



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND  
AUSTRALIA

**The Missionaries and the Guomindang: An exploration of the Seventh-day  
Adventist Experience in Republican China**

**Ruth Crocombe**

**BEd (History), Graduate Diploma in Applied Linguistics (TESOL),**

**Post-graduate Diploma in Arts (History).**

*A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy at*

*The University of Queensland in 2015*

School of Historical and Philosophical Inquiry

## ABSTRACT

Seventh-day Adventists were late entrants to the China mission field, arriving in China in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite this late start however, by the 1920s the Seventh-day Adventist church had established a large network of schools and hospitals across China. In addition to providing educational and medical services free (or at low cost) to the poor, the medical institutions also serviced wealthy fee paying patients. Much of the initial contact between Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and prominent Guomindang officials and other members of the societal elite originated at the Adventist Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital. Seventh-day Adventist medical centres in other cities also served this function. As a result Adventist missionaries became acquainted with numerous Guomindang officials and other members of the political elite.

Although there is a wealth of popular literature produced by Seventh-day Adventists relating to the activities of the denomination in China, as noted above, there has been little academic study. Specifically, the personal relationships between Western Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and members of the Nationalist government, and the denomination's representation of Chiang Kai-shek and the Guomindang have not been studied by historians. This thesis is the first scholarly work to focus on the Seventh-day Adventist church's work in Nationalist China and the first to examine the impact which the church's writings about China had on the global Seventh-day Adventist community. A contributing factor to this neglect of the Seventh-day Adventist church by historians, including those of the Seventh-day Adventist church itself, is due to the concentration by Seventh-day Adventists on the narrative of mission rather than on the academic study of the denomination's experience in China. The writings of Seventh-day Adventists about China are important because they are little studied source giving insight into China during a critical point of its history. These writings also provide insight into the development of the Seventh-day Adventist church during the twentieth century, particularly in regards to the denomination's self-perception and its theology.

This thesis examines the intersections between the Seventh-day Adventist church and China. The portrayals of times of difficulty in China in denominational literature were used to bolster church members' belief in the distinctive eschatological theology of the denomination; and this distinctive theology also influenced the response of the denomination to the situation in China itself. Unlike many other Protestant denominations the Seventh-day Adventist church did not withdraw its missionaries or slow down the building of institutions following the Anti-Christian Movement of the early 1920s, but rather increased the amount of funds and personnel to the country. Discussion of China was also used as a fund-raiser for missions more generally.

The political connections which individual missionaries formed with members of the Guomindang elite were publicised initially in the Church's most widely distributed and important periodical, *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald (Review)* and later in biographies of these missionaries' lives. The formation of political connections served to raise the profiles of these missionaries within the denomination. The 1960s and '70s saw a resurgence of publishing about the church's experience in China by Seventh-day Adventists.

Writing about China at this time took the form of missionary biographies and autobiographies and these works placed great emphasis on past connections with the Guomindang elite. This was due to the relocation of church resources and missionaries to Taiwan following the Chinese Revolution and was also an attempt to reassure church members that despite the loss of institutions and property in China the mission of the denomination remained the same.

## **Declaration by author**

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my research higher degree candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

I acknowledge that an electronic copy of my thesis must be lodged with the University Library and, subject to the policy and procedures of The University of Queensland, the thesis be made available for research and study in accordance with the Copyright Act 1968 unless a period of embargo has been approved by the Dean of the Graduate School.

I acknowledge that copyright of all material contained in my thesis resides with the copyright holder(s) of that material. Where appropriate I have obtained copyright permission from the copyright holder to reproduce material in this thesis.

**Publications during candidature**

No publications.

**Publications included in this thesis**

No publications included.

**Contributions by others to the thesis**

No contributions by others.

**Statement of parts of the thesis submitted to qualify for the award of another degree**

None.

## **Acknowledgements**

I'd like to thank my supervisors, Associate Professor Chi-Kong Lai and Dr Patrick Jory for their guidance and feedback during the writing of this thesis.

Thanks must also go to the staff in the Center for Adventist Research located at Andrews University in Michigan and to the staff at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Archives in Washington D.C. who were very helpful to my search for information relating to Seventh-day Adventism in China during the first half of the twentieth century.

Thank you to my husband, Jeff Crocombe for his support and encouragement during this process. Finally thank you to my daughter, Araminta for understanding that Mummy couldn't always play because she had to work on her thesis.

### **Keywords**

china, christian missionaries, seventh-day adventist, guomindang, protestant missionaries

### **Australian and New Zealand Standard Research Classifications (ANZSRC)**

ANZSRC code: 220401, Christian Studies, 80%

ANZSRC code: 210302, Asian Studies, 20%

### **Fields of Research (FoR) Classification**

FoR code: 2103, Historical Studies, 60%

FoR code: 2204, Religion and Religious Studies, 40%

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>ABSTRACT</i> .....	2
<i>INTRODUCTION</i> .....	9
<i>CHAPTER 1: Seventh-day Adventist Connections with China’s Political Elite</i> .....	18
The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Relationships With the Political Elite.....	18
The Role of Miller and the Sanitariums and Hospitals in Forging Elite Connections .....	20
Seventh-day Adventist Educational Institutions .....	24
Requests to Supply Employees to Non-SDA Institutions and the Denominational Response .....	27
Seventh-day Adventist Involvement in Political Issues.....	31
The Seventh-day Adventist Relationship with Zhang Xueliang.....	34
Conclusion .....	38
<i>CHAPTER 2: Talking About China: Influences on the Seventh-day Adventist Community</i> .....	41
The Importance of the <i>Advent Review and Sabbath Herald (Review)</i> .....	42
Early Seventh-day Adventist Representations of China .....	43
SDA Missionary Activity in China and its Influence on the Denomination’s Eschatology .....	43
Funding the Missions.....	51
Discussing the Spirituality of China’s Elite.....	52
The Nationalist Regime in Seventh-day Adventist Writings.....	55
Comparisons with Other Protestant Denominations .....	62
Impact of China on Seventh-day Adventist Identity.....	64
Conclusion .....	69
<i>CHAPTER 3: Crafting The Memory: Seventh-day Adventist Writings after 1950</i> .....	71
Creating the Story of Harry Miller: “The China Doctor” .....	73
Elisabeth Redelstein – “ The China Nurse” .....	81
Paul Quimby - The “Yankee on the Yangtze”.....	83
Conclusion .....	86
<i>CONCLUSION</i> .....	88
<i>Bibliography</i> .....	92
Primary Sources .....	92
Secondary Sources.....	97



## INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the activity of the Seventh-day Adventist church in China during the first half of the twentieth century. It focuses particular attention on the relationships which Seventh-day Adventist missionaries formed with the political elite of Nationalist (Guomindang) China during the Nanjing Decade (1927 – 1937). The church was able to leverage these relationships into monetary donations and political concessions which supported the development of the denomination's hospitals and schools. The Seventh-day Adventist church moved relatively rapidly from a marginalised, small denomination into a position where it could utilise personal connections to further the aims of the church. This was primarily achieved through the use of medical and education institutions. The personalities of key individuals such as Harry Willis Miller (a surgeon at the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital and for a time president of the China Division) and Paul Quimby (a professor at the China Theological Seminary) were instrumental in the creation of this influence.

As the mission work in China progressed, China became very important to the denomination. By the end of the Nanjing Decade the China Division of Seventh-day Adventists employed the second largest number of evangelistic workers (1,614) in the church, with only the North American Division employing more staff. These China Division employees were both Chinese and foreign and included ordained and licensed ministers, missionaries and colporteurs.<sup>1</sup> China was also significant to the denomination in terms of the size and numbers of institutions, having the fourth largest number of institutional employees behind the North American, Northern European and Australasian Divisions.<sup>2</sup>

The subject of China and the work of Seventh-day Adventist missionaries in China, particularly their connections with the political elite, was a regular feature in Seventh-day Adventist literature of the period. Discourse about China, published in denominational magazines around the world, and later in the missionary biographies, served two purposes. Firstly, at times when the church experienced success in their work in China, the retelling of these successes and official recognition of the church's work contributed to the development of the sense, among Seventh-day Adventists, that they were part of a unique and privileged denomination. This discourse also, at times, served as an affirmation of the prophetic role of Ellen Gould White (née Harmon; November 26, 1827 – July 16, 1915) one of the founders of the Seventh-day Adventist church who is viewed as a prophet by the denomination. On the other hand, the reporting of difficulties, persecution and the loss of property and life in China did not appear to cause the church to question the role and purpose foreign missionaries, as was the case for other Protestant denominations during the late 1920s. Rather, the discourse surrounding the reporting of problems in China reinforced the Seventh-day Adventist Church's eschatological theology and led to an increase of missionary activity both in China and around the globe. However, China's influence on the denomination's eschatology did not remain constant. After the withdrawal of missionaries from China in 1949 this aspect of the

---

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Rogers, *Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1937), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers, *Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*, 4.

discourse disappeared from Seventh-day Adventist literature and the idea of the church as a unique and privileged denomination in China was foregrounded. The writings of Seventh-day Adventists about China are important because they are little studied source giving insight into China during a critical point of its history. These writings also provide insight into the development of the Seventh-day Adventist church during the twentieth century, particularly in regards to the denomination's self-perception and its theology.

This work draws heavily on primary source material archived by the Seventh-day Adventist church such as: letters – both personal and official; reports to church headquarters; constituency meeting minutes and financial records. Administration in the Seventh-day Adventist church is highly centralised and many reports and records from this time period were forwarded to the world church headquarters at the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Washington D.C. This thesis is the first to examine much of this primary source material. It is also the first academic study of the denomination's relationships with the political elite in China during the first half of the twentieth century. Magazine articles from denominational magazines published in the first half of the twentieth century, in particular the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (popularly referred to as the *Review*), are also used to examine the discourse surrounding the denomination's work in China. Relevant secondary source material utilized includes many of the biographies of individual missionaries to China which were published by the Seventh-day Adventist church's official publishing houses post-1949. Finally, general histories of China and of Christian missions during this time period have also helped situate Seventh-day Adventist activity within a broader historiographical context.

Although numerous works have been written about Protestant missionaries and their relationships with the Guomindang in China, Seventh-day Adventists are largely missing from this literature. For example, in Paul A. Varg's comprehensive study of mainstream Protestant missionaries and their relationships with the Guomindang, Seventh-day Adventist missionaries are not mentioned, even though they had significant connections with members of the Guomindang elite.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, James C. Thomson's well-known study, which focuses largely on Methodist/Guomindang relations and the actions of the National Christian Council, is also silent on the actions of Seventh-day Adventists missionaries in China, despite their significant contribution to the fields of medicine and education.<sup>4</sup> As Thomson has shown, many Protestant missionaries came into close contact with members of the Guomindang elite and several, such as George William Shepherd, were appointed as advisors to the Nationalist government.<sup>5</sup> Thus while the Seventh-day Adventist church was not unique in its formation of connections with the Guomindang elite these Seventh-day Adventist connections are absent from the academic record.

---

<sup>3</sup> Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Movement in China 1890 - 1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958).

<sup>4</sup> James C. Thomson Jr, *While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937*, Harvard East Asian Series (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

<sup>5</sup> Thomson Jr, *While China Faced West*, 76.

Similarly, the denomination is barely mentioned in Daniel Bays' more recent work *A New History of Christianity in China*. While a Seventh-day Adventist presence in China is acknowledged and Bays also notes the influence that Seventh-day Adventist theology may have had on the doctrine of the True Jesus church, which also keeps the seventh-day Sabbath, there is no analysis of the denomination's activities in China.<sup>6</sup> A contributing factor to this neglect of the Seventh-day Adventist church by historians, including those of the Seventh-day Adventist church itself, is due to the concentration by Seventh-day Adventists on the narrative of mission rather than on the academic study of the denomination's experience in China.

Despite its late start in terms of missionary arrival in China in 1902, the Seventh-day Adventist church in China rapidly grew to a significant size, yet it remains an under-studied denomination in the academic record. According to the Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook, by 1949 the church in China had grown to 290 churches, 255 companies,<sup>7</sup> and approximately twenty thousand baptised members.<sup>8</sup> The *Handbook of Christianity in China* gives a figure of 55 200 Seventh-day Adventists in China for 1950. This figure includes both baptized members and Sabbath School members (many of whom were not yet baptized).<sup>9</sup> According to the figures listed by R. G. Tiedemann, in 1950 the Seventh-day Adventist church was the sixth largest Protestant denomination in China in terms of membership. The largest Protestant denomination was the Church of Christ in China with a membership of 500 000, followed by the Southern Baptist Convention with a membership of 211 000. The Methodist Missionary Society was closest in size to Seventh-day Adventist membership with 55 800 members.<sup>10</sup> Apart from the size of their missionary operations in China, the Seventh-day Adventist church's activities in China are also worthy of examination because of the extent to which their missionary contacts with the political elite were publicised in official church literature, and the unwavering support for Chiang Kai-shek demonstrated by nearly all of the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries who publically discussed Chinese politics.

Although long neglected by historians, recent years have seen a small number of studies on Seventh-day Adventism in China, including Joseph Tse-Hei Lee's 2011 paper, "Co-optation and its Discontents: The Seventh-day Adventists in Maoist China"<sup>11</sup> and Steve Prouty's 2009 unpublished MA thesis, "The Three-Self Movement and the Adventist Church in Early

---

<sup>6</sup> Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, Blackwell Guides To Global Christianity (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 8.

<sup>7</sup> Within the SDA church, a company is a small group of believers meeting together as a congregation who, while organized and recognized by the local conference or mission, do not yet have the formal status of a church.

<sup>8</sup> Claude Conard, *1949 Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1949), 94.

<sup>9</sup> Seventh-day Adventists only counted baptized members in official figures hence the difference between the denomination's figures and Tiedemann's who counted both members and church attendees.

<sup>10</sup> R. G. Tiedemann, ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China Volume Two: 1800-present* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 997-1001.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Co-optation and its Discontents: The Seventh-day Adventists in Maoist China," in *American Academy of Religion Annual Meeting* (San Francisco: 2011).

Communist China”<sup>12</sup>, which examines the denomination’s experience in China after the Chinese Revolution. Earlier studies include Handel Hing-tat Luke’s 1983 Doctor of Education dissertation at Andrews University which examined the history of Seventh-day Adventist higher education in the China Mission<sup>13</sup> and in 1971 Ralph and Beatrice Neall wrote an unpublished paper which examined the Seventh-day Adventist experience in China since the 1949 Revolution.<sup>14</sup> These studies do not, however, address the nature of the Seventh-day Adventist church in China during the Guomindang period, or the activities of the foreign missionaries prior to the 1949 revolution. In November 2014 the Hong Kong Adventist College hosted a conference examining the Seventh-day Adventist work in China demonstrating that interest in the study of Seventh-day Adventism in China is increasing.

This study has been informed by Memory Studies, particularly Maurice Halbwachs’ notion that collective memory is “oriented towards the needs and interests of the group in the present, and thus proceeds in an extremely selective and reconstructive manner.”<sup>15</sup> The material chosen by the editors of Seventh-day Adventist literature was selected in such a way as to deliberately construct a discourse of privilege and uniqueness surrounding the denomination’s work in China. Halbwachs states that among groups “what is remembered can become distorted and shifted to such an extent that the result is closer to fiction than to past reality.”<sup>16</sup> This distortion of reality is particularly evident in the omission of data from the memory constructed around the most famous missionary within the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, Dr Harry Miller who was instrumental in the establishment of the church’s medical institutions in China. Jay Winter notes that “Post-modernist interventions have returned time and again to memory as a site for nostalgia,”<sup>17</sup> and the Seventh-day Adventist missionary biographies, published after their subjects’ return from China, can be viewed through this lens. The biographers were attempting to recreate a window into a world that had vanished (Nationalist China), and to validate the time, effort and money that the missionaries and the broader church, had spent. The biographies also served a Social Memory purpose, as defined by James Fentress and Chris Wickham, in that they help to identify “a group giving it a sense of its past and defining its aspirations for the future.”<sup>18</sup> One can also apply Astrid Erll’s discussion of the function of collective memory to the Seventh-day Adventist church and its activities in China. As Erll notes, in collective memory the things remembered “correspond to the self-image and the interests of the group. Particularly emphasized are those similarities and continuities which demonstrate that the group has

---

<sup>12</sup> Steve Prouty, “The Three-self Movement and the Adventist Church in Early Communist China” (MA, University of Nebraska, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Handel Hing-tat Luke, “A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education in the China Mission, 1888 - 1980” (EdD, Andrews University, 1982).

<sup>14</sup> Ralph Neall and Beatrice Neall, “The rains descended and the floods came: a survey of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Communist China, 1971,” La Sierra.

<sup>15</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 15.

<sup>16</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 15.

<sup>17</sup> Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 48.

<sup>18</sup> James Fentress and James Wickham, *Social Memory* (New Perspectives on the Past) 1992, Wiley-Blackwell, cited in Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, trans., Sara B. Young (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 58.

remained the same.”<sup>19</sup> The Seventh-day Adventist church had a robust network of publishing houses which produced a variety of devotional and educational literature. These publications served as the creators of denominational memories pertaining to China, and it also determined what would be remembered and what would be forgotten. Miller’s biographer and numerous other authors in church magazines emphasised the missionaries’ relationships with Guomindang officials which contributed to the Seventh-day Adventist church’s self-image and demonstrated the importance that the church placed on these relationships. The rapid growth in the publication of the biographies of missionaries to China in the mid-to-late 1960s and early 1970s can be read as an attempt to remind the membership that despite a rapidly changing world, the church’s emphasis on mission remained the same.

Ron Lawson’s 1998 examination of Seventh-day Adventism within the scope of Church-Sect theory provides evidence that the courting of the political elite and the use of these personal connections to further the agenda of the church was not unique to the Chinese context, and has been repeated across a variety of countries and time periods.<sup>20</sup> Lawson’s earlier 1996 study of Seventh-day Adventist interactions with governments after the 1950s demonstrated that there are

Anomalies in the practice of the Adventist church: while it continues to uphold the separation of church in the U.S., it has increasingly in recent decades pursued exchange relationships with other governments, especially with authoritarian regimes of both Left and Right.<sup>21</sup>

I argue that these exchange relationships were not limited to recent decades of the Seventh-day Adventist church’s missionary practice, and that the behaviour of the missionaries in China during the 1920s through to the late 1940s can be seen as a forerunner to the practices described by Lawson.

Seventh-day Adventist missionaries also formed significant relationships with members of China’s financial elite. However, this thesis has chosen to focus on the missionaries’ political connections, due both to constraints of space, and also because it was the political connections which captured the imagination of the sending community. These political connections were actively promoted in denominational literature both at the time missionaries were active in China and in the post-1949 period. Furthermore, there is a link between the profile of a missionary within the denomination and the political connections which the missionary had formed. The more political connections a missionary had the more likely they were to be featured in denominational literature and be the subject of a denominationally published biography.

Although there is a wealth of popular literature produced by Seventh-day Adventists relating to the activities of the denomination in China, as noted above, there has been little academic

---

<sup>19</sup> Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Ron Lawson, “Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory: Insights from the Evolution of the Nonschismatic Mission Churches of Seventh-day Adventism,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 4 (1998): 661.

<sup>21</sup> Ron Lawson, “Church and State at Home and Abroad: The Evolution of Seventh-Day Adventist Relations with Governments,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, no. 2 (1996): 280.

study. Specifically, the personal relationships between Western Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and members of the Nationalist government, and the denomination's representation of Chiang Kai-shek and the Guomindang have not been studied by historians. This thesis is the first scholarly work to focus on the Seventh-day Adventist church's work in Nationalist China and the first to examine the impact which the church's writings about China had on the global Seventh-day Adventist community.

The Seventh-day Adventist church began in the United States of America, emerging out of the Millerite movement of the 1840s. It took the name 'Seventh-day Adventist' in 1860 and adopted a formal structure in 1863.

For much of its history the church has been dominated by Americans and, by default, white, middle class American culture. In the early days of the church most missionaries and administrators were from the USA and American culture predominated. However, Adventism also stands as a distinct sub-culture within American society and this distinctiveness has spread to churches established outside of the United States.

While Seventh-day Adventists are Protestant Christians, the denomination has various beliefs and practices that set them apart from other Protestant Christian denominations. These include the belief that Saturday is the Sabbath - the biblically correct day of worship. Seventh-day Adventists also recognise Ellen Gould White as a prophet and her ministry and extensive writings are often referred to as 'the Spirit of Prophecy.' Seventh-day Adventists also differ from other Protestant denominations in their beliefs regarding the state of the dead and the investigative judgement. The denomination's distinctive eschatological belief in the imminent return of Jesus Christ is central to their world view and strongly influenced its response to conditions in China during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Members should abstain from alcohol and tobacco and, in the early days of the church, there was also a strong emphasis on abstinence from tea and coffee. In addition the church actively encouraged vegetarianism. Furthermore, members did not generally wear jewellery and like some other denominations gave one tenth of their income to the church as a 'tithing'. These beliefs and lifestyle factors set Seventh-day Adventists apart as a distinct sub-culture within American and other Western cultures such as Australia and Europe. The homogeneity of this sub-culture was maintained through a highly centralised administrative system and a strong emphasis on the publication of denominational literature. The weekly church magazine the *Review* was available for subscription to church members throughout the English speaking world and had a global audience. The articles published in this magazine helped shape church members' attitudes towards current events and foreign countries. This magazine is still distributed to church members (a monthly edition occurs outside of the USA) and continues to promote the agenda of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (General Conference).<sup>22</sup>

Seventh-day Adventist theology draws heavily on the apocalyptic writings of Daniel and Revelation and this contributed to the development of its distinctive eschatology. The early Seventh-day Adventist church had a strong belief in the imminent return of Jesus Christ, known as 'The Second

---

<sup>22</sup> Located in Washington D.C., the General Conference is the highest administrative body for the denomination.

