; Paoking; Changsha Hudson-Talor Memorial Hospital (1927); and a leper hospital.

2 in Honan:

Kaifeng General Hospital(1906)--men's and women's hospitals--the largest one; a temporary hospital in Fukow (in 1929 while Kaifeng hospital was run as a military hospital).

1 in Yunnan:

Yuankiang Mission Hospital (existed in 1935).

YMMS: 21 hospitals and 1 lepers' home (This society working areas were in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupeh).

6 hospitals and 4 dispensaries in Hunan (in the 1920s):

Shaoyang Methodist Hospital (existed in 1935); Yungchow Mission Hospital--Men's and Women's; Pingkiang Men's and Women's Hospitals; Liuyang Hospital (which was still existed and ever closed for the time being but reopened in the late 1920s); Paoking Chinese General Hospital (There were 6 hospitals in 1923).

12 hospitals in Hupeh:

Hankow General Hospital (1874): Men's--the Hodge Memorial Hospital (90 beds in 1930) and Women's--the Jubilee Hospital (40 beds in 1930); the Wu Shang Miao Hospital, Wuchang; Wusueh Methodist General Hospital (1929) (31 beds in 1930)--Men's and Women's (which still existed in 1930); Shih Hui Yao, Tayeh Methodist General Hospital (1909)--Mehaffy Memorial Hospital (43 beds in 1930)--Men's and Women's; Teian Hill Memorial Hospital (1894) (52 beds in 1930)--Men's and Women's Hospitals; Suichow General Hospital (30 beds in 1930); Chungsiang (Anlufu) Methodist General Hospitals--Men's and Women's (60 beds in 1930).

²Chung-hua kui-chu; annual reports of CIM. The number of its hospitals included all which ever existed during this decade; China's Millions 1929, p.102.

3 hospitals in Kwangtung:

Fatshan Mission Hospital (1885) (114 beds); Shuichow Wesley General Hospital; Wuchow Hospital (1900).

EPM: 16 hospitals and 2 larger lepers' homes (of which there were 3 women's hospitals).

Amoy Mission:

Chuanchow General Hospital; Chuanchow Women's Hospital; the Yungchun Christian Hospital (1893); Changpu General Hospital (1888).

The Hakka Region:

Wukingfu General Hospital; Thaipu or Tapu Hospital; Shanghang hospital (1916); Samhopa hospital.

South China Mission:

The Swatow Mission General Hospital (1863); Swatow Leper Home and a few lepers' clinics in connection with Swatow General Hospital; The Swatow W.M.A. Hospital; Swabue General Hospital; Chaochowfu General Hospital.

Formosa (Taiwan):

The Shinro Hospital in Tainan with one lepers' clinic; Shokwa Christian Hospital in Central Formosa (1896); Mackay Memorial Hospital--both men's and women's; "Happy Valley Leper Colony" in North Formosa.

UFS: 13 hospitals.

Manchuria: Ashiho General Hospital; Chaoyangcheng Hospital; Hailung Men's Hospital; Hsinpin Christian Hospital; Hulan Men's and Women's Hospitals; Kaiyuan Women's Hospital; Liaoyang Mission Hospital; Liaoyang Ren Mu Juan Hospital; Moukden General Hospital (1883 and 1904 for rebuilding); Moukden Women's Hospital (1894 and 1903 for rebuilding); Moukden Maternity Hospital (1916); Tiehling General Hospital.

UMC: 11 hospitals and 1 lepers' home (This society--United Methodist Church was amalgamated with WMS in June 1932 and its working areas were in North China's Chihli and Shantung; Chekiang's Ningbo and Wenchow; and Yunnan). 3 hospitals in Chiechiang:

Wenchow Blyth Hospital (1894) (2 foreign nurses and 2 foreign doctors in 1930)--Men's and Women's; Ningbo P'u Jen Hospital.

2 hospitals in Chihli:

Yungp'ing Hospital (1902) and Laoling Hospital in Tientsin.

3 hospitals in Shantung:

Chuchiatsai Laoling Hospital; Wuting Ru Chi Hospitals--Men's and Women's (1905).

3 hospitals in Yunnan and Kweichow:

Chao-tong General Hospital (1904) with two branch hospitals--Stone Gateway, Dispensary Hospital & Weining Dispensary Hospital in Kweichow as well as Leper Home in Chaotong.

PCI: 10 hospitals.

Manchuria: Fakumen Women's Hospital; Hsin-king (Changchun) Men's & Women's Hospitals (1890); Hsinmin Men's Hospital; Hsinminhsien Women's Hospital (started in 1930); Kirin General Hospital--Men's & Women's (namely, Kwanchengtzu Hospitals); Peichenghsien Kuangning Hospitals; Newchwang Hospital; Chihhsien Hospital.

BMS: 9 BMS hospitals and 3 union hospitals.

2 hospitals in Shansi:

Taiyuanfu Schofield Memorial Hospital--Men's (1907); Arthington Memorial Women's Hospital (1912).

5 hospitals and 3 union ones in Shantung:

Tsingchowfu Kuang Te Hospital (1907) and a cottage hospital (which existed during the 1920s) as well as Leper Home (which was erected about in the Mid-1930s); The Foster Hospital at Chowtsun (1916); Leper Hospital

(which located in the old premises of the former Tsowping Hospital, near Chowtsun, and was projected in 1921); Tsinan Cheeloo University Union Men's and Women's Hospitals--the former BMS Tsinan Kungho Hospital (1914) and Union Leper Hospital (1926).