Coming'. This belief led to a sense of urgency in terms of evangelisation, and there was a strong emphasis on missionary activity from the early days of the church. The first official Seventh-day Adventist missionary J. N. Andrews was sent to Europe in 1874 only nine years after the denomination had officially formed. Andrews was followed by missionaries to Australia (1885), South Africa (1887), and South America and India (1890s). Abram La Rue, a Seventh-day Adventist layman (not a denominational employee) began self-supported mission work in Hong Kong in 1887; working alone until the first official missionaries, to China J. N. Anderson and his wife, and his sister-in-law Ida Thompson were sent to Hong Kong in 1902.<sup>23</sup>

Seventh-day Adventists believed that their "movement was symbolized by the 'third angel' of Revelation 14:9 -14 and the 'remnant' of Revelation 12:17 and was thus commissioned with the roles of herald and vanguard for the consummation of history."<sup>24</sup> This view of itself as a remnant (those who "keep the commandments of God") caused Seventh-day Adventists to believe that the denomination's role was to proclaim "the restoration of long-obscured truths, such as the seventh-day Sabbath, in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ."<sup>25</sup> The sense of being set apart from other Protestant denominations led to a strong anti-ecumenical stance. The Seventh-day Adventist church at this time equated the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath of the fourth commandment as being a sign of the 'mark of the beast'.<sup>26</sup> As such the church placed equal emphasis on converting not just the 'heathen' in China, but also those members of other Christian denominations, both Protestant and Catholic. These beliefs played a significant role in the denomination's response to the setbacks facing Christian denominations in China during the Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s.

The majority of the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries to China came from the United States, and therefore evangelistic practices and educational institutions typically followed the American pattern. The missionaries sent (or in church parlance 'called') to China tended to be well educated, possessing at least a college degree (most commonly in theology or education). Typically undergraduate study was undertaken at Seventh-day Adventist institutions in the United States such as Emmanuel Missionary College (present-day Andrews University) or Pacific Union College. In addition many of the staff in educational and medical institutions held post-graduate degrees from non-Adventist tertiary institutions. The sending of missionaries was highly centralised with appointments coming from the General Conference in Washington D.C. Missionaries were typically drawn from the denomination's current workforce (nurses, teachers, pastors), or were new graduates from one of the denomination's educational institutions. Seventh-day Adventist workers tended to be mobile, growing up in one location, studying in another, and then working in yet another area before being appointed to China. They were drawn from a wide geographical area. For example, Seventh-day Adventist missionaries sent to China in 1916 came from: Maine; California;

---

<sup>23</sup> Gary Land, *Historical Dictionary of Seventh-day Adventists* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 200-201.

<sup>24</sup> Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 11.

<sup>25</sup> Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 11.

<sup>26</sup> Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking A Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*, 2nd ed. (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2007), 44.

Oregon; Massachusetts; Maryland and Ohio.<sup>27</sup> In 1915 there was at least one Australian missionary couple in China.<sup>28</sup> As well as missionaries in Hong Kong, Seventh-day Adventist missionaries also began working in Canton in 1902 and the first convert on the mainland was baptised in 1903. The first Seventh-day Adventist Chinese-language schools began in 1904. Also in this year the denomination began printing tracts in Chinese on a small hand operated press. The first Chinese pastor, Keh Ngo Pit (Guo Ziyang 郭子颖), was ordained in 1906. He was converted by Timothy Tay, a Chinese Seventh-day Adventist missionary from Singapore who had arrived in China in 1904. Prior to his conversion to Seventh-day Adventism Keh was the principal of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Fujian.<sup>29</sup> In 1908 the church built a publishing house in Shanghai. The most significant Seventh-day Adventist institution was the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital which opened in 1925. Signifying the growing number of institutions, as well as an increasing membership and missionary staff, China was made a Division in 1930 and the denomination's administrative headquarters were located in Shanghai.

Seventh-day Adventist activity in China was characterised by the building of institutions such as schools, hospitals and medical clinics. The publication of literature in Chinese was also an important evangelistic tool for the church. The publishing houses in China produced evangelistic tracts as well as devotional material designed for church members in a number of Chinese languages.

As the Seventh-day Adventist church in China grew, the church leadership divided China into 'Missions'. Missions were defined by geographical region and this was done for administrative purposes. The Seventh-day Adventist church is very hierarchical in its administration, and eventually China was divided into Unions and became a Division in 1930.<sup>30</sup> By 1949 the China Division had grown into eight Unions, which were further subdivided into local missions. Missions, Unions and Divisions are administrative units, each reporting to the administration above it. Each local mission would report information such as baptisms; church membership; evangelistic programs that had been run or were planned; the amount of tithes and offerings collected; and literature sales, to the Union. The Union would set goals for the missions and provide funding for various programmes. The Union would, in turn report to the China Division and receive funding and instruction from it. The administrators for the China Division would receive instruction and funding from the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Washington D.C. The appointment of missionaries

---

<sup>27</sup> W. A. Spicer, "To the Fields in 1916," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 4 January, 1917, 3.

<sup>28</sup> James E. Schultz, "On Sinim's Altar," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January 13, 1916, 14.

<sup>29</sup> Bruce Lo, "Keh Ngo Pit" <https://sites.google.com/site/adventisminchina/individual-name/nationals/kehngopit> (accessed 20 January 2015).

<sup>30</sup> Seventh-day Adventist church structure is hierarchical with the organizational structure of the church consisting of the following levels: The global church is called the General Conference, currently composed of thirteen Divisions – each administering a particular geographical region. Divisions are composed of Union Conferences and/or Union Missions. (Union Conferences are self-supporting financially, while Union Missions are not. Each union conference is composed of Local Conferences and/or Local Missions. (Local Conferences are self-supporting financially, while Local Missions are not.) Each local conference/mission is composed of local churches (congregations) in a particular region.



to the individual Missions was done through consultation with administrators at all levels of the church's hierarchy.

Chapter One of this thesis outlines some of the most significant relationships which Seventh-day Adventist missionaries formed with the political elite in China and examines ways in which the denomination was able to utilise these connections to further the aims of the church. Chapter Two discusses the way in which these connections, and China itself, was portrayed to the broader church community outside of China and the impact that this had on the theology and self-image of the Seventh-day Adventist church. In Chapter Three I discuss the way in which the portrayal of the church's work in China changed post-1949 and the reasons behind this change. I also argue that the connections which some individual missionaries formed with Nationalist China's political elite aided their careers within the church and raised their profile among Seventh-day Adventist church members.

## **CHAPTER 1: Seventh-day Adventist Connections with China's Political Elite**

This chapter examines the relationships which Seventh-day Adventist missionaries formed with high level Guomintang officials, most notably Zhang Xueliang (The Young Marshal, Chang Hsieh-liang 張學良), H. H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙) and Soong Meiling (known in the west as Madame Chiang Kai-shek) from the mid-1920s through to 1949. My study of Seventh-day Adventist missionary interactions with Guomintang officials illustrates that there was extensive contact between these two groups. I argue that, in forming these relationships with the Guomintang elite, the Seventh-day Adventist church was able to use these connections to further the programmes of the church, in particular when it encountered government regulations which were unfavourable to it. Furthermore, these relationships led to unique employment opportunities for several missionaries, most notably Paul Quimby and Elizabeth Redelstein. These relationships also brought substantial monetary donations to the church, particularly in relation to the building of hospitals. However, these relationships were characterised by a naiveté which did not question the wisdom of aligning the denomination so closely with a particular political regime.

In comparison to other Protestant denominations the Seventh-day Adventist church, with its arrival in China in 1902 was a relatively late entrant to the China mission field. The Methodist Church, for example, sent its first missionaries to China in 1848<sup>1</sup> - twelve years prior to the formation of the Seventh-day Adventist church as a denomination. Despite this late entrance to China, the church embarked on a vigorous programme of institution building. By 1949 there were eighteen educational institutions (this figure excludes small local-church-operated primary schools), thirteen sanitariums and hospitals, three dispensaries and two publishing houses spread across the country.<sup>2</sup> Seventh-day Adventist missionary work in China tended to focus strongly on publishing, education, and medicine. As Lawson has pointed out, institutions such as schools colleges, hospitals and publishing houses are at the centre of Seventh-day Adventist evangelism.<sup>3</sup> As such the development of these institutions was consistent with the denomination's missionary practice elsewhere, although institution building in China occurred on a much greater scale than in other countries. The largest concentration of Seventh-day Adventist institutions was in Shanghai where denomination's administrative headquarters for China were located. This concentration of institutions around church headquarters followed the typical Seventh-day Adventist pattern of clustering institutions around administrative offices.

### **The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Relationships With the Political Elite**

From the late 1920s internal church documents, such as reports to headquarters, minutes from meetings, and letters, both personal and official, demonstrate increased contact with the Guomintang elite and China's upper-class. Most contacts reported were of a positive nature. This increased recognition, by the political and financial elite, coincided with the establishment of Seventh-day Adventist hospitals and sanitariums. Seventh-day Adventist

---

<sup>1</sup> Walter N. Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948), 39.

<sup>2</sup> Conard, *1949 Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*, 94-110.

<sup>3</sup> Lawson, "Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory," 666.

doctors frequently treated Guomindang officials and other members of the political elite in the Shanghai Sanitarium and the rise of the church's fortunes in China followed that of the rise of the Guomindang. During the Nanjing Decade the Seventh-day Adventist church appears to have grown most rapidly in terms of institution building. The church certainly benefited from the increased stability in Guomindang-controlled areas, and from the patronage of wealthy Guomindang officials. However, Seventh-day Adventist missionaries did not limit their missionary endeavours to Guomindang controlled areas. Foreign missionaries operated in Japanese-controlled areas throughout the 1930s. Some missionaries remained in these areas until the attack on Pearl Harbour and a German Seventh-day Adventist missionary remained working in Japanese-occupied China for the duration of the Second World War.

The Seventh-day Adventist missionaries' relationships with the upper echelons of Chinese society began early, with a business relationship with Charlie Soong (宋嘉樹 Song Jiashu). In 1896 Soong founded the Commercial Press Publishing Company which printed Bibles, religious tracts and textbooks. In 1908 Seventh-day Adventist missionaries rented part of these premises from Soong in order to run their own denominational publishing house. Soong was an early supporter of Sun Yat-sen. However, this relationship deteriorated after Sun's marriage to Soong's much younger daughter Qingling. All of Soong's daughters married prominent men. Ailing, the eldest daughter married H. H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙), at one time the Finance Minister of China, and Meiling, the youngest daughter, married Chiang Kai-shek, who became the President of the Republic of China. Meiling and her brother T. V. Soong (Song Ziwen 宋子文) are the two members of this family who feature most often in Seventh-day Adventist-generated literature surrounding their missionary contacts with the political elite in China.

The church did not hesitate to publicise its connection with the Soong family. In a 1949 publication John Oss, himself a long serving missionary in China, wrote:

Elder R. F. Cottrell tells how one of the Soong sisters, Mei Ling, who later became Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the wife of China's great military leader, used to play about the publishing house premises, as a little girl in pigtails.<sup>4</sup>

Miller's biography by Raymond S. Moore, *China Doctor: the Life Story of Harry Willis Miller*, frames this relationship in more religious terms, stating that as time passed, the missionaries "came to see more and more the hand of God in those early negotiations with Charlie Soong."<sup>5</sup> The biography claims that it was this early relationship with Soong which led to Miller's prominence as a surgeon in China. Moore outlines for the readers the renting of the printing press premises and the marriages of Charlie Soong's daughters and then claims:

---

<sup>4</sup> John Oss, *Mission Advance in China* (Nashville: Southern Publishing, 1949), 199.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond S. Moore, *China Doctor: The Life Story of Harry Willis Miller* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1969), 61.

In part *through this business association and the friendship growing from it*, Harry Miller was destined to become one of China's best-known doctors, personal physician to the Chiang Kai-sheks and surgeon to Madame Sun Yat-sen...<sup>6</sup>

An American surgeon, Miller was the Medical Director for the Shanghai Sanitarium. He also served as President of the China Division from 1931 to 1936. This made him the highest administrator for the Seventh-day Adventist church in China. Miller first worked in China from 1903 to early 1907 and then from 1908 to 1911 at which time he was returned to the United States due to poor health. While in the United States, Miller was appointed Medical Superintendent of the Washington Sanitarium, a Seventh-day Adventist institution. As a result of this appointment Miller is alleged to have treated a number of prominent Americans including Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan and Alexander Graham Bell. Moore states that Miller had known of Jennings Bryan as a boy, "and had followed his name in the press, never thinking Bryan would one day be his patient and dinner guest."<sup>7</sup> By stating that Bryan was not just Miller's patient, but also his dinner guest, Moore created an implication of intimacy that went beyond a professional relationship. According to this text, Miller was also consulting physician to Presidents Taft and Wilson and during World War I had been appointed by Wilson to the American Relief Administration.<sup>8</sup> These experiences made Miller no stranger to treating and socialising with the elite of society, and it was during his time in the United States that Miller demonstrated his ability to parlay contacts with the social and political elite into assistance for Seventh-day Adventist mission work in China.

### **The Role of Miller and the Sanitariums and Hospitals in Forging Elite Connections**

Miller was instrumental in establishing the Seventh-day Adventist Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital. When the denomination's missionaries in Shanghai ran into difficulty obtaining land deeds to property they wished to use in the construction of the Sanitarium, Miller presented the issue to Alfred Sao-ke Sze (Shi Zhaoji 施肇基), China's Ambassador to the United States. Miller had formed a connection with Shi Zhaoji through the Washington Sanitarium. Shi gave Miller a letter to his "friend Mayor Kuo T'ai-chi of Shanghai, who is also in charge of the land office."<sup>9</sup> Miller returned to Shanghai in 1925 to oversee the building of this Sanitarium and took the letter with him. Moore records that as soon as Miller "arrived in Shanghai, he made his way quickly to the mayor, who in a matter of minutes placed the necessary seal on the deed."<sup>10</sup> Without the intervention of Shi Zhaoji it is likely that the building of the Shanghai Sanitarium would have taken much longer. The Shanghai Sanitarium was to bring several Seventh-day Adventist missionaries into close proximity to the Guomindang elite and other prominent Chinese.

Seventh-day Adventist missionary contacts with China's political elite were often publicised in contemporary articles written in the *Review*. According to Seventh-day Adventist sources,

---

<sup>6</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 61. Emphasis added.

<sup>7</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 73.

<sup>8</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 74.

<sup>9</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 80.

<sup>10</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*. Moore misidentified Kuo T'ai-chi, at this time he was not the mayor but rather the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs in Shanghai.

Miller, in particular formed close personal relationships with a number of prominent individuals. The relationship given the most publicity in denominational literature was that between the missionaries and the 'Young Marshal' Zhang Xueliang (张学良). Seventh-day Adventist contact with Zhang began in 1930 when he financed the building of a Seventh-day Adventist hospital in Mukden. According to Moore, Zhang wanted a Seventh-day Adventist institution because he had heard positive reports about the Shanghai Sanitarium from Madame Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>11</sup>

Zhang Xueliang's offer to the missionaries is recounted as follows:

He wanted a hospital in Mukden...and not only would give us one hundred thousand dollars, but would provide us all the land we wanted...before long we had a fine walled compound with a sanitarium and hospital and homes for doctors and nurses, all a personal gift from the Young Marshal.<sup>12</sup>

This institution was completed following Zhang's withdrawal from Manchuria due to the Japanese invasion in 1931, and the church continued to operate the hospital during the Japanese occupation. The relationship with Zhang did not cease with the building of this institution. In 1933 Miller was approached by W. H. Donald, then advisor to Zhang Xueliang, who was working in agreement with Soong Meiling and Chiang Kai-shek. Donald requested that Miller to perform his 'opium cure' for Zhang.<sup>13</sup> The treatment was a success. Zhang paid the token Shanghai Sanitarium fee and also gave Miller a check for \$50 000 as a personal thank you. Miller used this money to fund the creation of a Sanitarium in Lanchow (Lanzhou 兰州)<sup>14</sup>. As a result of his successful treatment for opium addiction Zhang was to become an important patron of the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries, particularly with regard to the establishment of denominational hospitals around China.

In 1934 Zhang Xueliang was appointed Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Bandit Suppression which in reality meant the suppression of Communist forces.<sup>15</sup> Zhang was based in Wuhan and was in control of forces in Hunan (湖南), Anhui (安徽) and Hebei (河北).<sup>16</sup> Around this time he approached the Seventh-day Adventist church with a request that the church build a Sanitarium in Hankou (Hankow 汉口), Hebei. The Central China Union Mission's 1934 Report notes:

---

<sup>11</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Craig Collie, *The Reporter and the Warlords* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2013), 200.

<sup>14</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 9.

<sup>15</sup> Jonathan Fenby, *Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and the China He Lost* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> This information is located in Chapter 2 "From One Incident to Another, from Manchuria to Xi'an, 1931-6" Aron Shai, "Zhang Xueliang: The General Who Never Fought," (Palgrave MacMillan, 2012) (accessed 28.11.2013).

On July second we received a personal check from Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang for #*[sic]* 10, 000.00 as the first payment to a fund for the construction, equipment, and maintenance of a Sanitarium near Hankow.<sup>17</sup>

The report then recounts the background to the church's history with Zhang, making special mention of the cure of Zhang from opium addiction and the involvement of W. H. Donald in this incident. The reporter highlighted Zhang's desire for a cure from his opium addiction as the starting point for the relationship with Miller and the denomination's medical institutions. Zhang's positive interactions with Seventh-day Adventist medical institutions were credited with his desire to fund this institution in Hankou. The successful treatment of Zhang by Miller began an exchange relationship between the two men which benefited both parties for several decades. The story of Zhang's cure from opium addiction is repeatedly retold in a variety of literature connected with the Seventh-day Adventist church. Miller's biography expands on the construction of the Hankou Sanitarium claiming that other prominent personages in Nationalist China also contributed to the financing of its construction:

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, a great believer in our medical work, was in it with the Marshal, adding one hundred thousand dollars to the fund. Still later Madame Chiang Kai-shek spent twenty thousand dollars for a residence on the grounds so she could come for treatments whenever she was in the area.<sup>18</sup>

Seventh-day Adventist sanitariums had a focus on educating people in healthful living. Vegetarianism was strongly promoted to the patients and the sanitariums offered alternate medical services such as massage and hydrotherapy. It is likely that these were the types of 'treatments' taken by Soong Meiling in Hankou.

In his 1933 report on the "Financial Statements for the Shanghai Sanitarium" Miller, while noting the wide range of classes serviced by the Sanitarium, was at pains to point out the patronage of the elite stating: "We have had many prominent government officials at the Sanitarium."<sup>19</sup> This desire to be seen as having 'connections in high places' is repeatedly evident in Seventh-day Adventist missionary reports to church headquarters and in articles published in denominational magazines. Although this reportage of political connections was not limited to the China context, but came from all mission fields where contact between the political elite and missionaries occurred, research indicates that reports of this nature were more commonly received from the missionaries in China than from those in other areas. The report also noted another prominent patient who had spent time in the Sanitarium during the year:

---

<sup>17</sup> M. C. Warren, "Central China Union Mission 1934 Report", McElhany Collection, Box 11, Fld 3, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

<sup>18</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 10.

<sup>19</sup> Harry W. Miller, "Financial Statements of the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital and Shanghai Sanitarium Clinic Ending December 31, 1933," p. 4, Thiele Collection, Box 34, Fld 8, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

Madam Chiang Kai Shek [*sic*] is also among our most grateful patients, having had an operation at the sanitarium. A recent letter from Mrs. Anderson reports that Madam Chiang has enjoyed continuous excellent health.<sup>20</sup>

This statement indicates that Mrs Anderson, the wife of a Seventh-day Adventist missionary, was in a position close enough to Soong Meiling that she could report on her health. A letter between Seventh-day Adventist church administration in Washington D.C. and Mrs Quimby in 1935 seems to imply that another American Seventh-day Adventist missionary wife, Mrs Satterlee had been working in the Chiang household and that Mrs Anderson had previously held a position in the household. The letter states,

I would be glad to know from you, if you have information, what sort of a situation the nurse has who works for Madam Chang [*sic*]. We have a very urgent request by cable from Doctor Miller to supply someone for this position, inasmuch as the Satterlees are coming home.

I had a talk with Mrs. Anderson who was with Madam Chang [*sic*], and she seemed to feel that it is rather a difficult place to fill and that Madam Chang [*sic*] is rather exacting, etc.<sup>21</sup>

Elisabeth Redelstein expands on this contact between Seventh-day Adventist nurses and Soong Meiling. Redelstein was a German national who had been naturalised as an American citizen. She trained in the United States as a nurse and worked as the Superintendent at the Seventh-day Adventist Sanitarium in Shanghai and first became acquainted with Madame Chiang Kai-shek when her mother, Madame Soong came as a patient to the institution.<sup>22</sup> Redelstein stated that a Seventh-day Adventist missionary nurse the “wife of one of our missionaries” accompanied the Chiang’s on the first part of their 1935 tour through China. However, the family returned to the USA, leaving Soong Meiling without a nurse.<sup>23</sup> According to Redelstein, Soong Meiling requested that Redelstein spend her vacation with them. She claimed, “Madame knew that my vacation was due, because I had been invited to visit her sister.”<sup>24</sup> The invitation to spend a vacation with a member of the Soong family indicates a relationship between Redelstein and the family which went beyond the casual professional context. Redelstein was released from her position as Superintendent of Nurses and worked for the Chiang’s for a period of several months.<sup>25</sup> Following this, she

---

<sup>20</sup> Miller, “Financial Statements of the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital and Shanghai Sanitarium Clinic Ending December 31,” p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> GC Secretariat, “Letter dated June 11, 1935,” General Conference Archives IDE File Quimby, PE, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

<sup>22</sup> Elisabeth Redelstein, “My Year With China's First Lady Part 2,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 11 November, 1943, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Redelstein, “My Year With China's First Lady Part 2,” 14.

<sup>24</sup> Redelstein, “My Year With China's First Lady Part 2,” 14.

<sup>25</sup> Although there is no question regarding whether Redelstein worked for Madame Chiang Kai-shek in this capacity, there is a question regarding the date she began working in the household. The *Review's* 1943 articles give June, 1936 as Redelstein’s starting date however, archival research has uncovered personal correspondence that contradicts this date and pushes the start date back to mid-1935. It is likely that the *Advent Review* articles, written nearly ten years after the event, have inadvertently provided an incorrect date.

accompanied Madame Zhang Xueliang (Yu Fengzi) to Europe.<sup>26</sup> Redelstein's relationship with the Chiang Kai-shek family received a great deal of publicity in the *Review*, which in 1943 published a four-part series about her experiences in the Chiang household.

Miller also highlighted the Shanghai Sanitarium's most prominent patients in the 1935 "Chairman's Report" for the Sanitarium and Clinic. He noted that patients had come from a wide variety of locations and social classes, but named the institutions most prominent ones:

Among our guests we would mention Mr. T. V. Soong, members of the H. H. Kung family, Mr. K. P. Chen, the president of the Shanghai and Commercial Bank, Governor Ling of Kwangtung Province, Madame Sun Fo, Yui Ming, chief of Shanghai's Foreign Affairs office, Major-General Tsai Ching Chun, Chief of Police and Military Commander of the Shanghai-Woosung area, and a score of others.<sup>27</sup>

The above list named some of Republican China's most powerful people. In 1935 T. V. Soong was the Governor of the Bank of China. From 1928 – 1933 he had served as the Minister for Finance for the Nationalist Government. H. H. Kung was Soong's brother-in-law. At this time, Kung was the Governor of the Central Bank of China and also the Minister of Finance. K. P. Chen (Chen Guangfu 陳光甫) was one of China's richest men, a successful entrepreneur and banker who went on to become the head of China's Currency Stabilization Board. Madame Sun Fo (Chen Suk-ying) was the daughter-in-law of Sun Yat-sen, the first president of the Republic of China. Moore's biography of Miller also names some of Miller's more prominent patients such as Tcheng Yu-hsiu (Su Mei Chang 鄭毓秀)<sup>28</sup> who had a tonsillectomy performed at the Sanitarium.<sup>29</sup> Tcheng was a prominent lawyer in her own right and wife of Wei Tao-ming (Wei Daoming 魏道) Ambassador to the United States during World War II and later governor of Taiwan from 1947 to 1949.<sup>30</sup> Miller did not bill these wealthy patients directly for their treatment at the Shanghai Sanitarium, finding it more lucrative if the patients made a donation to the hospital instead. It is claimed that Tcheng made a donation of one thousand dollars for her treatment.<sup>31</sup> Miller was also able to use these contacts with those patients who were in official positions, into advantages for the church when its work, particularly in the field of education, ran into difficulties with government regulations.

### **Seventh-day Adventist Educational Institutions**

In addition to medical clinics and hospitals, the Seventh-day Adventist church in China was heavily involved in the provision of education. Its educational philosophy was strongly influenced by the views of Ellen White. Her key beliefs surrounding education were "that it

---

<sup>26</sup> Elisabeth Redelstein, "Letter to J. C. Shull dated October 6, 1938," p. 1, General Conference IDE File Redelstein, Elisabeth M. , General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

<sup>27</sup> Harry W. Miller, "Superintendent's Report ---Chairman's Report Shanghai Sanitarium and Clinic, 1935," Thiele Collection, Box 34, Fld 8, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

<sup>28</sup> Tcheng Yu-hsiu's name is also transliterated as Soumay Tcheng

<sup>29</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 89.

<sup>30</sup> Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 302, 371.

<sup>31</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 89.



should aim at developing in its students a balance of mental, physical and spiritual powers. She particularly stressed the need for a practical education that connected physical labour with academic work.”<sup>32</sup>

Seventh-day Adventist schools in China were unique in the Chinese educational context in that they offered a mixed academic and industrial programme. The industrial programme also allowed poorer students to earn money to finance their studies and enabled the schools to be financially self-supporting.

Along with other Protestant denominations in China, Seventh-day Adventist schools were affected by the government’s insistence in 1927 that in Nationalist-held provinces, “Christian schools should register officially, abandon compulsory religious services or education, and install Chinese administrators and trustees.”<sup>33</sup> Bays notes that there was also to be political instruction “under the banner of Sun Yat-sen’s ‘three people’s principles’ (*sanmin zhuyi*).”<sup>34</sup> This was anathema to the Seventh-day Adventist belief in the need for a strong separation between church and state. Thus, these instructions to register the schools and make religious instruction optional struck at the heart of the denomination’s educational philosophy and practice. Seventh-day Adventist schools in China were largely evangelistic in nature and also served to train evangelists and ministers for the church, therefore the restrictions on the teaching of religion were a particular blow.

The flagship educational institution for the Seventh-day Adventist church in China was the China Theological Seminary. It was this school which came to the attention of Nationalist authorities in the early 1930s. The Seminary was located in Chiao Tou Chen (present day Qiao Tou Zhen 桥头镇) a small village 40 kilometres from the Nanjing city centre.<sup>35</sup> In 1931 The China Theological Seminary received a letter from the Kiangsu (Jiangsu 江苏省) Provincial Government Department of Education. This letter informed the Seminary of communication which the Department of Education had received from the Secretarial Department of the Central Executive Committee on Readjustment of Party Affairs for the Kiangsu Province and stated,

This Department, acting in accordance with Orders No. 524 and No. 630 from the Ministry of Education has requested your compliance with the same... The reply from that Bureau stated that the course of study in your school still included religion as a required subject...<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> George R. Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1999), 78-79.

<sup>33</sup> Shirley Stone Garrett, “Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties,” in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John K. Fairbank, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 291.

<sup>34</sup> Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 125.

<sup>35</sup> In church documents this is also referred to as the ‘China Training Institute’, ‘Chiao Tou Djen’, ‘Chiaotoutseng’, ‘Chiao Tuo Tseng’, ‘Chiao Tou Chien’ and ‘Chiao Tou Tseng’. This thesis follows Quimby and Youngberg’s transliteration “Chiao Tou Chen.”

<sup>36</sup> Chen Ho Sien, “Order No. 604, re Ministry of Education Order for Compliance with Regulations Governing Private Schools and in Case of wilful Disobedience to Deal in Severe Manner, March 28, 1931,” p. 1, Thiele Collection, Box 34, Fld 9, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

It went on to acknowledge that the school had changed its name to indicate its private nature and had,

discontinued the use of the name of a religious body in connection with the same. But the fact that you have junior and senior middle school, junior college, and primary departments, indicates that your institution is of the nature of a school. Therefore you should not, under the name of a theological seminary, make religion a required subject, thus mixing religious propaganda with school instruction.<sup>37</sup>

The letter concluded with the warning that if the school continued to disobey or delay the Department would “be obliged to carry out the instructions of the Ministry and to deal very severely with you.”<sup>38</sup> This warning placed Seventh-day Adventist schools in an extremely difficult situation. The church’s educational philosophy made it impossible for the schools to comply, yet failure to comply would result in the closure of the schools.

By comparison the Methodist response was very different. According to Lacy, every Methodist educational institution complied with the new government regulations.<sup>39</sup> The Methodists found that despite the removal of compulsory religious instructions “all religious services and Bible classes were well attended.”<sup>40</sup> However, Seventh-day Adventist missionaries felt “that they could not compromise in any regard” and that the Lord would provide a solution.<sup>41</sup> They were determined to keep the China Theological Seminary running as a religious school and were able to use the high level connections they had made through the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital to achieve this.

Upon receipt of the letter from the Provincial Government Department of Education, Denton Rebok, principal of the China Theological Seminary, wrote to Miller asking for advice on the situation (in addition to his work at the Shanghai Sanitarium, Miller was at this time also president of the China Division, and it was for this reason that his advice was sought). On July 25, 1934 Claude Conard presented a report about Seventh-day Adventist education in China at the Seventh-day Adventist owned and operated Pacific Union College in California. In telling the story of this incident Conard made specific mention of the fact that Miller received the letter from Rebok on the same day that H. H. Kung, then Minister of Agriculture and Industries, attended the Shanghai Sanitarium for medical treatment. The emphasis given to the timing of the letter and H. H. Kung’s visit to the Sanitarium reflected the reporter’s belief that there was a ‘Divine Hand’ at work and that the “Lord had some plan to safeguard His work.”<sup>42</sup> According to Conard, at the end of the treatment, “Dr. Kung, asked Dr. Miller if there was anything that he could do for him.”<sup>43</sup> Miller explained the situation regarding the

---

<sup>37</sup> Sien, “Order No. 604, re Ministry of Education Order for Compliance with Regulations Governing Private Schools,” p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Sien, “Order No. 604, re Ministry of Education Order for Compliance with Regulations Governing Private Schools,” p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, 165.

<sup>40</sup> Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, 166.

<sup>41</sup> Claude Conard, “God’s Plan For Education in China, 1934,” p. 3, Document File 4009-a, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

<sup>42</sup> Conard, “God’s Plan For Education in China,” p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> Conard, “God’s Plan For Education in China,” p. 3.

China Theological Seminary and as a result of this conversation, Kung suggested that, along with some organisational changes in terms of the courses offered the school could,

pay more attention to industrial training and ally the school with the Ministry of Industries and Agriculture instead of the Ministry of Education. He intimated that the Ministry of Industries would make no requirement of our school except to work out its own program of education and training.<sup>44</sup>

This course of action was implemented and the renamed China Training Institute continued to operate. Kung's assistance in this matter was publicised within the Seventh-day Adventist church in both Denton Rebok's biography<sup>45</sup> and Miller's biography by Moore. According to Moore, this plan of action was followed by all Seventh-day Adventist schools operating in China, and not one Seventh-day Adventist school was closed.<sup>46</sup> This would not have been possible, and the schools could not have remained open, without the intervention of Kung. Miller used his personal and professional relationship with Kung to further the church's educational programme in China.

Despite the initial problems faced by the China Training Institute within a few years its mix of education and vocational labour was attracting positive attention from other foreign groups in China, and also the Chinese Government's Ministry of Education. Kung's connection to the Institute certainly played a role in some of this interest. For example, in 1932 Kung, honorary president of Oberlin College in China, located in Taigu, Shanxi (山西 太谷县),<sup>47</sup> sent a telegram to the China Training Institute asking that "school representatives meet with the dean and the executive secretary of Oberlin College in China and explain to them the Training Institute's plan of education."<sup>48</sup> Conard reported that the Oberlin College representatives were so impressed with the Seventh-day Adventist system that they "expressed a desire to study it further. They took the names and publishers of Mrs. White's books on education and went back to try and organize their school along similar lines."<sup>49</sup> Conard also claimed that the Oberlin Board asked the church to supply teachers to help them implement a similar programme, but this request was declined due to a lack of available staff.<sup>50</sup> This refusal to provide an educator to Oberlin College in China was based more on a shortage of personnel than along ideological lines. The Seventh-day Adventist church did, however, supply a teacher to one institution that requested their educational assistance.

### **Requests to Supply Employees to Non-SDA Institutions and the Denominational Response**

As a result of the China Training Institute's success, in 1933 Miller was asked by the Board of Directors to supply three teachers to "the I Tsu Schools for children of the Revolutionary soldiers and leaders."<sup>51</sup> These schools were an initiative of Soong Meiling. Only one teacher

---

<sup>44</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Herbert Ford, *For The Love of China The Life Story of Denton E. Rebok* (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1971), 88-89.

<sup>46</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 107.

<sup>47</sup> "Oberlin Shansi", <http://shansi.org/fellowships/partnerships/china/> (accessed 2 December 2013).

<sup>48</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 5.

<sup>51</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 6.

could be spared from the China Training Institute and Professor Paul Quimby, an American missionary and educator, was selected to be seconded to the school. Quimby's autobiography noted that he was initially very reluctant to enter the employment of the government school.<sup>52</sup> After receiving instruction from Miller that he should make himself available to the school, Quimby wrote to Miller and declined the invitation pointing out that he felt his role was to be a missionary and "...that even though we had sympathetic regard for the government and its responsibilities, yet as missionaries we should not involve ourselves in secular pursuits."<sup>53</sup> Miller strongly encouraged Quimby to accept the position, demonstrating a pattern of accommodation to the requests of the Chinese elite which is evident in later interactions and requests of a similar nature. Quimby was summoned to an interview with Soong Meiling to discuss his proposed role at the school and he then agreed to take on the role of advisor to the school board.<sup>54</sup> In his autobiography Quimby framed the reversal of his decision to work for the I Tsu school in a distinctly spiritual fashion.

Her faith that I could fill an important place in its program and that the philosophy of education demonstrated at Chiao Tou Chen could fill China's educational need at the time did something to my thinking. I heard a faint voice of duty speaking to me as a vision appeared before my mind of opportunities for much wider service in this great land of China and of expansion of God's work.<sup>55</sup>

He saw this position as a chance to apply the 'God-given' principles of Christian education to a much wider field.<sup>56</sup> This reference to 'God-given' principles alludes to the educational philosophy of the church's prophet Ellen White. Quimby was not alone in seeing his appointment in this religious light. When he expressed doubt in his ability to fulfil the role to one of his fellow Seventh-day Adventist missionaries, he was told, "God is moving, and you had better move with Him. Get busy. Go to Nanking and do what the Lord and the Chinese people are asking you to do."<sup>57</sup> Quimby's descriptions of the school closely match those recorded elsewhere,<sup>58</sup> and given the extensive Seventh-day Adventist references to it in both published books and articles and unpublished archival data such as letters and reports there is no reason to doubt that Quimby took this position.

Keen to maintain the separation of church and state, the China Division worked out an arrangement with the government school regarding Quimby's salary. According to Conard the government school paid the China Division office

an amount sufficient to cover Prof. Quimby's salary and something on the expense of bringing him to China, and our division pays him a regular salary,

---

<sup>52</sup> P. Quimby and N. Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze: One Missionary's Saga in Revolutionary China* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1976), 84.

<sup>53</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 84.

<sup>54</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 84.

<sup>55</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 87.

<sup>56</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 87.

<sup>57</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 89.

<sup>58</sup> Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-Shek China's Eternal First Lady* (New York: Grove Press, 2006), 88.

the same as our other workers. In other words, Professor Quimby has been loaned to them.<sup>59</sup>

However, the matter of payment was really one of semantics, with Quimby remaining in Church employ while the school board was contributing to the funds of the Seventh-day Adventist church. This arrangement allowed Quimby to retain his service record with the church which entitled him to benefits such as regular furlough, and maintained the facade that Quimby was 'on loan' and not really in the employ to the I Tsu school.

The reputation of the China Training Institute continued to grow. The year following Quimby's employment at the I Tsu school, the Chinese Government Minister of Education referred a "representative of the League of Nations, touring the world and studying educational institutions" to Chiao Tou Chen.<sup>60</sup> According to Conard, Chiao Tou Chen was considered by the Ministry of Education to be "one of the most outstanding schools in all China."<sup>61</sup> It is evident that by 1934 the image of the school had changed dramatically since being threatened with closure in 1931. This increased recognition for the school was due, in part, to Kung's patronage which had allowed the school to remain open, and the relationship which Quimby had developed with the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. However, it must be recognised that the educational landscape in China had also changed during this time period.

In addition to the above request from the Chinese Government Minister for Education there was also a request in 1934 from the Minister of Education for Kwangsi (Guangxi 广西) "acting upon the recommendation from the government department of Education at Nanking [Nanjing]."<sup>62</sup> The Minister toured the China Training Institute and then visited the Seventh-day Adventist Division office in Shanghai to enquire about the possibility of opening a school, along the same lines as the China Training Institute, in Guangxi. When informed that the Seventh-day Adventist church was not in a financial position to do this, he offered to provide the land needed and place the school on the educational budget, giving the Seventh-day Adventist church free reign to implement their own curriculum (including religious education) if they would agree to run a school like the China Training Institute.<sup>63</sup> The Minister of Education went on to ask the Seventh-day Adventist China Division Educational Secretary to outline a course of study for the schools in Guangxi and "to tour the province with him as his special counsellor on education."<sup>64</sup> I have found no record as to whether any of these requests were met. This was not the only request fielded by the Seventh-day Adventist church in China in regards to the provision of education. The Report of the China Division's Educational Secretary to the Spring Council in 1935 noted:

Several calls have come to our division officers to assign our missionary teachers to various government and private institutions. The Commissioner of

---

<sup>59</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 4.

<sup>62</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 8.

<sup>63</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Conard, "God's Plan For Education in China," p. 9.

Education in one of the provinces earnestly requested several tens of our young people to go into his territory and help him carry out a practical type of education for his young people.<sup>65</sup>

As far as I can determine these ‘calls’ were not filled as there was insufficient personnel to staff both denominational and other schools.

The Seventh-day Adventist church was not unique in being offered positions of this kind by government officials. For example, in 1933 the National Christian Council (of which the Seventh-day Adventist church was not a member) was asked to aid in a programme of reconstruction in Kiangsi (Jiangxi 江西).<sup>66</sup> The request was met with caution. Before making a decision the issue was studied intensively. A sub-committee was formed and it

explored with particular care the troubling intricacies of church-state relations. Should the missions accept financial aid from the government? If they did would such a subsidy make “impossible or undesirable specifically ‘evangelistic’ work on the part of those working under the committee in charge?”<sup>67</sup>

The National Christian Council did decide to take on the project and this resulted in the formation of the “Kiangsi Rural Service Union, and this organization became the agency through which the churches cooperated with the government.”<sup>68</sup> They declined to do this under government auspices but the National Christian Council did accept a \$50 000 donation from the Chiangs as a contribution toward the project. The decision to operate the project independently from direct government funding was due in part to a desire not to be seen to be too closely aligned with a particular regime and also spoke to the concerns listed above regarding possible limitations placed on evangelistic work through the acceptance of government funding.

There does not appear to have been similar discussion among Seventh-day Adventist administrators regarding any problems that could arise from fulfilling the positions discussed above. I have been unable to locate evidence of Seventh-day Adventist hesitancy to fulfil requests from the government. Rather, the Seventh-day Adventist church in China (at least in the instances for which there are records,) appears to have attempted to fulfil all requests made of them. Although Miller’s biography by Moore is at pains to point out that the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries valued the separation of church and state, and that the church turned “down an offer, from the Generalissimo and the central government, of a fine school and three hundred thousand dollars to begin its operation.”<sup>69</sup> The refusal to provide staff to educational institutions seems to have been largely due to a lack of available personnel rather than the result of philosophical concerns. This pattern of acquiescing to the requests of the rich and powerful was not unique to the China context. There are later

---

<sup>65</sup> “Report of China Division Educational Secretary, Spring Council 1935,” p. 4-5, Thiele Collection, Box 32, Fld 6, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

<sup>66</sup> Thomson Jr, *While China Faced West*, 62.

<sup>67</sup> Thomson Jr, *While China Faced West*, 68.

<sup>68</sup> Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, 236.