2 in Shensi:

Sianfu Jenkins-Robertson Memorial Hospital (1917) and Opium Refuge; the Arthington Hospital, Sanyuan (1913).

SPG: 7 hospitals.

4 hospitals in Chihli:

St. Luke's Hospital in Peking (1905) (which was closed in 1918 after Dr. Rivington and Dr. Thacker had been called away to wartime service in the R.A.M.C.); Chichow St. Barnabas Hospital (1913); Hokiensien St. Andrew Hospital (1915); Yungtsing St. Stephen's Hospitals--Men's and Women's (1920).

2 hospitals in Shantung:

P'ing Yin St. Agatha's Hospital (1906); Yenchow St. Luke's Hospital (1913) (which was closed in 1918 due to shortage of doctors).

2 Shansi:

Tatungfu Mosse Memorial Hospital (1923) (which was the greatest venture of SPG medical work in china)--Men's and Women's hospitals.

FMMA (or FSC): 4 hospitals.

4 hospitals in Szechwan:

Suining Friends Hospitals--Men's and Women's (1915); Tungchwan Men's (1902) and Women's Hospitals (1905); and two WCUU Union Teaching Hospitals (where FMMA took part in the work).

CSEF: 2 hospitals.

2 hospitals in Hupeh:

Ichang Rankine Memorial Hospital (1879) (men's) and Buchanan Memorial Hospital (women's) in Hupeh (1920).

SA: 2 hospitals.

2 hospitals in Chihli:

Tinghsien Jen Min Hospital (General Hospital) and T.B. Block.

EMM: 1 hospital.

1 hospital in Kwangsi:

Nanning hospital in Kwanghsi.

BCMS: 1 hospital.

1 hospital in Kwangsi:

Emmanuel Hospital at Nanning, Kwangsi.

CMML: 1 hospital.

1 hospital in Kiangsi:

1 lepers' hospital in North Kiangsi.

In fact, there were another two British hospitals for lepers at Kwang-Ju and Taiku conducted respectively by Drs. Wilson and Fletcher.³

APPENDIX III: THE MAIN PUBLICATIONS OF THE NCC

The Committee on Christianizing Economic Relations produced the following important books during the years of 1922-27:

a. Industrial Reconstruction Series: No.1 An Industrial Programme for a Chinese City; No.2 Church in China and the Industrial Problem; No.3 The Church's Labour Standard; No.4 Modern Industrial in China

³The China Journal of Science and Arts, March 1923, p.172;

b. Labour Legislation series: No.1 Factory System and Regulation of labour Conditions by National and International Laws; No.2 Brief History of Factory Legislation in United Kingdom

- c. An Industrial Miracle and How it Happened
- d. Christianity and Industry in China
- e. Shanghai Committee on the Church and Industry
- f. Church and Modern Industrial, Commercial and Economic Development of China
- g. The Recent Industrial, Commercial and Economic Development of China
- h. Report of Child Labour Committee of S. M. C.
- i. Phosphorus Poisoning in Match Factories in China
- j. The Church and the Economic and Industrial Problems of China
- k. Prohibiting Use of White Phosphorus Movement
- l. What Have I to Do with Labour Problem?
- m. Church and Labour
- n. Labour Day
- o. Christian Industry Bulletin
- p. Commercial Financial and Economic Development

From 1922 and 1927 the NCC also systematically dealt with the duty of local churches in rural work. This contained Country Church and Indigenous Christianity, The Opening Before the Rural Church, The Rural Church of China Today, Training Rural Workers, The Church and the Rural Standard of Living, The Church in Rural Work, Survey Blank for Rural Churches, etc.

During the year of 1928-29 some important publications printed by the NCC embraced Industrial Problems (600 copies) (English), Rural Problems (1,000 copies) (English), Industrial Problems (another author) (English) (1,000 copies), Rural Problems 2 (1,000 copies), Racial Relations (2,000 copies) (Chinese), Christianity and Industrial Problems (1,000 copies) (Chinese), Rural Problems (2,000 copies) (Chinese), Discussion on Nationalism and Internationalism (1,000 copies in English and 500 in Chinese), The Series of Christian Economic Relations, etc. The NCC also published Christian Industrial Bulletin, Special (Chinese) (250 copies), Industrial Bulletin 17-18 (4,000 copies), Modern Industry in China (Chinese) (300 copies), Christian Industrial Bulletin 11 (English) (700 copies), The Series of Economic Reconstruction, Jerusalem Findings on Industry No. 5 (Chinese) (500 copies), Religious and Social Justice No. 6 (Chinese) (1,210 copies). And also it produced famous industrialist biographies, such as George Cadbury (Chinese) (1,200 copies), Walter Rauschenbusch (Chinese) (1,200 copies), Charles Kingsley (Chinese) (1,200 copies), Toychiko Kagawa (Chinese) (1,200 copies), etc. Some special studies were also became publications, including Farmers' Movement in Kwangtung (English) (500 copies), Women in Tientsin Industries (Chinese) (1,000 copies), Is there a Christian Socialism? (Chinese) (1,200 copies) and so on.