<sup>69</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 107.

examples of Seventh-day Adventist missionaries cultivating exchange relationships with Pinochet in Chile<sup>70</sup> and Haile Sellassie in Ethiopia.<sup>71</sup> However, it appears to have been much more pronounced amongst missionaries in China than those in other areas where the church was working. Furthermore, the connections which Seventh-day Adventist missionaries formed with members of the Chinese political and financial elite were much more broadly publicised in church literature, published at the time, and after the withdrawal of the missionaries from China, than high level contacts made in other countries.

The Chinese government was not the only institution to request Seventh-day Adventist assistance in the field of education. On November 20, 1939 the China Division Committee fielded a request from the International Red Cross, “offering to finance a general industrial school in Kweichow [Guizhou 贵州省] if our mission on its part would conduct such an institution in their name.”<sup>72</sup> This request was declined at the China Division Committee Officers’ Winter Council. No reason is given in the Council minutes for the decision to not proceed with this project, though one suspects that lack of qualified personnel to run the school was a deciding factor. However, despite the refusal to conduct an educational institution financed by the Red Cross, the Seventh-day Adventist church did work with them on at least one other project. The mission associated with the Adventist hospital in Yencheng (Yancheng 鄆城区), Honan (Henan 河南) worked in cooperation with the American Red Cross on a feeding programme for approximately 10 000 refugees. Funds were provided by the Red Cross and the hospital prepared and served the food.<sup>73</sup> This indicates that the Adventist Church was not opposed to working together with non-Adventist institutions when the project aligned with the church’s philosophy and, more significantly, they had the personnel to conduct the project without impacting on the evangelical side of their mission work.

### **Seventh-day Adventist Involvement in Political Issues**

There was some concern at the General Conference regarding missionary commentary on political issues, not just in China, but around the world. In 1934 the Seventh-day Adventist General conference sent out the following directive to its missionaries. The

Missionary who goes to foreign lands may keep in his heart love of home and earthly country; but he is to remember that he is in a far land to represent the heavenly country...the missionary must bear in mind also the need of so instructing the people as to inculcate loyalty to the government under which they live...<sup>74</sup>

This was sent to Seventh-day Adventist missionaries working in *all* countries and was not specific to China. However, its inclusion in the meetings of the China Division Executive Committee (this was the administrative body for the Seventh-day Adventist church in China)

---

<sup>70</sup> Lawson, “Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory,” 661.

<sup>71</sup> Lawson, “Church and State at Home and Abroad,” 301.

<sup>72</sup> “Division Committee Minutes, Officers’ Winter Council,” 1939, p. 2314, Record Group CH1, CHD 198 to CHD 1945 Box 6590, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

<sup>73</sup> Mary S. Ogle, *In Spite of Danger The Story of Thelma Smith in China* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1969), 103.

<sup>74</sup> “Minutes of The China Division Executive Committee Officer’s Council,” 1934, Minutes, p. 466, Thiele Collection, Box 32, Fld 4, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

of 1934 can be read as an indication that the attention paid by members and missionaries to political affairs was an issue of concern within the context of the Seventh-day Adventist mission in China.

The document goes on to note:

With evidence on many sides of increase of the spirit of national rivalries that lead to friction and disturbance of peaceful relations, we ask our public speakers and the editors of our papers to use care that international affairs shall not be dealt with in such a way as to suggest that our church attitude in once country is critical of the forms of government or political institutions in other countries.<sup>75</sup>

This lofty ideal was not met in the China context. Accusations made against the church by Hsu Hwa, in “struggle” sessions after the Chinese Revolution (by this stage Hsu was the President of the China Division of Seventh-day Adventists) are revealing. The accusation document was to be published in the July 1951 issue of the Chinese *Signs of the Times*, a Seventh-day Adventist publication, and a copy of the first proof was obtained by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Washington, D.C. Hsu wrote,

In June, 1934, I myself wrote an article lauding Chiang’s New Life Movement...Moreover on the July 1948 issue of the Signs cover was a picture of Chiang’s inauguration as president...Also in the May issue of 1948 there appeared an article on American democracy addressed specifically to all Socialistic and Communistic countries.”<sup>76</sup>

While there is a need for caution when examining documents which may have been produced under duress, the pro-Chiang, anti-communist nature of the articles published cannot be denied. Hsu’s accusation document also references the employment of Quimby at the “school for the Sons of the Revolution” and uses this to claim that Quimby was acting as an “American agent”.<sup>77</sup> There is no evidence that Quimby was an American agent, however, the accusation does highlight the perception that the Seventh-day Adventist church was closely aligned with both Guomindang and the government of the United States.

After the American entry into World War II returned Seventh-day Adventist missionaries did assist the United States government in providing information about China. Edwin Thiele (a former missionary to China) supplied the Army Service Forces Headquarters, Sixth Service Command with street guides of Shanghai and Beijing.<sup>78</sup> He also loaned the Navy Intelligence Service a copy of a map entitled ‘The New Map of Shanghai.’<sup>79</sup> During World War II Adventists in the United States saw themselves as ‘conscientious co-operators’ rather than

---

<sup>75</sup> “Minutes of The China Division Executive Committee Officer's Council,” p. 466.

<sup>76</sup> Hwa Hsu, “An Accusation Against Imperialistic United States of the Crime of Using the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination To Promote Aggression in China, 1951,” p. 2, Thiele Collection, Box 32, Fld 2, Center for Adventist Research

<sup>77</sup> Hsu, “An Accusation Against Imperialistic United States,” p. 1.

<sup>78</sup> Harry G. Atkinson, “Letter dated 3 May, 1944,” Thiele Collection, Box 31, Fld 13, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

<sup>79</sup> Emery B. Hatch, “Letter dated 2 January, 1945,” Thiele Collection, Box 31, Fld 13, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.



‘conscientious objectors’. They refused to bear arms but they “did not see it as a contradiction to help the wounded recover and so fight again...”<sup>80</sup> Sympathy for China’s struggle against Japan on the part of missionaries and returned missionaries also contributed to a willingness, such as that which Thiele demonstrated above, to support the US war effort. Within China, the American Seventh-day Adventist missionaries also provided assistance to the Chinese government and the American forces in China. From 1937-1945 Ezra Longway served as Secretary of the Publishing Department for the Seventh-day Adventist church in China and from 1942 -1946 he was also acting President of the China Division.<sup>81</sup> In his 1974 autobiography Longway stated that during World War II “the Chinese Government made four trucks available to help us carry on our missionary work.”<sup>82</sup> Two of the trucks were used primarily to haul supplies of paper from Hunan(湖南) to Chongqing (重庆). This paper was then used for the publication of the Chinese-language edition of *Signs of the Times Magazine* and other denominational literature. However, the trucks were not solely for church use. Longway noted that the only restriction placed on the church regarding the use of the trucks was the requirement that when the church did not have a full load of their own goods the trucks would carry government cargo. Longway went on to state that “For this service we were paid at the established rate.”<sup>83</sup> He does not specify what type of cargo the church-run trucks carried for the government. In hindsight an arrangement such as this could be seen to raise a number of ethical questions for a church which was, at the time, committed to non-combatancy and which had members in all theatres of the war and on all sides of the conflict. These issues do not appear to have been raised during the war.

Seventh-day Adventist missionaries continued to operate in those parts of China under Japanese occupation prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. At least one missionary of German nationality remained in Japanese occupied areas following the United States’ declaration of war on Japan. Several American missionaries were interred by the Japanese in Shanghai following the United States’ entry into the war in 1941. Prior into the entrance of the United States to the Second World War there is some evidence that *individuals* within the Seventh-day Adventist church did recognise that the missionaries’ close relations with the Guomindang could place them in jeopardy due to the Japanese occupation. For example, in 1940 Frederick Griggs (a former American missionary to China) wrote to one of the Associate Secretaries of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, A.W. Cormack, to outline his concerns regarding the proposal to send Paul Quimby to Manchuria. He noted,

...for some three years Professor Quimby was connected with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, in school work which they were conducting in Nanking [*sic*]...The Japanese would know about his

---

<sup>80</sup> Lawson, “Church and State at Home and Abroad,” 289.

<sup>81</sup> Due to the outbreak of war the China Division of Seventh-day Adventists was divided into two administrative units. The China Division, with temporary headquarters in Chongqing functioned in all parts of the China Division which were accessible to them. There was a Shanghai Branch Committee of the China Division of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist that was staffed entirely by Chinese employees and administrators, and operated in areas under Japanese occupation.

<sup>82</sup> Ezra Longway, *Dangerous Opportunity* (Washington, D.C: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1974), 135.

<sup>83</sup> Longway, *Dangerous Opportunity*, 135.

previous work and his close connection with the General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and I am very much afraid that they would not let his work go along smoothly.<sup>84</sup>

Although Quimby was, in the end, not placed in Manchuria there is no evidence that the church changed its behaviour of courting those in political office despite the risks this could pose to their missionaries. Unfortunately, Grigg's caution was not reflected by the broader church administration.

The church continued to send new missionaries to China throughout the Second World War. When gaining permission for wartime travel proved difficult, church officials utilised their political connections to attempt to facilitate this. For example, in a 1943 letter to A. W. Cormack, Ezra Longway, in China, outlined his attempt to get permission for Dr Gregory to work in China:

Yesterday Dr. Herbert Liu and I called on Dr. Woo Lan-sun, head of the Chinese Red Cross organization. He agreed to do all in his power to help get a priority booking for Dr. and Mrs. Gregory to come out as soon as possible. He is writing to the Chinese ambassador to America, Dr. T. V. Soong asking him to approach the War Department on this question. He is sending this request by the hand of Dr. Wellington Ku. Both the Ambassador and Dr. Ku are friends of our work, having had contact with us for many years here in China, and both of them are personal friends of Dr. Miller.<sup>85</sup>

At the time Dr Herbert Liu was the Secretary of the church's China Division's Medical Department. This gave him significant administrative authority within the church hierarchy in China. Wellington Ku (also known as Wellington Koo and Gu Weijun 顾维钧) was the Chinese Ambassador to England, and T. V. Soong the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Both of these men were familiar with Seventh-day Adventist missionaries through contact with Miller and the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital. The church administration made use of as many networks and connections as they could in order to advance the aims of the church.

### **The Seventh-day Adventist Relationship with Zhang Xueliang**

The Seventh-day Adventist missionaries' contacts with the political and social elite did not only result in monetary donations or assistance when government regulations were hampering the work of the church. In the case of Miller and Zhang Xueliang, Zhang offered Miller the use of his personal plane. On at least one documented occasion Miller made use of the plane to ferry a group of missionaries to Lanzhou for the funeral of Clarence Creager Crisler. Crisler, Secretary of the China Division of Seventh-day Adventists, died of pneumonia in Titao, Kansu (Gansu 甘肃), 96.5 kilometres south of Lanzhou. Miller's life sketch of Crisler makes mention of the use of the plane and although the life sketch does not

---

<sup>84</sup> Frederick Griggs, "Letter to Cormack dated February 12, 1940," p. 1, IDE File Quimby, PE, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

<sup>85</sup> Ezra Longway, "Letter to AW Cormack dated March 5, 1943," General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Vice Presidential General files of WH Branson 1942, war serv - 1943, A -C Box 11, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Dr Woo Lan-sun is also known as Woo Lan Sung and was the Secretary General of the Chinese Red Cross at this time.

identify the owner of the plane, a copy of a photo held in the Ellen G. White Estate Archives identifies the plane as belonging to “Marshall Chang” (Zhang Xueliang).<sup>86</sup>



*Pictured, from left to right, Mrs Li (C.C. Crisler’s secretary) Miss Bessie Mount (the China Division Sabbath School Secretary) Mrs Crisler (wife of C. C. Crisler ), Beatrice Crisler (daughter of C. C. Crisler, employed as a music teacher at the Far Eastern Academy in Shanghai), H. W. Miller and Pastor O. A. Hall.*

This identification is confirmed by the Guomindang logo partially visible on the left wing of the plane and by the men in military dress at the extreme right.

The close association between Miller and Zhang was to haunt the church in later years. In 1951 the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists obtained transcripts (translated into English), from the “struggle” meetings against the Seventh-day Adventist church in China. Among the accusations made by Pen Siang Sheng was a statement noting that when Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped during the Xian incident, Soong Mayling sent Miller “a telegram asking him to save her husband by all means.”<sup>87</sup> This incident is also recounted in Moore’s biography of Miller’s life. Moore claims Miller was asked because of his close relationship with Zhang Xueliang. However, Miller felt it was not appropriate for a missionary to take on a political role of this nature and so suggested that W. H. Donald, T. V. Soong and Soong Meiling would be better situated to make the negotiations.<sup>88</sup> Although I have been unable to find non-Seventh-day Adventist evidence to verify this claim, the mention of the incident in an accusation meeting would indicate that the story was widespread and well known, at least in Seventh-day Adventist circles within China.

<sup>86</sup> Ellen G. White Estate Gallery <https://photo.egwwritings.org/index.php?album=People&image=146.2.2.1.jpg>

<sup>87</sup> Pen Siang Sheng, “To Accuse the American Imperialists Used S.D.A to Invade China, 1951,” p. 1, Thiele Collection, Box 32, Fld 2, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

<sup>88</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 110-111.

Another aspect of the relationship between Miller and Zhang is recounted in Miller's biography. This text claims that it was Miller and another Seventh-day Adventist missionary who organised for the son of Elsie (Edith) Chou (Zhou Yidi), concubine of Zhang Xueliang, to be moved to safety in Hong Kong following Zhang's detention by Chiang Kai-shek. When discussing the arrest of Zhang Xueliang, Miller's biographer claimed:

Miss Elsie Chow has been with him [Zhang Xueliang] throughout his government custody. Robert Chow was under the care of an Italian governess in Shanghai at the time of the kidnapping. The Italian lady did not know what to do...so she went to Miller for help. Under the circumstances he thought it best for them to go to the Crown Colony of Hong Kong and he wired P. L. Williams, the mission treasurer there, to make preparations. Williams subsequently took custody of the governess and the boy.<sup>89</sup>

The biography glosses over the exact nature of Zhang's relationship to both Elsie and Robert, but goes on to note that at the time the biography was written that Robert (Lulin) Chow was living in the USA. If this incident has been accurately portrayed, it indicates a high level of trust and a degree of familiarity placed in Miller by both the family and employees of Zhang Xueliang.

Aron Shai's 2012 biography of Zhang Xueliang provides a differing version of how Robert was relocated to the United States. In this account Zhou Yidi, herself travelled to the United States and left her son in the care of a friend before joining Zhang in February of 1940. According to Shai, Zhang's first wife (Yu Fengzhi) had been with him since his imprisonment, only departing for the United States for medical treatment at the beginning of 1940.<sup>90</sup> Shai's reconstruction of this incident contradicts the accounts of the two missionaries, Harry W. Miller and Elisabeth Redelstein, who, according to Seventh-day Adventist-held archival records, were claimed to have been involved with the Zhang family at this time. A letter between Redelstein and the General Conference indicates that Redelstein accompanied Zhang's principal wife, Yu Fengzhi, to Europe in 1936, and that Yu Fengzhi was still in Europe at the time of the Xian Incident. Yu had plans to return to China in late 1936 but as Redelstein stated in her letter:

With the Marshal Chang as a leading figure in the Sianfu affair in early December 1936, the Chinese Embassy in Europe insisted that I cancel these bookings, and we remain in England until we should hear from Marshall Chang that it was safe for his wife to return.<sup>91</sup>

The document goes on to note that Yu did not set sail for China until the middle of January 1937.<sup>92</sup> According to this, Yu Fengzhi could not have been with Zhang from the beginning of his incarceration as Shai suggests. Also problematic is Shai's claim concerning the way that Robert entered the United States. It is possible that there was Seventh-day Adventist involvement in the movement of Robert to Hong Kong and that he may have been reunited

---

<sup>89</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 111.

<sup>90</sup> Shai. This information is located in Chapter 6 "A General as a Drifting Leaf 1937-1946".

<sup>91</sup> Redelstein, "Letter to J. C. Shull dated October 6, 1938," p. 1.

<sup>92</sup> Redelstein, "Letter to J. C. Shull dated October 6, 1938," p. 1-2.

with Zhou Yi Di before being relocated to the USA. If so, then Moore has constructed the events in such a way as to allow the reader to assume that the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries also arranged for Robert's transport to the United States of America. Unfortunately, there is no referencing provided by Shai regarding the sources for his version of events and thus it is not possible to come to a definitive reconciliation of the two accounts.

Miller's supposed involvement in the Xian incident is recounted in Moore's biography and this indicates the importance that Miller and his biographer placed on Miller's relationship with Zhang Xueliang. Moore describes the detention of Zhang as follows:

The central government imprisoned the Young Marshal without giving him a genuine trial...The Marshal has been in protective custody ever since – nearly 24 years at this writing. This enforced idleness of Marshal Chang has been a great disappointment to many persons.<sup>93</sup>

This phrase is the strongest post-1949 criticism of the Nationalist regime that I have located within Seventh-day Adventist literature and even this does not place the blame for the on-going detention on Chiang Kai-shek.

Zhang's relationship with Miller continued after his imprisonment by Chiang Kai-shek. Miller's biography notes that the "Sanitarium directors were still short of funds to carry out Marshal Chang's ambitions for medical missions in the Central China area."<sup>94</sup> Traditionally funds for the building of more hospitals had come from the fees charged to wealthier patients and donations, but this source of revenue had decreased substantially after the Japanese invasion of China. The biography goes on to note,

Although the Young Marshal's holdings in China had been confiscated, Miller knew that Chang had substantial accounts in American banks. Miller was sure that Chang would come to their rescue if he knew the situation.<sup>95</sup>

Miller spoke with Zhang's financial advisor, James Elder, and Miller was then "given a letter to deliver to Chang for his signature, to authorize further funds for missions."<sup>96</sup> Miller's wife and two sons accompanied him on his visit to Zhang Xueliang in order to disguise the real purpose of the visit. According to Moore, Miller was allowed in to see Zhang on the basis that he was Zhang's physician.<sup>97</sup> Miller's biography states that the Young Marshal provided authorisation for another twenty thousand dollars to be spent on the Hankou project. This demonstrates the depth of Miller's relationship with Zhang, but also the measures which Miller was willing to go to in order to gain funding for the denomination's medical projects.

When dealing with requests from the political elite Miller frequently applied pressure on the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries to comply. Documents held in Seventh-day Adventist church archives indicate that shortly after Elizabeth Redelstein had returned from working in

---

<sup>93</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 111.

<sup>94</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 112.

<sup>95</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 112.

<sup>96</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 112.

<sup>97</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 112.

the Chiang Kai-shek household she accompanied Madame Zhang Xueliang (Yu Fengzi) on a trip to Europe early in 1936. Redelstein did not wish to accept this appointment. In a letter to J. C. Shull dated October 6, 1938 Redelstein recounts the lead-up to this appointment:

...when first approached about accompanying Madam Chang Hsueh Liang to Europe, I was not at all interested, and with great reluctance [*sic*] I eventually agreed to go and only as an employee of the [Shanghai] Sanitarium.<sup>98</sup>

Redelstein was pressured by Miller to accept this secondment from the Sanitarium. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Miller made attempts to fulfil all such requests from those in positions of power and authority. For example, Redelstein's biography relates an incident in which Soong Meiling asked that her houseboy be accepted into the nurses' training programme. Redelstein declined the request as they had a full roster of male nurses and there were no new classes due to begin.<sup>99</sup> When Miller found out about Redelstein's refusal to accommodate this request he insisted that an exception be made because the Chiangs had been very helpful to the work of the Sanitarium and the church.<sup>100</sup> Quimby also experienced similar pressure from Miller to take up a position at the I Tsu school. Seventh-day Adventist missionaries in other countries also experienced requests of this kind, however the attempt to fulfil all requests made of the church by those in positions of power and influence appears to have been much more pronounced amongst missionaries to China than those in other areas.

### **Conclusion**

Despite the connections which Seventh-day Adventist missionaries formed with the political elite in China, the church was still a small church without significant influence in its country of origin, the United States. However, the denomination was able to gain influence in China and other counties because "their targets, the local people did not distinguish between the various missions."<sup>101</sup> All missionaries, regardless of their denomination (and the size of that denomination in the sending country) were viewed as importers of Western culture, and possible providers of knowledge which could help advance China's move toward becoming a modern nation. Lawson utilizes Church-Sect theory to examine the growth of the Seventh-day Adventist church, its engagement with the surrounding society and its move from sect to fully-fledged denomination. Although China was not included in this study, Lawson's broader examination of Seventh-day Adventist missionary practice demonstrates that the behaviour of missionaries in China was not unique. I would argue that the patterns of behaviour established in China were repeated by later generations of missionaries in a variety of countries. China was a precursor of this sort of interaction with the political and financial elite.

When discussing Seventh-day Adventist mission practice within the world-wide context Lawson notes:

---

<sup>98</sup> Redelstein, "Letter to J. C. Shull dated October 6, 1938," p. 1.

<sup>99</sup> Mary S. Ogle, *China Nurse: The Life Story of Elisabeth Redelstein* (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1974), 60.

<sup>100</sup> Ogle, *China Nurse*, 60.

<sup>101</sup> Lawson, "Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory," 658.

Church leaders arranged for these [schools and medical institutions] to be built everywhere because they were at the center of Adventism's evangelistic outreach. However, the institutions soon performed the additional functions that they served in the U.S., such as providing opportunities for the upward mobility of members and involving Adventism with government bureaucracy and more broadly in the society.<sup>102</sup>

This was clearly the case for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in China. It was primarily their medical institutions and schools which brought Seventh-day Adventist missionaries in China into contact with the political and societal elite, thus allowing them to form a network of connections that were used to assist the church in its missionary activity.

Seventh-day Adventist cooperation with, and courting of, authoritarian governments has not been limited to China. However, China is one of the earliest examples of this mindset in Seventh-day Adventist mission history. Lawson has argued that, "Underlying Adventist relations with governments is a political naiveté that causes church leaders to focus on short term benefits while being oblivious to likely outcomes."<sup>103</sup> Although Lawson's research examined Seventh-day Adventist activity in countries other than China, his conclusions can also be applied to the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries who were operating in China during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The China missionary experience was, in part, the forerunner of these later interactions. The administration of the Seventh-day Adventist church in China attempted to fulfil all requests from Chiang Kai-shek, Soong Meiling and other Guomindang officials with seemingly little discussion or analysis of the implications for the church. Requests for personnel which were turned down, especially in the field of education, were declined due to a lack of available staff rather than for philosophical reasons. In contrast, the National Christian Council studied the request to undertake rural reconstruction in Jiangxi intensively before declining to take on the project under government funding and instead took on the project as a private enterprise.<sup>104</sup> There appears to have been no similar high-level discussions among Adventist church leadership, either in China or at the General Conference in the United States, as to the possible consequences of aligning itself so closely with the Guomindang government.

The close association of missionaries in a personal and professional capacity with members of the Guomindang and the extended Chiang Kai-shek family, and government institutions did cause damage to the Seventh-day Adventist church's image after the 1949 revolution. As Joseph Tse-Hei Lee has demonstrated, Seventh-day Adventists were "the first Protestant denomination to be denounced by the state in 1951."<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, these associations were used against the church in subsequent struggle/Self Criticism sessions. The naiveté of Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and administrators is further demonstrated through the uncritical public support given to the Guomindang government, and Chiang Kai-shek personally, in contemporaneous church magazines such as the *Review*, and in assessments made of the Nationalist regime in later biographies and autobiographies of Seventh-day

---

<sup>102</sup> Lawson, "Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory," 666.

<sup>103</sup> Lawson, "Church and State at Home and Abroad," 305.

<sup>104</sup> Thomson Jr, *While China Faced West*, 67 - 73.

<sup>105</sup> Lee, "Co-optation and its Discontents: The Seventh-day Adventists in Maoist China," 2.

Adventist missionaries to China. This representation and its impact on the church globally is explored in the following chapter.



## **CHAPTER 2: Talking About China: Influences on the Seventh-day Adventist Community**

This chapter will demonstrate that the portrayal of China within the Seventh-day Adventist denomination mirrored the discourse in other Protestant denominations around such topics as the spirituality of the Chinese elite – particularly Chiang Kai-shek. However, it will also show that when discussing other topics such as the political turmoil in China; financial contributions to missions; representations of the political elite, and the provision of education and medical services in China, the Seventh-day Adventist attitude was markedly different from Protestant denominations such as the Methodists and Presbyterians. Through the use of magazine articles and reports about China a specific narrative was created around Seventh-day Adventist activity in China. This chapter examines the effect this discourse had on the broader missionary aims of the church.

Discussion of China in Seventh-day Adventist literature produced two distinct results. Firstly, articles about China during periods of difficulty reinforced Seventh-day Adventist eschatological beliefs. Reports of persecution and the difficulty of working during the political turmoil of the 1920s, did not provoke the crisis surrounding missionary activity which occurred in other Protestant denominations. This was due, at least in part, to the unique eschatology of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, which expected persecution and a ‘Time of Trouble’ at the ‘Time of the End’. In Seventh-day Adventist eschatology the Second Coming will be preceded by a ‘Time of Trouble’ and persecution for those Christians who keep the seventh-day Sabbath i.e. Seventh-day Adventists. Thus setbacks to the work in China, rather than causing doubt, contributed to the sense that Seventh-day Adventist theology was correct and as such missionary activity in China also assumed theological significance for the denomination.

Secondly, the church’s reports of official recognition and success in China helped boost members’ belief in the veracity of the ‘Spirit of Prophecy’. This frequently occurred in discussions of the success of the denomination’s medical institutions in China. By the late 1920s the Seventh-day Adventist church was beginning to move to a position of prominence in the field of health care. (The denomination’s educational programme began to receive recognition in the 1930s.) The discourse produced by Seventh-day Adventists about their missionary contacts with the political and societal elite from this time onwards helped establish a sense among the Seventh-day Adventist community both within and outside of China that their mission work in China was privileged over that of other denominations, due to the uniqueness of its education and medical work. The medical and educational philosophies of the church have their roots in the writings of Ellen White who is recognised by Seventh-day Adventists as a prophet. Thus the creation of a discourse portraying this alleged privilege can also be seen as contributing to the affirmation of the ‘Spirit of Prophecy’ that is, confirmation of Ellen White’s prophetic role.

The writing about China and Seventh-day Adventist relationships with the upper echelons of Chinese society helped, in a small way, to shape the identity of the Seventh-day Adventist community as a unique and privileged church. It was the narrative of privilege and

uniqueness which became the dominant story of the denomination's missionary experience in China. Authors writing about missionary activity in China for denominational magazines printed in the United States and other English-speaking countries were the principal curators of Seventh-day Adventist attitudes towards the church's work in China during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> The stories created about China contributed to a sense of meaning and cohesion regarding the denominations missionary activity not just within China, but also in the global context.

### **The Importance of the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald (Review)***

From the earliest days of the church, Seventh-day Adventists had (and indeed still have) a strong focus on the publication of literature. This included evangelistic tracts, Bible study guides, the writings of Ellen White and magazines of a devotional nature. Due to its status as the official weekly publication of the Seventh-day Adventist church, the *Review* receives greater attention in this study than the smaller more regionally focused magazines which are also printed by the denomination.

The publication of the *Review* predates the official formation of the Seventh-day Adventist church. This weekly magazine started publication in 1850 under the auspices of James White<sup>2</sup> and became a church-run magazine after the incorporation of the church as an official institution in 1863.<sup>3</sup> The magazine was primarily read by members of the church as this was its target audience. From its foundation the magazine played a pivotal role in fostering a sense of community among the small, often isolated, groups of believers. Study of the *Review* provides a snapshot of the issues which were important to Seventh-day Adventism during the first half of the twentieth century. As the official paper of the denomination, it also provides evidence of issues of importance to church administrators. The magazine published articles on a variety of topics such as: the doctrines of the church; material of a devotional nature; commentary on current events; and advice on child-rearing and education. The editors of the *Review* not only recognised the educational and community-building aspects of the magazine, they actively promoted it as such. A March 20, 1930 column quoted the general manager's report at recent meetings of the Review and Herald Publishing Association stating:

'A prime requisite of the growth of a movement is an informed constituency.'  
Every Seventh-day Adventist household should therefore regard the denominational organ as belonging in the list of household necessities.<sup>4</sup>

This recognition of the magazine's role in educating and informing the church laity of the work of the church in a domestic and global context certainly contributed to the editors' selection of material to feature in the pages of the magazine. The magazine can be viewed as an important contributor toward the development of the Seventh-day Adventist sub-culture in the United States. Its writings brought about a sense of community among believers, a

---

<sup>1</sup> This role was taken up by the authors of the SDA missionary biographies following the withdrawal of missionaries from China in 1950.

<sup>2</sup> James White (1821-1881) is considered to be one of the founders of Seventh-day Adventism. He was married to Ellen G. White.

<sup>3</sup> Land, *Historical Dictionary of Seventh-day Adventists*, 246-247.

<sup>4</sup> "A Well-informed Laity," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 20 March, 1930, 32.

common purpose in regards to Adventism and a distinctive world view in which church members saw themselves as a remnant church living at the ‘End of Time.’

Only a small part of the discourse surrounding Seventh-day Adventist missionary activity in China concerned reporting on the contacts between the missionaries and prominent members of Chinese society. However it had a significant impact. The publication of these contacts justified the work which the missionaries were doing in China and helped with fund-raising efforts for the ‘Missions.’ These accounts also fuelled the sense among the wider church community that the church was receiving special attention because of the uniqueness of the principles underlying their medical and educational work, thus confirming the Seventh-day Adventist belief in Ellen White and the ‘Spirit of Prophecy.’

### **Early Seventh-day Adventist Representations of China**

The first Seventh-day Adventist missionaries arrived in China in 1902 and from the early 1900s onward China was frequently mentioned in the *Review*. This was often in the context of the summary published each week of world events. For example, some of the early items discussed included the reporting in 1902 that the emperor of China had resumed his imperial duties in Beijing,<sup>5</sup> and the increasing tension between Russia and China over Manchuria.<sup>6</sup> Although no editorial comment was usually provided, inclusions of this nature demonstrate that Seventh-day Adventists were interested in the political situation in China prior to fall of the Qing dynasty and the rise of the Guomindang. This interest preceded the connections which were made by the missionaries with the political and financial elite. As the church grew and began sending more missionaries outside of the United States, regular features appeared in each issue of the *Review* which shared stories and reports from the missionaries abroad. These articles, written by missionaries located in a variety of countries, spoke about their experiences and living conditions, as well as reporting the number of conversions and baptisms. Often portions of personal letters to friends and family were reprinted verbatim. Many of these articles sought to educate the readers about the country in which the missionaries were working, and included information about population size, living conditions, snippets of daily life and explanations of political conditions. In the early days of the Seventh-day Adventist church all countries outside of the United States (and even some states within the USA) were considered to be mission fields, thus stories about missionaries were not limited to what would now be considered traditional mission fields such as Africa, India and Asia, but also included reports from missionaries in Europe and Australia. Stories from missionaries in China featured regularly in the *Review* throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

### **SDA Missionary Activity in China and its Influence on the Denomination’s Eschatology**

Seventh-day Adventists missionaries arrived in China shortly after the Boxer Uprising (1898-1900), therefore the Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927 was the first experience of widespread persecution in China for the church. The Anti-Christian Movement had its roots in the New Culture Movement which developed after 1919, and although critical of all

---

<sup>5</sup> “News and Notes,” *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January 7, 1902, 12.

<sup>6</sup> “News and Notes,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January 21, 1902, 14.

religions, Christianity was particularly singled out.<sup>7</sup> The influence of the May Fourth Movement (1919) also led to an increase in Chinese nationalism. Christianity was closely tied in the minds of many Chinese to foreign imperialism, therefore it was a prime target of nationalistic attacks. Chen argues that at the time of the United Front (1924) both the Chinese Communist Party and the Guomindang recognised the Anti-Christian Movement as also being anti-imperialist and therefore this movement had the support of both parties.<sup>8</sup> Liu and Kelly contend that due to the “inseparability of Western missionaries from Western Imperialism” missionaries bore the brunt of anti-Western sentiment and aggression.<sup>9</sup> The Southern Government was more strongly anti-Christian than that of the north, and thus, due to the widespread geographic distribution of Seventh-day Adventist missionary activity, some Seventh-day Adventist mission stations were able to continue operation without too much interference. However, with the onset of the Northern Expedition the influence of the Southern government and the Guomindang spread and the Anti-Christian movement became connected with military action. As a result, Christian institutions, including those belonging to the Seventh-day Adventist church, bore the brunt of violent attacks and, in some cases, were destroyed altogether

The hostility which Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and church members encountered, and the destruction of property which occurred, did not, as one would expect, affect the church’s commitment to the placement of missionaries in China. In contrast to other Protestant denominations, the unique Seventh-day Adventist worldview and its theological interpretation of these events positioned the crisis in China as a sign of the fulfilment of prophecy. Seventh-day Adventist eschatology anticipates a ‘Time of Trouble’ before the return of Jesus Christ. Therefore the events in China were situated within this framework. For example, C. C. Crisler, when recounting the experience of Seventh-day Adventists in Jiangxi stated “we were led to wonder whether we were not now entering upon troublous times that shall know no ending until our work shall have been completed.”<sup>10</sup> This viewpoint viewed the persecution in China as a validation of the denomination’s theological beliefs. As a result, Seventh-day Adventist missionaries remained in China during this period and new missionaries were actively recruited. The continued promotion of the missionary activity in China within the pages of the church’s premier English language publication, the *Review*, was reflective of the official church stance.

Writing in 1927 for the *Review*, Frederick Lee, an American missionary to China, informed his readers that Christians had once been able to operate freely within China and “could go freely and preach with little persecution. Westerners and all that they taught were respected.” He then contrasted this with the present situation: “On every side there are active anti-Christian and anti-Western agitations. Our evangelists and colporteurs are daily being

---

<sup>7</sup> Yiyi Chen, “Peking University's role in China's Anti-Christian Movement in 1922 - 1927,” *Social Sciences in China* 31, no. 1 (2010): 185.

<sup>8</sup> Chen, “Peking University's role in China's Anti-Christian Movement in 1922 - 1927,” 186.

<sup>9</sup> Judith Liu and Donald P. Kelly, “An Oasis in a Heathen Land': St. Hilda's School for Girls, Wuchang, 1928 - 1936,” in *Christianity in China From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Daniel H. Bays, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 229.

<sup>10</sup> Clarence C. Crisler, “A Further Word Concerning Our Work and Workers in China,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 10 March, 1927, 13.

threatened.”<sup>11</sup> These evangelists and colporteurs were not foreign missionaries, but Chinese converts employed by the church, demonstrating that anti-Christian feeling was not only confined to foreigners. Lee noted that it was now much more difficult for people to accept the Christian/Seventh-day Adventist message, but he framed the situation in distinctly religious and positive terms. “We believe that these fiery trials have come to perfect and purify the church in China, to strengthen the native leaders, and thus hasten the finishing of the work.”<sup>12</sup> The problems facing the converts and missionaries were seen in a positive light, as a means of strengthening the church. Seventh-day Adventist readers would have understood the phrase “the work” to mean the spreading of the gospel message and warning people of the soon-coming of Jesus Christ. Similarly, George Appel, writing for the *Review* in April 1927 stated: “You no doubt have heard of the serious times our people are having in South and Central China. Surely we are living down in the close of this earth’s history, and the time is very short for finishing this work.”<sup>13</sup> The difficult experiences of the church were perceived by the denomination to be a sure sign that they were living in the ‘last days’ of Earth’s history.

Because of their distinctive eschatology, the situation in China was viewed by Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and administrators, not so much as a crisis but more of an opportunity. Harry Miller in a June 1927 article for the *Review* recommended that the church should

have a score of missionary families out to China at this very time, to start in the study of the language and pass quickly on to the field when prepared, so as to establish new centers from which we can gather from the villages and country districts the fruit of the harvest.<sup>14</sup>

This was in contrast to the reaction of other Protestant denominations to the Anti-Christian movement. Stone Garret’s study has demonstrated that there was “great public controversy in the United States...and many people even within the evangelical churches loudly questioned whether China any longer wanted, needed or deserved missionaries.”<sup>15</sup> However, a repeated refrain in Seventh-day Adventist literature during the 1920s and early 1930s was that of the *progress* made in spite of the crisis. Appel, in a 1927 report for the *Review* told the readers that the despite the troubles in North China, membership had nearly doubled in the last two years and that the number of sales of the denomination’s religious literature had markedly increased.<sup>16</sup> While Seventh-day Adventist missionaries were, in some instances, withdrawn from their stations in the interior and relocated to major cities during this period, the church continued to send new missionaries to China.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Frederick Lee, “Trials of Faith in China,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 20 January, 1927, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Lee, “Trials of Faith in China,” 10.

<sup>13</sup> George J. Appel, “From North China Union Mission,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 28 April, 1927, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Harry W. Miller, “Recruit and Advance,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 30 June, 1927, 13. In this case, the ‘harvest’ refers to converts to Seventh-day Adventism.

<sup>15</sup> Stone Garrett, “Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties,” 283.

<sup>16</sup> George J. Appel, *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 21 April, 1927, 24.

<sup>17</sup> B. E. Beddoe, “Workers Entering Foreign Service in 1926,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 10 February, 1927, 4.

In 1926 a total of 47 adults, (children accompanied their parents but were not counted in official figures) were sent by the Seventh-day Adventist church to China. This was in addition to the 125 missionaries already working in the country.<sup>18</sup> As the denomination employed 293 new missionaries globally for that year, the new missionary contingent to China made up sixteen per cent of this figure.<sup>19</sup> 1927 saw an overall decline in the number of new missionaries employed worldwide, 184 new missionaries were employed, while 81 returned to their mission fields after furlough. However, despite the decline, the proportion of missionaries sent to China remained steady when compared to 1926. Twenty-eight new missionaries were sent to China in 1927, comprising 15% of the total missionaries sent abroad in that year.<sup>20</sup> In 1928 thirty-four missionaries were sent to China to join the 137 foreign missionaries already in the country. However, 64% of these missionaries were returning to China after furlough rather than new hires.<sup>21</sup> These figures indicate that the setbacks for the denomination in China were not significantly hindering its missionary programme. The Methodists, by contrast, at the Shanghai bishops' meetings in September 1925 formally recommended to the board that while there should be "no reduction in the missionary staff" the board should exercise "great restraint" in the sending of new missionaries and that there should be no expansion in building.<sup>22</sup> The Seventh-day Adventist church formally opened the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital in this year, showing no evidence of restraint in the building of institutions or the sending of new missionaries.

An article printed in January 1930 in the *Review*, written by Harry W. Miller, promoted the idea that the Seventh-day Adventist mission in China was unique by stating that in contrast to other missions, the denomination was actively working in China. He wrote, "At this very time some other missions are standing still. They are waiting for the war to cease; their boards won't give them any money to go ahead."<sup>23</sup> By contrasting Seventh-day Adventist activity with his perceived inertia of other denominations Miller is playing to the theological and philosophical underpinnings of the church's worldview of the denomination's status as a unique and remnant church with a special message for the world.

Miller's observation that other denominations were "standing still" was not completely accurate as it grouped all Protestant churches together and failed to account for the individual responses from the numerous Protestant denominations operating in China. His attempt to create a sense of uniqueness surrounding the Seventh-day Adventist church's work in China, while serving to contribute to a discourse which privileged the singularity of the church, did not represent the complexity of the situation.

As Stone Garrett's study demonstrates, Methodist activity in China certainly suffered as a result of the backlash in the United States against the anti-Christian Movement and the losses,

---

<sup>18</sup> H. E. Rogers, *Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination* (Washington D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1926), 145-167.

<sup>19</sup> Beddoe, "Workers Entering Foreign Service in 1926," 2.

<sup>20</sup> C. K. Meyers, "To the Mission Fields in 1927," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 19 January, 1928, 4.

<sup>21</sup> E. Kotz, "How Shall They Hear Without a Preacher? Workers Sent to Foreign Fields During 1928," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 24 January, 1929, 3-4.

<sup>22</sup> Stone Garrett, "Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties," 289.

<sup>23</sup> Harry W. Miller, "Good Word From China," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 23 January, 1930, 32.

both in lives and property, suffered during the Nanjing Incident. Furthermore, internal philosophical divisions within the Methodist Church regarding the role of missionaries, and the onset of the Great Depression also led to a reduction in funds available to the work in China.<sup>24</sup> She states that in “1929 the mission receipts showed a decline of more than 20 percent from the corresponding months of 1928. China was responsible.”<sup>25</sup> The China Christian Yearbook for 1936 -1937 records that the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEFB) and the Woman’s Foreign Mission Society (WFMS) had the number of missionaries in China drop from 553 in 1924 to 296 in 1929. Similarly the Methodist Episcopal Church South (MES) saw the number of missionaries in China fall from 147 in 1924 to 87 in 1929.<sup>26</sup> Neither of these groups regained their earlier numbers of missionaries in China. The Congregationalists also suffered a reduction in missionary numbers. Thomson cites an August 1934 report from Tientsin (Tianjin天津) which notes that their foreign force had been reduced by 50 per cent and that funding to the mission was facing further reductions.<sup>27</sup> These figures give some credence to Miller’s statement that other denominations were pulling back on their work in China.

On the other hand, while the Presbyterians did withdraw their missionaries from “potentially dangerous areas into Shanghai and then out of the country” in response to the crisis in 1927 they did not suffer such a significant reduction in funding as was the case of the Methodists.<sup>28</sup> This was due, in part, to the differing theological underpinnings of the theory of mission in these two denominations: many Methodists questioned the imperialism inherent in missionary activity, while the Presbyterians largely saw missionaries as vital to advancing the cause of the church in China. Although the American Presbyterian North denomination saw a reduction in missionary numbers from 568 in 1924 to 349 in 1929, the number of its missionaries in China grew during the 1930s and by 1937 there were 408 missionaries from this denomination in the country.<sup>29</sup>

Seventh-day Adventists also withdrew their foreign staff from Nanjing and other areas of conflict in 1927. However, these missionaries remained in Shanghai attending Chinese language classes until it was safe to return to their areas of employment. The Seventh-day Adventist church employed teachers from the University Language School in Nanjing who had been displaced by the fighting there. As many as sixty Seventh-day Adventist missionaries attended the language school in Shanghai during this time.<sup>30</sup> In addition, new missionaries to China were actively recruited and sent to China throughout 1927 and 1928. In April 1927 the *Review* reported that the General Conference was complying with requests

---

<sup>24</sup> Stone Garrett, “Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties,” 301-303.

<sup>25</sup> Stone Garrett, “Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties,” 303.

<sup>26</sup> Frank Rawlinson, ed. *The China Christian Year Book 1936 - 37* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1937), 461.

<sup>27</sup> Thomson Jr, *While China Faced West*, 34.

<sup>28</sup> Stone Garrett, “Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties,” 305.

<sup>29</sup> Rawlinson, ed. *The China Christian Year Book 1936 - 37*, 461.

<sup>30</sup> Clarence C. Crisler, “Bringing a Language School to Our Doors,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 30 June 1927, 11.

from the church administrators in China to supply staff for the academy in Shanghai and also the request for Elisabeth Redelstein to join the staff at the Shanghai Sanitarium.<sup>31</sup>

The leadership of both the Methodist and the Presbyterian denominations did express concern regarding the impact the situation in China would have on their domestic memberships' attitude toward mission activity. The Presbyterian leadership "told the China Council not to make any public statements on China's internal and political matters, and it edited China Council letters carefully for domestic release."<sup>32</sup> Both the Methodists and the Presbyterians stressed to their constituents that "the events in China did not represent the real China, [and] that the violence in the Nationalist movement was only a passing phase owing to Communist influence, that the Chinese wanted missionaries."<sup>33</sup> This justified their continued missionary presence in China to their domestic church membership, albeit in the Methodist's case, on a much smaller scale.

The most significant loss of property for the Seventh-day Adventist church occurred during the Nanjing Incident in 1927. The denomination's college, the China Theological Seminary at Tou Chiao Chen near Nanjing, was destroyed. However, there was no debate within the church as to whether the college should continue operation. The school was almost immediately rebuilt and reopened for classes in 1928. In fact, signalling its commitment to the work of the church in China, the General Conference designated China as the recipient of the 'Week of Sacrifice' Offerings for 1927. The Week of Sacrifice was an annual event run by the Seventh-day Adventist church for its church members. During this week, members were encouraged to donate an entire week's wages to the mission work of the church. In a *Review* article reminding church members of the upcoming "Week of Sacrifice" J. L. Shaw, treasurer of the General Conference, outlined the plans for the money which would be received stating: "As fast as possible, mission homes and our college near Nanking will be rehabilitated."<sup>34</sup> It was noted that the whole offering would be donated to China not just to rebuild Chiao Tou Chen, but also to maintain the ongoing work there. The one exception to this were the offerings received from the Seventh-day Adventist schools and colleges in the United States, as these had already been earmarked for mission work in Central Africa.

Unlike the Methodist denomination whose leadership, as Stone Garrett has shown, was concerned that bad news from China might affect donations from members,<sup>35</sup> the destruction of property was actively reported in Seventh-day Adventist literature and used as a tool to encourage church members to donate more money to the work of overseas mission. This is a direct outgrowth of the Seventh-day Adventist eschatological belief that they were living in the 'last days' and therefore needed to work harder in order to 'warn' as many people as possible of the soon-coming of Christ. As a result the Seventh-day Adventists were the *only* Protestant denomination whose numbers of missionaries in China increased in the period

---

<sup>31</sup> E. Kotz, "Mission Board Items," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 28 April, 1927, 24.

<sup>32</sup> Stone Garrett, "Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties," 309.

<sup>33</sup> Stone Garrett, "Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties," 309.

<sup>34</sup> J. L. Shaw, "A Week of Sacrifice for China, November 20-26," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 27 October, 1927, 24.

<sup>35</sup> Stone Garrett, "Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties," 289.



between 1924 and 1929. In 1924, the Seventh-day Adventist church was ranked 18<sup>th</sup> out of the thirty seven Protestant mission organisations listed in the China Christian Yearbook as operating in China with 122 missionaries employed: by 1929 this number had grown to 195 making it the 4<sup>th</sup> largest Protestant denomination in the country in terms of foreign missionary staff. By 1937 this number had doubled to 212 and it was still the 4<sup>th</sup> largest Protestant denomination in China in terms of foreign missionary employment, trailing the China Inland Mission, the Presbyterian North and the combined Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Woman's Foreign Mission Society – America Methodist.<sup>36</sup>

The positive portrayal of missionary prospects in China continued into the 1930s, especially after the Anti-Christian Movement had run its course. On January 9, 1930, K. H. Wood wrote in the *Review* that the Seventh-day Adventist church in China had suffered greatly during the last two years from “the antforeign [*sic*] and anti-Christian agitation that accompanied the recent revolution.”<sup>37</sup> However, he went on to note that

the prospects before the church were never brighter than now. The reforms of the Nationalist government are opening up the country to more extensive communications, and in many ways are preparing the people to receive the gospel message...religious liberty has been declared to all. Christians.<sup>38</sup>

Positive reports such as this were a regular feature in the pages of the *Review* throughout the 1930s indicating the denomination's ongoing commitment to mission activity in China.

Although some Seventh-day Adventist authors recognised that there was a need to indigenise the leadership of the church in China, there was never a debate within the denomination as to whether the foreign missionary program should continue, unlike the debate within the Methodist denomination. A report from C. C. Crisler, Secretary of the China Division, in 1931 made particular mention of the latest ordinations of men to professional ministry which had “balanced the majority of our ordained ministry on the side of the native men...Now the balance is on the right side and we rejoice in this evidence of progress.”<sup>39</sup> L. E. Christman, also writing in the *Review*, noted that it was

...felt on the part of some that the outstanding need at the present time is to establish our schools for the training of native leadership, to work in a country and language which is theirs, and amid customs with which they are familiar.<sup>40</sup>

Christman focused on the need for an indigenisation of the denominational workforce and then outlined for the readers the rationale behind the “Mission Extension Fund.” This fund was established in the early 1920s to provide training schools in various mission fields (not just China). In a 1931 issue of the *Review* Miller pointed out that the recent Seventh-day

---

<sup>36</sup> Rawlinson, ed. *The China Christian Year Book 1936 - 37*, 461.

<sup>37</sup> K. H. Wood, “East China Union Mission,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 9 January, 1930, 25.

<sup>38</sup> Wood, “East China Union Mission,” 26.

<sup>39</sup> Clarence C. Crisler, “Mission Board Items,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 2 July, 1931, 24.

<sup>40</sup> L. E. Christman, “A Mighty Evangelizing Agency,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 30 April, 1931, 22.

Adventist evangelistic effort in the South Chekiang Mission (Zhejiang, 浙江省), which resulted in the baptism of 234 new members, had been largely run by two foreign missionaries due to a lack of experienced local staff. Miller stated that although the prevailing idea was

that the work of the foreign missionary should be to follow up, train, educate, and develop the product brought into the church by the Chinese workers...It is very evident to us that the foreign missionaries still play a very important part as evangelists in bringing souls into our churches in these mission lands...<sup>41</sup>

The contrast between these authors' viewpoints demonstrates that the Seventh-day Adventist church saw a place for both foreign and indigenous leadership in the mission fields, and that there was a variety of attitudes towards missionary roles in the church. However, at no time was there the sense, in denominational literature, that foreign missionaries should be withdrawn entirely or that they were no longer necessary.

In addition to the continued promotion of the need for foreign missionary service, the discourse surrounding China in the *Review* during this time period also reinforced the church's eschatological position. The *Review* regularly exegeted the doctrines of the Seventh-day Adventist church. References to the eschatological portion of Seventh-day Adventist theology occurred regularly within the pages of the magazine. An example of this type of article is "The Second Advent, the Only Hope" written by one of the *Review's* associate editors F.D. Nichol, which appeared in an April, 1931 issue.<sup>42</sup> While it did not specifically discuss the situation in China, the article contributed to the framework through which Seventh-day Adventists viewed the world, and world events. Furthermore, the importance that the church placed on eschatology can be seen in the name of their meeting hall in Hankow, "Ging Shih Tang" (Warning the World Hall).<sup>43</sup>

Discourse about conditions in China served as confirmation of Seventh-day Adventist doctrine within the broader church community. In 1931, Frederick Lee reported on an evangelistic campaign held in Hankou. He pointed out that despite the problems in China such as famine, turmoil, civil war and communist uprising the "Lord is preparing to finish His work quickly in China" and there had been an upsurge of interest from prospective converts since the Anti-Christian Movement had ended. Reflecting the Seventh-day Adventist belief that they were the holders of a special 'truth', Lee proposed that the denomination had an advantage over what he termed the "nominal Christian churches" whom he felt had "no definite message, no comforting assurance; and this is what multitudes of earth's suffering humanity want more than anything else."<sup>44</sup> Lee explicitly references a theological concept unique to Seventh-day Adventism by stating "the third angel's message is

---

<sup>41</sup> Harry W. Miller, "The Spirit of Apostolic Evangelism in China," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 9 April, 1931, 12.

<sup>42</sup> F. D. Nichol, "The Second Advent, the Only Hope," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 2 April, 1931, 5-6.

<sup>43</sup> Frederick Lee, "Evangelistic Advance in China," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 19 March, 1931, 22.

<sup>44</sup> Lee, "Evangelistic Advance in China," 21.

progressing.”<sup>45</sup> He positions this distinctive doctrine as providing the church with an advantage over other denominations, because he believed that the Seventh-day Adventist message provided the “answers” that the Chinese people were looking for. Furthermore, Seventh-day Adventist audiences reading Lee’s description of conditions in China, “famine, turmoil, civil war...” would have immediately drawn a connection to Matthew 24:6 in the Bible which foretells these events as being ‘Signs of the End.’

Seventh-day Adventist eschatology pre-disposed the church membership to expect persecution, therefore when troubles occurred for the church in China they were seen as being a fulfilment of prophecy and a sign that the ‘Time of the End’ was approaching. Because of this worldview the response was not to withdraw missionaries, or slow down the speed of evangelism, but rather to pour more resources and efforts into the region in order to ‘warn’ as many people as possible of the soon-coming of Jesus Christ. This belief was a key motivator in the selection of China as the recipient of the ‘Week of Sacrifice Offering’ in 1927. This eschatological theology differentiated Seventh-day Adventists from other Protestant denominations. Discussions regarding the role of missionaries and the connection between missionaries and imperialism which occurred in other denominations during this time period do not appear in Seventh-day Adventist published literature, or internal documents between the missionaries in China and the administrators in the United States. Furthermore the hierarchical structure of the Seventh-day Adventist church meant that programmes developed by church administrators, such as fund-raising appeals and special offerings, were more readily accepted in individual congregations than in denominations which followed a more congregational model of administration. However, the Seventh-day Adventists were not alone in their support for missions in China. Varg points out that during the 1930s conservative churches faced the “problem of declining contributions due to the economic depression, but they fared much better than the liberal denominations in maintaining a missionary force in China.”<sup>46</sup> As a conservative church the Seventh-day Adventists were therefore also following a pattern evident in other conservative denominations.

### **Funding the Missions**

Much of the Seventh-day Adventist laity’s financial and philosophical support of overseas missions can be traced to the prominence given to missionaries and their work in the *Review*. Every issue contained reports from domestic (United States) and foreign mission fields. Furthermore donations received and budget plans were frequently reported. For example, an article entitled “Our Mission Offerings” informed readers that in the period 1925 to 1929 the Seventh-day Adventist church had entered twenty new countries and opened 699 mission schools worldwide.<sup>47</sup> This information was intended to encourage members to continue to contribute financially to mission work. The subject of mission offerings was also frequently mentioned in the pages of the *Review*, indicating their importance for the church.

---

<sup>45</sup> Lee, “Evangelistic Advance in China,” 21.

<sup>46</sup> Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, 172.

<sup>47</sup> M. E. Kern, “Five Years’ Advance,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 12 March, 1931, 32.

Mission offerings were collected from all countries in which the denomination had a presence and these funds were then distributed centrally from the General Conference in the form of 'Mission Budgets.' Regular updates regarding how much money had been given, and how much more was needed, were provided. In September 1927 J. L. Shaw wrote: "While we expected an increase of funds, we have received \$41,983.10 less for the seven months of this year. Our mission treasury has not had a shortage like this in several years."<sup>48</sup> Shaw itemized the mission offerings given in the United States according to each conference, showing the difference between donations in 1926 and those in 1927. He played on the church members' sense of duty stating, "We must not tell our missionaries at the Autumn Council in October that our mission funds are dropping, that they can plan no added work for the coming year... We will do more and still more to speed the message on and finish the work." Missionary activity was at the forefront of Seventh-day Adventist theology and Shaw's statement regarding the need to 'finish the work' was a direct reference to the Seventh-day Adventist belief in the need to preach the gospel to every 'nation, tribe, language and people' before the Second Coming of Christ could occur.<sup>49</sup> As a result, mission was foregrounded in the consciousness of the church members and was seen to be a priority for the denomination as a whole. The political connections which had been formed through the medical and educational institutions in China were also given prominence in the pages of the *Review*. This elevated China's importance within the Seventh-day Adventist church by comparison with other mission fields and as a result, writing about China was a primary fundraising tool for the denomination's missionary programme.

### **Discussing the Spirituality of China's Elite.**

Seventh-day Adventists were not the only denomination to highlight their connections with China's political elite. While Seventh-day Adventists were merely able to point to connections and interactions which enabled them to further their educational and medical aims, the Methodists were able to demonstrate the conversion of members from this social class to their denomination. Lacy in his 1948 book, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, dedicated an entire chapter to Methodist converts. Although this text provided examples of converts from a cross-section of Chinese society, a significant portion of the chapter was devoted to converts and members from the upper end of the societal scale. For example, Lacy discusses the conversion of General Feng Yu-Hsiang (Feng Yuxiang 冯玉祥), noting that Feng had been elected as "a lay delegate to the General Conference of 1924".<sup>50</sup> He did acknowledge that Feng's Christian life and activity had not remained "at the high level which it reached in the decade around 1920".<sup>51</sup> However, Feng's Methodism remained important enough for Lacy to feature him in this text written to celebrate Methodist achievements in China. Although Feng is widely referred to as 'The Christian General' his connection to Methodism is rarely noted in academic sources.

---

<sup>48</sup> J. L. Shaw, "Our Mission Offerings," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 8 September, 1927, 24.

<sup>49</sup> Revelation 14:6 New International Version

<sup>50</sup> Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, 263.

<sup>51</sup> Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, 263.

Seventh-day Adventists also publicised their connection with Feng Yuxiang. On November 5, 1946 Feng visited Pacific Union College, an educational institution owned and run by the church in Angwin, California. This visit was reported in the *Pacific Union Recorder*, which was a weekly magazine published by the Pacific Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.<sup>52</sup> Feng addressed the students and staff during the weekly chapel period. He spoke through an interpreter from the Methodist Mission in China, Rev. E. J. Williams. Vice President of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, W. H. Branson introduced Feng to the audience. Branson told the listeners that for many years Feng had “been a friend and benefactor of Seventh-day Adventist mission work in China.”<sup>53</sup> Branson’s claim of a Seventh-day Adventist connection with Feng Yuxiang is certainly validated by Feng’s presence at a Seventh-day Adventist institution in the United States. However, Feng’s recorded response makes no reference to Seventh-day Adventist missionary activity in China.

Through his interpreter, the general thanked the hearers for the cordial welcome he had received and said that he spoke for all of China as he expressed gratitude for the help of the United States in the recent war.<sup>54</sup>

Without access to a complete transcript of Feng’s speech to the audience at Pacific Union College it is impossible to know whether Seventh-day Adventist mission work in China was specifically mentioned. However, given the reports surrounding his visit to Pacific Union College one would surmise that if Feng had praised or made mention of Seventh-day Adventist missionary work in China this would surely have been featured in this article.

The genuineness of Chiang’s spirituality was a common theme in missionary discourse and the Seventh-day Adventists were not alone in their discussion of this. Lacy also highlights the conversion of Chiang Kai-shek, arguably the Methodist denomination’s most important convert during their 100 year mission to China.<sup>55</sup> Tellingly, the Seventh-day Adventist Redelstein and Methodist Lacy portray Chiang’s spirituality in very similar terms. Both authors bolstered their arguments for the genuineness of Chiang’s conversion and the depth of his spiritual life by recounting scenes from the domestic life of the Generalissimo and his wife. Redelstein portrays the spiritual lives of both Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Meiling as being genuine and active. In a series of articles for the *Review*, published in 1943, which reported on the time she had spent working for the couple during the mid-1930s she stated “Madame was always up in time to have morning worship with him [Chiang Kai-shek], following his breakfast. This was a part of the day which they both felt could not be omitted.”<sup>56</sup> She also shared that she and Soong Meiling “spent hours reading the Scriptures and talking about religious matters.”<sup>57</sup> Redelstein noted that Soong was an active participant in these discussions and that “whenever Madame came to a statement, which she thought

---

<sup>52</sup> The Pacific Union Conference covers the states of Arizona, California, Hawaii, Nevada and Utah.

<sup>53</sup> “Chinese General Speaks,” *Pacific Union Recorder*, 13 November, 1946, 2.

<sup>54</sup> “Chinese General Speaks,” 2.

<sup>55</sup> Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, 266-269.

<sup>56</sup> Redelstein, “My Year With China's First Lady Part 2,” 16.

<sup>57</sup> Elisabeth Redelstein, “My Year With China's First Lady Part 3,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 18 November, 1943, 13.

would help the General, she jotted it down to use for their morning devotions.”<sup>58</sup> These anecdotes served to strengthen the portrayal, to Redelstein’s Seventh-day Adventist audience, of Chiang Kai-shek and his wife as deeply religious, and not so dissimilar to Adventist readers, for whom daily devotions were also strongly recommended.

At times both Methodists and Seventh-day Adventists made use of the same incidents in their discussion of Chiang’s spirituality. Lacy related a story (reprinted from the November 1939 issue of the *China Christian Advocate*) of a Canadian visitor to the home of Chiang and Soong Meiling. According to the account, this visitor was invited to stay for the evening’s devotions at which Chiang Kai-shek read the scripture and led out in the prayer. The Canadian is credited with saying,

I never expect to hear such a prayer again in all my life... the most amazing thing in his prayer was a plea that God would help him, and help China not to hate the Japanese people... He prayed for the people who were bombed, and for forgiveness for those who dropped the bombs... In the simplest and humblest terms he laid himself at the service of Almighty God, and begged that he might know the Divine will and do it on the morrow.<sup>59</sup>

This incident was also used in a 1946 Seventh-day Adventist publication, *The North Pacific Union Gleaner* as part of an ‘object lesson’ to encourage church members to “love their enemies”<sup>60</sup> The reprinting of this story indicates that while Seventh-day Adventist missionaries were producing their own discourse regarding the spirituality of Chiang Kai-shek, the denominational magazines also made use of non-Seventh-day Adventist sources to discuss evidence of Christianity among China’s leadership. Both Adventists and Methodists placed emphasis on the prayers of Chiang Kai-shek as an indicator of the depth of his spiritual life because prayer, unlike church attendance, requires effort on the part of the one offering it and can be said to be indicative of an internal spiritual life.

Redelstein’s articles for the *Review* address the spirituality and religious practices of Chiang Kai-shek and his wife in much more detail than Lacy. She reported to the Seventh-day Adventist readers that the Chiangs had a private church service every Sunday and H. H. Kung and his wife, “and several other members of the family were usually present.”<sup>61</sup> This statement is followed by a description of the service which, because Seventh-day Adventism emerged from the Methodist tradition, would have also been highly familiar to readers of the *Review*. Redelstein observed that the “Generalissimo loved the Christian hymns, and he enjoyed picking them out” and that the preaching was done either by a missionary or by H. H. Kung.<sup>62</sup> Thomson noted that the Presbyterian missionary Frank Price was a frequent speaker at these gatherings.<sup>63</sup> I have been unable to locate any record of Seventh-day Adventist missionaries being invited to preach at these church services. This suggests that

---

<sup>58</sup> Redelstein, “My Year With China’s First Lady Part 3,” 13.

<sup>59</sup> Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, 271.

<sup>60</sup> V. G. Anderson, “What do Ye More Than Others,” *North Pacific Union Gleaner*, 4 June, 1946, 1.

<sup>61</sup> Elisabeth Redelstein, “My Year with China’s First Lady Part 4,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 25 November, 1943, 14.

<sup>62</sup> Redelstein, “My Year with China’s First Lady Part 4,” 14.

<sup>63</sup> Thomson Jr, *While China Faced West*, 270.

Seventh-day Adventist missionaries were valued more for their health and educational services than for their pastoral roles and theology.

Lacy ended his discussion of Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Meiling in terms which were not only positive but which also foregrounded their Christian faith. Recognising the shift away from the uncritical support for the Chiang regime which was beginning to occur in the United States during the late 1940s, Lacy acknowledged that their “motives were often questioned...their judgement often criticized, their political and military decisions often under fire” yet he concluded with a statement which implied that Chiang Kai-shek and his wife held an almost evangelistic role in China.

...these two Christians held their nation to its task, trying through their New Life Movement and their own Christian living to infuse their non-Christian nation with the only Spirit that would lift its people to a higher level of spiritual and economic life.<sup>64</sup>

This view was very similar to that of Seventh-day Adventist authors writing during the 1930s and '40s. In a 1937 article for the *Review* Frederick Griggs wrote of the “herculean effort” that Chiang, Soong Meiling and their associates were making to “to put China on a foundation of world progress, to bring it into a prominent and firm standing among the nations.”<sup>65</sup>

The two main Seventh-day Adventist producers of the discourse surrounding the Spirituality of China's leaders were Elisabeth Redelstein and Paul Quimby. It was these two missionaries who had the closest personal contact with the Chiangs. Seventh-day Adventist portrayals of the spirituality of Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Meiling paint a picture of a couple with a deep and genuine faith. There is no question from these two missionaries as to the sincerity of Chiang's faith or his understanding of Christianity. It was not just Seventh-day Adventists who were impressed by reports of Bible study and worship services in Chiang's household. Varg notes that: “Time and again missionaries spoke with reverence of the sincerity of the Generalissimo, and from this time on many of them came to regard his regime with blind adulation.”<sup>66</sup> This attitude is strongly reflected in the Seventh-day Adventist discourse. However, Varg points out that a few missionaries “quietly expressed the opinion that the Generalissimo was perhaps limited in his understanding of the Christian message although he was probably sincere.”<sup>67</sup> In contrast to other Protestant denominations where attitudes towards Chiang's faith were mixed Seventh-day Adventist missionaries, who commented on the topic, universally regarded Chiang as a deeply religious person with a sincere and deep faith. There appears to have been no public scepticism of Chiang's conversion and subsequent religiosity within the denomination.

### **The Nationalist Regime in Seventh-day Adventist Writings**

---

<sup>64</sup> Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, 271.

<sup>65</sup> Frederick Griggs, “Awakening China,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 23 September, 1937, 13.

<sup>66</sup> Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, 248.

<sup>67</sup> Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, 248.

I have classified Seventh-day Adventist portrayals of missionary contact with the Chinese elite into four broad categories or themes: Casual contact made with a prominent person; Friends of the Work;<sup>68</sup> Spirituality of the political leadership; and finally Leadership qualities of Chiang Kai-shek. The characterisation in Seventh-day Adventist literature of the first two categories is similar in that they portray the individual under discussion as being highly supportive of the denomination's work in China. However, "Friends of the Work" are characterised as having *repeatedly* helped the work of the church. These two categories were the most common way in which Seventh-day Adventist contact with the social elite was represented to the broader church community through the *Review* and other denominational magazines. This type of reporting was most often seen in relation to discussions about educational and medical institutions, and is broadly applied to both the political and financial elite. Missionaries located in Shanghai appear to have been the most frequent reporters of this kind of contact. Even the most casual of contacts with prominent personages, a donation given or a magazine subscription bought, were reported in denominational literature. Many of these contacts came through the Harvest Ingathering campaigns (solicitation of donations for special projects such as the building of educational or medical institutions from the general public) or colporteur work. For example in the November 12, 1925 issue of the *Review* an article entitled "Chinese Officials buy Anti-Opium Signs" was published. The author listed the officials who had been visited in the province of Chihli (Hebei 河北) and the number of copies of the tract each person bought. Among those listed were: the Chief Executive for the Province; the Minister of Communications; the Minister of Finance; and the Minister of Justice. The author then noted that "We have letters of introduction to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and other high officials, whom we have not yet seen."<sup>69</sup> This type of news article is typical of those published in the *Review* during the 1920s through to the late 1940s. Harry W. Miller and C. C. Crisler were among the principal contributors to this type of discourse.

As the Second World War continued the attitudes of the Protestant missionaries began to diverge. Varg classifies missionary attitudes into four categories. The first group was anti-Communist and staunch defenders of the Guomindang and Chiang. The second group was also anti-Communist but was "inclined toward restrained criticism of Chiang." Varg identifies a third group, predominately from "missions associated with the National Council of Churches in the United States and the National Christian Council in China" which criticised the Guomindang and its corruption. A fourth group, made up mostly of younger missionaries, "dismissed the Guomindang as hopelessly reactionary and corrupt."<sup>70</sup> Overwhelmingly, Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and their writing fell into Varg's first category as staunch supporters of the Guomindang. This support continued in church publications long after public opinion and material support for Chiang in the United States had fallen away.

---

<sup>68</sup> 'The Work' is a common phrase within Adventism used to refer to evangelism and other missionary activity within a country.

<sup>69</sup> N. F. Brewer, "Chinese Officials Buy Anti-Opium Signs," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, November 12, 1925, 24.

<sup>70</sup> Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, 292-293.



I have identified “The Leadership Qualities of Chiang Kai-shek” as the final type of discourse in the denominational literature about Seventh-day Adventist missionary contact with the political elite in China. Commentary on the leadership qualities of Chiang Kai-shek is not as widespread in Seventh-day Adventist literature as the other categories listed above. This is due, in part, to the Seventh-day Adventist tendency to avoid political commentary, and to view the world through a religious framework. However, proximity was also an issue. Many of the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries in China did not have the opportunity to interact with Chiang Kai-shek on a personal level and their daily lives were little impacted by governmental decisions. Quimby, Redelstein, and their biographers, are the main contributors to this kind of writing about Chiang.

For many years Seventh-day Adventist portrayals of Chiang’s leadership abilities have stood at odds with the academic scholarship. Historians doubted the sincerity of Chiang’s conversion. For instance, in a 1991 article in the *Historian*, Carol Berg characterised Chiang as “a nominal Methodist.”<sup>71</sup> Therefore the Seventh-day Adventist characterisation of Chiang as a deeply religious, sincere Christian stood, for many years, outside of accepted conventions regarding Chiang’s Christian faith. The latest research into Chiang Kai-shek’s life by Jay Taylor, utilised the most recent documents to be released by Chiang’s estate. This work confirms many of the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries’ assessments of Chiang.<sup>72</sup> However, the Adventist view is less nuanced and much more uncritical than that of Taylor. This is due in part to the friendship with the missionaries had with Chiang and members of his inner circle and because they were not writing with an academic purpose. These authors were not wishing to write history as such, but rather record the story of the Seventh-day Adventist experience in China.

Seventh-day Adventist interest in China was high within the church, as evidenced by the amount of publishing space dedicated to China within the pages of the *Review* from the 1920s through to the end of the 1940s. However, this external interest at times worked against the missionaries who were located in China. During the mid-to-late 1920s some Seventh-day Adventist missionaries began to comment on the political situation in China, and letters and articles on the Chinese situation were regularly published in the *Review*. Chiang’s Northern Expedition caused disruption to the church’s work in those areas where fighting took place and other popular movements, such as the Anti-Christian Movement, also impacted the missionaries’ work. In 1925, C. C. Crisler, Secretary of the Far Eastern Division of Seventh-day Adventists (under whose administrative jurisdiction Seventh-day Adventist activity in China fell), wrote to the General Conference requesting that the various publishing departments of the church exercise caution in what they chose to publish regarding China. The request was passed on to the editors of the various denominational magazines. This instruction was queried, in early October, by A. L. Baker, from *Signs of the Times* magazine, who wished to publish some articles on the “Chinese situation” by H. Swartout, a missionary in China. Baker noted, “Some weeks ago you sent out to the various editors of the denomination a little letter asking us to be very cautious about the material that we published

---

<sup>71</sup> Carol Berg, “Margaret Thomson in China, 1917-1939,” *Historian* 53, no. 3 (1991): 463.

<sup>72</sup> Taylor, *The Generalissimo*.

on the Chinese situation...”<sup>73</sup> Baker felt that the information about the situation in China contained in the articles was valuable and ‘of worth’ to the readers because the author was located in China and could present a firsthand account of the situation. There was a strong implication that the magazine should be providing an educational role regarding ongoing events in China. Baker also implied that the General Conference had not been forthcoming with providing a reason behind their initial directive. He stated:

If we knew just the motives behind your letter of caution some weeks ago, we might be able to judge this thing independently; but inasmuch as we are in the dark, we thought it best to pass these on to you brethren.<sup>74</sup>

The General Conference’s response to Baker’s query outlined the reasoning behind their request by quoting verbatim the letter they received from Crisler.

Of late we have had some political disturbances in China, and these have been serious...Some of us do not wish to appear in print just now some of these things, as anything that we might say will be known to our Chinese constituency through the few that are learning to read English...we must be very careful not to say anything to intensify the racial feeling that is rife.<sup>75</sup>

The letter from the General Conference goes on to note that since Swartout’s articles were of a purely political nature and did “not give the prophetic interpretation of these events” they should not be published.<sup>76</sup> While church administrators were concerned with the theological applications of conditions in China, it would appear that some of the missionaries on the ground had a more practical interest in the events through which they were living. The attitude of the church administrators is indicative of broader Seventh-day Adventist ideals at that time which viewed major world events through the lens of their eschatological theology.

Crisler’s request to the General Conference was based on conditions in China, particularly the increasing prominence of the Anti-Christian Movement. However, the request is also hardly surprising in light of some of the commentary published earlier in 1925. For example, the July 23 issue of the *Review* contained a number of articles about China which in part, passed comment on the political situation. A portion of a private letter from Dr John N. Andrews was published. He stated:

Things here in China are getting worse and worse; fighting all over the great province of Szechwan, and famine is going over the province. The soldiers are grabbing all the food supply to carry on their useless and eternal fighting. China will get a lot worse before it ever gets better, and it is very doubtful if it will ever get better.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> A. L. Baker, “Letter dated October 11, 1925,” Secretariat General Files, Box 67, 1925-A to 1925 - Guthrie, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

<sup>74</sup> Baker, “Letter dated October 11.”

<sup>75</sup> C. K. Meyers, “Letter to Baker dated November 9, 1925,” Secretariat General Files, Box 67, Secretariat General Files 1925-A to 1925-Guthrie, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

<sup>76</sup> Meyers, “Letter to Baker dated November 9.”

<sup>77</sup> “Our Work and Workers in China,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 23 July, 1925, 24.

This publically stated pessimism was hardly likely to win friends among those Chinese church members who could read the English language editions of the church's publications, or English-speaking non-Adventists who were exposed to the magazine. In addition, an article by C. H. Watson entitled "South China Union Mission" was also published in this issue. In the article Watson noted that because of war and revolution travel had become dangerous and difficult. He stated "...the worst passions of evil men seem to be let loose, unrestrained by any responsible government in China."<sup>78</sup> The article concludes with a call for the readers of the *Review* to pray for the workers in South China who had returned to "their lonely stations...as they labor in their war-torn and lawless field."<sup>79</sup> It was not only foreign workers who are praised for their courage in articles of this type. Converts and Chinese workers were also frequently commended for their faithfulness to the Seventh-day Adventist work and message.<sup>80</sup> However, the pessimism and negativity towards China's future prospects and government is an example of the sort of portrayal which Crisler wished to have removed from publication. Following Crisler's request to the General Conference the number of articles of this nature tapered off significantly and discourse about China was limited to reports of converts won and new areas entered.

The ban on political commentary appears to have lessened by 1927. In May the *Lake Union Herald* (a Seventh-day Adventist magazine for members in the Lake Union – comprising Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, a traditional centre of Adventism) reported the evacuation of students from Tou Chiao Chen due to the arrival of the Nationalist army in Nanjing. It also recounted the escape from Nanjing of Paul Quimby and F. A. Landis on an American gunboat. The article characterises Chiang Kai-shek as a "conservative" who was "seeking to control and pacify the radical elements, who, on their part, are determined to unseat him."<sup>81</sup> Within the context of Seventh-day Adventism at the time "conservative" would have been read as praise rather than criticism. The author of this article, Fredrick Griggs, a missionary in Shanghai, frames the situation in theological terms noting that "the time of the end is certainly upon us. The heathen are being awakened to strife and war...All these things can mean nothing else than a preparation for Armageddon."<sup>82</sup> This portrayal of the situation in China as part of the signs of the end of time is typical of the denomination's interpretation of political events in this period.

Although Chiang Kai-shek's 1930 conversion to Methodism was not reported in the *Review*, it was reported by the more politically focused *Signs of the Times (Signs)* magazine (Australian edition) published by the Seventh-day Adventist church's Australian publishing house. The *Signs* viewed the conversion as brave, due to the anti-Christian sentiment which was prevalent among many politicians and "leaders in Chinese thought." The author felt that it signified a "deep conviction" on the part of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang's conversion was clearly seen as genuine and the hope was expressed that it would stabilise Chinese affairs.

---

<sup>78</sup> C. H. Watson, "South China Union Mission," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, July 23, 1925, 9.

<sup>79</sup> Watson, "South China Union Mission," 10.

<sup>80</sup> Clarence C. Crisler, "Our Work and Workers in China," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 27 August, 1925, 12.

<sup>81</sup> Frederick Griggs, "Turbulent China," *Lake Union Herald*, 11 May, 1927, 2.

<sup>82</sup> Griggs, "Turbulent China," 2.

The article concluded by pointing out that salvation was not just available to people such as Chiang Kai-shek, but also to “the humblest and most obscure believer” and that

the influence of this step by one in such a position may go far toward winning many others to Christ in that great land, and help to hold in check the elements of strife and of persecution that have been doing so much to counteract and to prevent the work of missions in China.<sup>83</sup>

There is no question in *this* publication as to the genuineness of Chiang’s conversion. In January 1931 the *Review* published an article by O.B Kuhn which associated Chiang Kai-shek with what he viewed as damaging nationalism stating:

Gen. Chang Kai-shek [*sic*], having come by army plane from the war front to the nation's capital, was present to, deliver patriotic speeches. The overmastering intensity of the Nationalist spirit has turned numerous young people from the gospel to the religion of Nationalism and the worship of Sun Yat-sen, whose political economy is their creed.<sup>84</sup>

However, by April 1931 the same author, again writing for the *Review*, was alluding to the Christianity of China’s Nationalist Government. He stated:

It is the opinion of veteran missionary leaders in China that the present Nationalist government of China, which is undertaking to carry out so many improvements in the condition of the people...has been brought into existence chiefly by the revolutionary and reformatory character of the Scriptures which have been so widely distributed in this great land.<sup>85</sup>

The above articles demonstrate the shift in attitude which occurred between 1925 and the early 1930s. This shift followed the trajectory of the success of the Guomindang during the Nanjing Decade. Representations of China became increasingly positive as the Christian faith of many Guomindang officials (particularly those connected to Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Meiling) became more widely known and as Seventh-day Adventist connections with this group deepened.

Seventh-day Adventists were also enthusiastic supporters of the New Life Movement. Launched in 1934 by Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Meiling it was a combination of Christian and Confucian philosophy designed to provide a “spiritual and cultural framework that would supplement and reinforce nationalism and modernization as the Kuomintang’s grand causes.”<sup>86</sup> Taylor credits Soong Meiling with initiating the involvement of American missionaries and argues that these missionaries viewed the campaign as being in line with Christian teachings.<sup>87</sup> Varg points out that positivity towards the New Life Movement was common among Protestant missionaries in China.<sup>88</sup> This attitude of acceptance and promotion of New Life Movement ideals is certainly evident in the positive publicity given to

---

<sup>83</sup> “China's President,” *Signs of the Times*, 22 December, 1930, 4 - 5.

<sup>84</sup> O. B. Kuhn, “Making Christ First,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 15 January, 1931, 15.

<sup>85</sup> O. B. Kuhn, “Bible Circulation in China,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 2 April, 1931, 17.

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, 108.

<sup>87</sup> Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, 109.

<sup>88</sup> Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, 255.

it in Seventh-day Adventist English-language publications. In July 1935, G. L. Wilkinson, writing in *The China Division Reporter* claimed that the New Life Movement promised “to be a great help to people here.”<sup>89</sup> Similarly, J. Harold and Dorothy Schultz, missionaries based at the Seventh-day Adventist hospital in Lanzhou outlined for readers of the *Review* the main aims of the New Life Movement. They indicated that Seventh-day Adventist missionaries had been invited to participate in the movement by Madame Chiang Kai-shek herself, noting that Madame Chiang had personally sent the missionaries in the Lanzhou compound an individual copy of “the General’s plans for this movement.” The article concluded with the statement “Mrs. Chiang is very anxious that the missionaries, *especially our people*, take an active part in the campaign, especially in the health phases.”<sup>90</sup> Following the pattern seen in previous articles about China, these authors positioned the church, and its foreign missionaries, in a place of privilege when representing their relationship with the Chinese leadership to the broader church community.

The church was not immune to the feelings towards the Chiangs in American society during the early 1940s and the denomination’s literature reflected this interest. From November 1942 to July 1943 Soong Meiling visited the United States. China had become a formal Ally in the Second World War following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. At the time of Soong Meiling’s visit, the Chiangs and the Guomindang were at the height of their popularity in the United States. Soong’s visit generated an enormous amount of publicity and the “national exercise in hero worship reached a fever pitch.”<sup>91</sup> Articles about China occurred in a number of Seventh-day Adventist magazines around this time. In addition to the magazines published for adult readers such as the *Review* and *Signs*, the church published a magazine for young adults entitled *The Youth Instructor*, as well as a magazine aimed at children, *Our Little Friend*. From August 20 to September 24, 1943 *Our Little Friend* printed “A Letter From Madame Chiang Kai-shek to the Boys and Girls Across the Ocean”. This work was first published by the China Information Company in 1940. *Our Little Friend* published this as a six-part series, complete with the photo illustrations that had accompanied the original work. The timing of the reprinting of this text is significant as it demonstrates that Seventh-day Adventist publications were influenced by events and attitudes evident in popular culture outside of the church.

Seventh-day Adventist knowledge of the Chiang household is largely due to the writings of Elisabeth Redelstein who spent a period of several months during 1935-1936 working for the Chiangs. Her duties included managing the day-to-day running of the household such as making sure the kitchen and kitchen practices were sanitary, planning meals and taking care of any one who was ill.<sup>92</sup> Unlike the appointment of Paul Quimby to the I Tsu school, which was publicised in the *Review* at the time of his appointment in 1933,<sup>93</sup> and again referenced in

---

<sup>89</sup> Geo. L. Wilkinson, “The West China Union Mission - Years 1933-1934,” *The China Division Reporter* 1935, 5.

<sup>90</sup> J. Harold Shultz and Dorothy Schultz, “The Hospital in Lanchow, China,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 4 April, 1935, 11. Emphasis supplied

<sup>91</sup> Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-Shek*, 199.

<sup>92</sup> Redelstein, “My Year With China's First Lady Part 2,” 15.

<sup>93</sup> D. E. Rebok, “An Unusual Call for Help in Educational Work,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 16 November, 1933, 20.

1935.<sup>94</sup> Redelstein's association with Soong Meiling and Chiang Kai-shek was not publicised in the *Review* at the time of her appointment in 1935. It did, however, receive a great deal of publicity in 1943 with the publication of a four part series on her experiences in the Chiang household. The publication of these articles in the *Review* at this time was directly related to the political climate in the United States and the popularity of Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Meiling. These *Review* articles are therefore a reflection of wider community sentiment and interest in China and Soong Meiling outside of the church. Redelstein directly referenced the visit of Soong Meiling the previous year, pointing out to the reading audience that "...it was a great pleasure for me to greet Madame Chiang Kai-shek when she was in the United States last spring."<sup>95</sup> The timing of the articles about China's First Family also served to draw the American Adventist community closer to mainstream American society. By showcasing the relationship that one of their own missionaries had with a principal American Ally the church was able to demonstrate its patriotism and loyalty to the American war effort, despite its members being non-combatants.

Evidence of the importance that Seventh-day Adventists placed on the connections formed by missionaries with members of China's political and financial elite can also be found in the *Review* centenary edition, published in 1944. This issue of the magazine celebrated 100 years of Adventism. Thomas J. Michael, Associate Secretary of the General Conference, wrote an article outlining the development of Seventh-day Adventist missionary activity around the world since the first missionaries had been sent from the United States in 1874. Of all the regions discussed China is the only area where a political connection is drawn stating: "The work of Seventh-day Adventists in China is held in high esteem by the rulers and other prominent officials and leaders."<sup>96</sup> The author then goes on to attribute this recognition to the "excellent medical work done by us..."<sup>97</sup> That one of the church's highest administrators would choose to make note of the political favour with which the church in China was regarded, in a special edition of the *Review*, demonstrates the importance these connections had for the denomination's leadership. It also suggests that the administrators wished to remind the reading membership of the excellence of the church's medical work and the political favour which stemmed from it. This is a repeated refrain in Seventh-day Adventist discourse surrounding China during this period.

### **Comparisons with Other Protestant Denominations**

The editors of the *Review* kept a close eye on the activities and publications of other Protestant denominations, and regularly published articles regarding ecumenical conferences (which Seventh-day Adventists did not attend due to their belief that they were called to be a 'Remnant' church set apart from those denominations which worshipped on Sundays) and other activity. The actions of other denominations were often contrasted unfavourably with Seventh-day Adventist beliefs or practices. Because the editors and authors often quoted materials from the publications of other Protestant denominations on a variety of topics,

---

<sup>94</sup> Harry W. Miller, "An Unusual Call," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 28 February, 1935, 13.

<sup>95</sup> Redelstein, "My Year with China's First Lady Part 4," 14.

<sup>96</sup> Thomas J. Michael, "In All the World," *Review and Herald Centennial Special 1844-1944*, 19 October, 1944, 26.

<sup>97</sup> Michael, "In All the World," 26.

including overseas mission activity, the Seventh-day Adventist lay membership were therefore cognizant of the crisis occurring in other churches regarding the role of foreign missions and this was actively discussed in the pages of the *Review*. For example, the 22 November, 1927 issue of the *Review* contained a reprint of an article from *The Central Methodist*, the official church paper of the Louisville Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The original article was written by Rev. George F. Erwin, a Methodist missionary in Manchuria. In an introductory paragraph, Stemple White noted that the article would “be read with interest by Seventh-day Adventists.”<sup>98</sup> The reprinted section began by stating that the number of Seventh-day Adventist missionaries around the world was increasing while the Methodist and the Baptist denominations were finding it difficult to fund their missionary activity.<sup>99</sup>

Erwin contrasted the work of the Baptists and Methodist in Manchuria with that of the Seventh-day Adventists noting that although the Baptists arrived before them and the Methodists arrived at the same time, both of those denominations were “still in rented buildings, while they [Seventh-day Adventists] have a beautiful new brick church, with room enough for a school in the basement, and a nice home for their pastor.”<sup>100</sup> He pointed out that there had been fears that the Methodist mission would need to close because “the Methodist people are not paying enough, to support the work” and, that the Baptist missionaries in the area “say that their money has been so cut that already they have had to close much of their work here.”<sup>101</sup> This was followed by an explanation of the Seventh-day Adventist practice of tithing. The Seventh-day Adventist author, White, then uses this outsider’s explanation of Seventh-day Adventist tithing practices to encourage the *Review*’s readers to give “an honest tithe, and liberal freewill offerings in proportion to their honest tithe.”<sup>102</sup> To bolster his argument regarding this matter a quotation from Ellen White is provided. The article concluded with the reminder that there was a present shortage of funds for Seventh-day Adventist mission work and that all members should be faithful in the provision of money to the church.

White used the article from *The Central Methodist* to motivate Seventh-day Adventist members to continue to provide money to support the work of the church in foreign missions. By pointing out that other denominations believed that *all* Seventh-day Adventists were faithful and liberal in the provision of their tithes and offerings to the church he encouraged the members to live up to this perception. Thus the opinions of other denominations were used as a tool by the author to solicit more funding for missions from the church laity. This played to the church’s pride, contrasting the difference between their own and the Baptist and Methodist missions in Manchuria. It confirmed for the readers that they were a church with a special message for the world and thus their work was being ‘blessed’. The reprinting of this article and its use in this way also demonstrates that the Seventh-day Adventist church

---

<sup>98</sup> Stemple White, “We Should Have Done More,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 22 December, 1927, 19.

<sup>99</sup> White, “We Should Have Done More,” 19.

<sup>100</sup> White, “We Should Have Done More,” 20.

<sup>101</sup> White, “We Should Have Done More,” 20.

<sup>102</sup> White, “We Should Have Done More,” 20.

monitored the publications of other denominations for references to itself and its missionary activity.

This monitoring of non-Seventh-day Adventist religious publications is also evident in a 1931 article in the *Review* by Associate Editor F. D. Nichol. Nichol took exception to an article which had been published in the *Sunday School Times*, a transdenominational evangelical magazine based in Philadelphia. The article named Seventh-day Adventists, along with Christian Scientists and Modernists as being “foes” of the missionary and “weaving fatal spells about the heathen mind...”<sup>103</sup> Nichol spent a large portion of the article demonstrating that Seventh-day Adventism was very different theologically and philosophically from Modernism and Christian Science. He then moved to a discussion of Seventh-day Adventist missionary activity, claiming that:

In a day when mission interest is declining quite steadily, Seventh-day Adventists have been driving forward into every corner of the earth, basing all their appeals to the home churches on the call to missions; and as a result, raising funds of such relative proportions as to be a common source of wonder and comment on the part of religious leaders, including editors in various denominations.<sup>104</sup>

This statement references articles such as the one by Erwin discussed above. As an associate editor of the church’s official magazine Nichols was an opinion maker and shaper for the denomination. This statement situates the Seventh-day Adventist Church as being unique in a number of areas. Nichols stated that where other denominations were retreating, and interest in foreign mission was declining, the Seventh-day Adventists were moving forward. He also noted that Seventh-day Adventists members donated more than their counterparts in other denominations to mission funds and that this had been a ‘source of wonder’ for those leaders of other denominations. Nichols contributed to the discourse of Seventh-day Adventist uniqueness and the sense of the denomination being chosen by God.

### **Impact of China on Seventh-day Adventist Identity**

Reports from China about the church’s medical institutions and the connections formed with influential people through these institutions contributed to the discourse which positioned the church as a unique denomination. Contributors to the *Review* overtly proclaimed the uniqueness of the church’s medical institutions and linked this uniqueness to divine inspiration. For example in 1930, O. B. Kuhn, a missionary to China, wrote that Seventh-day Adventist sanitariums were “a sacred trust given to us of God — specific evangelizing agencies ordained to perform special ministry in connection with the work of the third angel’s message.”<sup>105</sup> He then went on to claim that these institutions were “Peculiarly our own, none can counterfeit nor successfully imitate them” because they had been ordained by God.<sup>106</sup> The reading audience would have understood this to be a reference to the “Health Message”

---

<sup>103</sup> F. D. Nichol, “Seventh-day Adventism Indicted,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 12 February, 1931, 12.

<sup>104</sup> Nichol, “Seventh-day Adventism Indicted,” 13.

<sup>105</sup> O. B. Kuhn, “As Signboards Showing the Way,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 30 January, 1930, 23.

<sup>106</sup> Kuhn, “As Signboards Showing the Way,” 23.



as outlined by Ellen White and thus this statement contributes to a shared belief in the veracity of the ‘Spirit of Prophecy’. Of further interest is Kuhn’s statement that the sanitariums “make friends for us against that future evil day when a terrible crisis will come upon the denomination.”<sup>107</sup> Thus Kuhn was also referencing and reinforcing the distinctive eschatology of the church. He explicitly stated that the Shanghai Sanitarium like the Washington Sanitarium in the United States was,

through medical ministry to statesmen, lawmakers, and other prominent persons in official and civil life...bringing to the attention of these influential personages the principles and doctrines of Seventh-day Adventists. In no other way than through our sanitarium work could many of these men and women be reached with the special message for this time.<sup>108</sup>

This unequivocally demonstrates that the use of medical institutions to gain influence with the political and financial elite of a nation, through the provision of high quality medical services, was recognised and promoted as a vehicle for forging contacts which could further the work (or mission) of the church and that it was established practice not just in the United States, but also in China.

A few weeks later, Miller also wrote about the Shanghai Sanitarium in the *Review*. Unlike Kuhn’s article, Miller’s report does not have a theological perspective and can be seen as falling very strongly into the “Friends of the Work” category. In the report he stated:

I received a letter from Dr. Alfred Sze a former Chinese Minister at Washington. He is now Minister to the Court of St. James. He wrote me from England, saying how pleased he was when visiting Shanghai to see what tremendous progress we had made, and to know of the good work that we are doing for the poor and needy among his people.<sup>109</sup>

There appears to be no purpose for this report other than to remind the reading membership of the connections which Miller, the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital and, by extension the Seventh-day Adventist church, had been able to form with those in powerful positions.

In June of the same year (1930) an article by Frederick Lee, “Medical Work in the Far East” quoted extensively from Miller’s diary. As with most articles by or about, Miller, this article contributed strongly to the “Friends of the Work” discourse, highlighting for the readers the most prominent patients and visitors to the Shanghai Sanitarium. The excerpt reads like a who’s who of Nationalist China’s political elite. The first person to be mentioned is Tang Shao-ye. The diary citation quoted by Lee, records that Tang was “well known in the old Manchu government...and is a great friend of President Hoover.” Miller attempted to draw a member of the American elite into the Seventh-day Adventist sphere of influence through his mention of Tang’s connection to Hoover. The diary extract then lists: General Dai (Dai Li 戴笠); and General Tan Yen-kai (Tan Yankai). The article makes mention of Tan’s position as

---

<sup>107</sup> Kuhn, “As Signboards Showing the Way,” 23.

<sup>108</sup> Kuhn, “As Signboards Showing the Way,” 24.

<sup>109</sup> Harry W. Miller, “Shanghai Sanitarium Report,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 27 February, 1930, 32.

executive of the Yuan and stated that “He has his own small sanitarium in Nanking, built under our direction, at a cost of \$25,000.” Following this digression Miller’s diary is quoted again mentioning the following personages: Dr H. H. Kung (waiting for an examination); Mrs H. H. Kung, accompanying Dr. Wang Chung-wei (Wang Chonghui王宠惠), the “chief justice for China”, to arrange a tonsillectomy for Wang’s son. The article then recounts that: “As we were coming down stairs, Dr. C. T. Wang [Wang Zhengting王正廷] and his wife had just arrived, he desiring an interview with Mr. Tang Shao-ye. Doctor Wang is minister of foreign affairs, and is internationally known.” Again the author of this article was at pains to point out the importance of these patients and guests. There is one discrepancy in the article, Lee quotes Miller’s diary as follows: “As I went out into the hall, I met Mr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of New China. Mr. Sun Fo had come to visit Tang Shao-ye.”<sup>110</sup> Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, as such it would have been impossible for Miller to meet Sun Yat-sen in the hall at this time. However, the immediate sentence following this statement mentions Sun Fo who was the son of Sun Yat-sen. Miller, in his eagerness to link the Shanghai Sanitarium with the elite of China, may have intended to explicitly highlight the parentage of Sun Fo and this was either incorrectly copied in the *Review* article, or was a writing error on Miller’s part.

The access to the highest levels of Chinese society which the church’s medical work provided was highlighted publicly at the General Conference Session of Seventh-day Adventists, held in San Francisco in 1941.<sup>111</sup> According to a report in *The Youth Instructor*, Denton Rebok, a former missionary to China, spoke during the Youth Sabbath School session and made a point of mentioning that:

Through the medical work carried on in China by Seventh-day Adventists, he [Chiang Kai-shek] became interested in this people who are “different,” and finally sent for the doctor who was leading out in our work.<sup>112</sup>

According to this account Chiang Kai-shek told the doctor (presumably Harry Miller, as the position description given by Rebok matches Miller’s role in China at the time) that the call was not due to illness, but rather to answer questions about Seventh-day Adventist work in China. Rebok claimed that since this interview between the doctor and Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang had “done many things to prove his friendship, and has opened to our workers in that great land numerous doors of opportunity.”<sup>113</sup> The importance which missionaries to China, and by extension the officers of the General Conference, placed on their connections to China’s political elite can be seen in the inclusion of the above incident in Rebok’s presentation to the world church community.

---

<sup>110</sup> Frederick Lee, “Medical Missionary Work in the Far East,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 8 June, 1930, 132.

<sup>111</sup> A General Conference Session is held every five years. During this time delegates from the church’s thirteen administrative regions (Divisions) across the globe meet to elect the church’s most senior officials. They also examine and vote on any proposed constitutional changes and hear reports from each of the Divisions. Delegates consist of both ordained and lay members of the Seventh-day Adventist church.

<sup>112</sup> Lora E. Clement, “Inspirations!,” *The Youth Instructor*, 8 July, 1941, 2.

<sup>113</sup> Clement, “Inspirations!,” 2.

Redelstein, in her 1943 articles, also contributed to the discourse which surrounded the uniqueness of the medical work in China and the privilege it held. When explaining to the reading audience how she came to accompany the Chiang household on their tour of China Redelstein pointed out that as a direct result of her experience at the Shanghai Sanitarium Soong Meiling “was convinced that a Seventh-day Adventist nurse would fill her need better than anyone else she could find.”<sup>114</sup> In the first article in the series, Redelstein provided the reasoning behind the Shanghai Sanitarium board’s acceptance of the request for her secondment, reminding the reading audience of the special position that the church held in China. She stated that the board

felt that they would like to comply if possible. The General had helped our missionaries many times in difficulties which confronted them, by intervening for them with various Chinese officials. And the General and Madame had always been very generous with our work and had contributed liberally toward the building of our Shanghai clinic and other projects.<sup>115</sup>

This statement reinforced the belief held by Seventh-day Adventists that they were held in very high esteem by those in power in China, and also privileges the church’s medical work as contributing to that position. In 1937 a report by H. S. Chu given at the Symposium of Foreign National Representatives was published in the *Review*, it also illustrates the denominational belief of privilege. Chu stated

Our work is held in high esteem by the government officials such as Chiang Kai-shek [and] Minister Kung... I think I am right in saying that there is no other missionary society in China today that is so favorably looked upon as our denomination.<sup>116</sup>

Both these statements emphasise for the readers the idea that Seventh-day Adventists occupied a position of privilege in their mission in China and in their relationship with Chiang Kai-shek. Nevertheless missionaries from other denominations also received financial funding for their projects from the Chiangs, so the denomination was not unique in this regard.

Articles about the premier Seventh-day Adventist educational institution in China, the China Theological Seminary later renamed the China Training Institute<sup>117</sup> at Chiao Tou Chen, were also used to contribute to the positioning of Seventh-day Adventists as a unique and special denomination. However, in contrast to the discourse surrounding the medical institutions which focused very heavily on political and social connections as contributing to the church’s ‘special’ place in China, discourse surrounding the China Training Institute often had a more theological slant. That is not to say that connections with, or praise from, the societal elite

---

<sup>114</sup> Elisabeth Redelstein, “My Year With China's First Lady Part 1,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 4 November, 1943, 12.

<sup>115</sup> Redelstein, “My Year With China's First Lady Part 1,” 12.

<sup>116</sup> “Symposium of Foreign National Representatives, Sabbath, May 30, 3 p.m.,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 2 June, 1936, 102.

<sup>117</sup> The institution’s name was changed from China Theological Seminary to China Training Institute in 1931.

were not reported, but these reports were often positioned within a spiritual framework, rather than being reported for their own sake.

Seventh-day Adventist writing and discussion about the destruction, rebuilding, and success of the school was used to demonstrate to the reading audience confirmation of the church's belief in the 'Spirit of Prophecy', the prophetic role of Ellen White. This was not an implicit part of the discourse left for the readers to infer, but was explicitly stated. An example of this type of discourse can be seen in an article written in late 1930 by Denton Rebok, principal of the Theological Seminary. Rebok attributes the success of the school to the fact that it followed Ellen White's educational principles. The China Theological Seminary had been deliberately built in a rural area in order to provide facilities for industrial and agricultural work in addition to academic courses. The students not only studied academic subjects, but also worked in these industries, off-setting their fees and providing income for the college. This followed the Seventh-day Adventist model of education implemented at schools worldwide, including Australia and the United States. In the spring of 1927 the school was occupied "by thousands of soldiers of the revolutionary army."<sup>118</sup> The school buildings and farm were totally destroyed. However, Rebok noted that the school was quickly rebuilt and opened six months after the rebuilding started. The school reopened for a summer school in June, 1928 and regular classes began in September.<sup>119</sup> Rebok informed the reading audience that the school had since been the subject of interest from a number of prominent personages and he named the Inspector of the Salt Revenue Bureau in Sichuan as an example. He pointed out that the "minister of industry, commerce and labor in the Nationalist government is a strong supporter of our industrial education project". He shared that the minister had used his influence to secure customs duty exemptions on new machinery and equipment for the school.<sup>120</sup> Rebok further claimed that the recognition that the school was receiving for its modern agricultural program was due to its adherence to the educational philosophy of Ellen White as outlined in her book *Testimonies*.<sup>121</sup> This attribution of the denomination's success in China to Ellen White's philosophies helped to reinforce White's role as a prophet for the Seventh-day Adventist church.<sup>122</sup>

The Seventh-day Adventist church in China did encounter the same opposition as other Christian denominations during the late 1920s. Unlike the Methodist magazines, the *Review* did not attempt to avoid discussion of these problems, but rather, informed readers of the difficulties facing the missionaries and indigenous workers in China and outlined the measures used to combat them. The Seventh-day Adventist church in China was willing to contravene official bans and restrictions in order to continue evangelising. These actions were, at times publicised in the *Review*. This attitude tied in to their belief that one should

---

<sup>118</sup> D. E. Rebok, "The China Theological Seminary," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 9 October, 1930, 25.

<sup>119</sup> D. E. Rebok, "China Theological Seminary: Re-opening of the Theological School at Chiao Tou Djen," *Far Eastern Division Outlook*, April 1928, 20.

<sup>120</sup> Rebok, "The China Theological Seminary," 26.

<sup>121</sup> Rebok, "The China Theological Seminary," 26.

<sup>122</sup> It was not long after this article was written, that H. H. Kung assisted the church in circumventing the requirements from the Nationalist Government regarding the restrictions placed on schools outlined earlier in this thesis.

‘obey God rather than men.’<sup>123</sup> The reporting of the lifting of bans on the sale of Seventh-day Adventist literature in Shandong (山东省) in 1929 outlined the appeals the church had made to the Nationalist government in Nanjing.<sup>124</sup> This demonstrated the denomination’s willingness to utilize their political connections to continue their evangelistic programme. The reporter of this incident pointed to the increase in tithing during the ban and pointed to the baptism of forty-three new members as proof of his belief that God had led and prospered the work of the church.<sup>125</sup>

Redelstein’s series of articles for the *Review* in 1943 also contributed to the positioning of Seventh-day Adventism as a unique denomination. In her articles Redelstein characterized Chiang Kai-shek in recognisably Adventist terms. Seventh-day Adventists have some distinctive lifestyle practices, which are referred to as ‘The Health Message’ in denominational circles. Redelstein portrayed the Chiangs’ dietary practices in terms which would have been very familiar to her audience. She stated: “Neither the Generalissimo nor the Madam ever drink alcoholic beverages, and strong drink is never served on their table. Also the General never smokes.”<sup>126</sup> Abstention from alcohol and tobacco are a fundamental part of Seventh-day Adventist beliefs and thus this portrayal of Chiang Kai-shek as a non-smoking, teetotaler would have resonated strongly with the reading audience. A recent biography of Soong Meiling confirms Redelstein’s portrayal of the Chiangs’ daily routine noting: “Liquor was barred from the house and the inevitable toasts were drunk with tea.”<sup>127</sup> Redelstein’s representation of the Chiangs, emphasising those aspects of their lives with which Seventh-day Adventist audiences could readily identify (abstention from alcohol and tobacco and daily worship) can be seen as an attempt to demythologise the perceived exoticness of Chinese culture and place it, and the Chiangs, within a familiar framework recognisable to the Seventh-day Adventist audience. The Chiangs, for much of the reading audience, would have been seen as foreign and remote, separated from the American Seventh-day Adventist community by culture, race, status and wealth. Redelstein, by her own account had a close friendship with Soong Meiling, and therefore attempted to portray the couple in the most accessible light possible to her audience. By focusing on common religiosity and lifestyle practices in her articles Redelstein narrowed the cognitive gap between the Chiangs and the Seventh-day Adventist community.

## Conclusion

Seventh-day Adventist writing about China in this time period demonstrates that China was important to the Seventh-day Adventist denomination on a number of levels. During times when evangelism was difficult and property and lives were under threat, discourse surrounding China served to reinforce the church’s eschatological theology and strengthen its sense of being a remnant church with a special message for the world. An outcome of this view was that the church continued to send new missionaries to China throughout the period

---

<sup>123</sup> Acts 5:29, NIV

<sup>124</sup> Edwin R. Thiele, “Success Under Persecution,” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 1 May, 1930, 18.

<sup>125</sup> Thiele, “Success Under Persecution,” 18.

<sup>126</sup> Redelstein, “My Year With China's First Lady Part 2,” 16.

<sup>127</sup> Hannah Pakula, *The Last Empress Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and the Birth of Modern China* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009), 318.

of the Anti-Christian movement and during the Second World War when other denominations were scaling back their foreign staff. The situation in China was seen by the church as a sign of the partial fulfilment of biblical prophecies concerning the 'Time of the End' and thus required more resources because of the opportunities for evangelism and conversion that this created. It also led to an increased focus on missions in other fields and the situation in China was used to encourage church members to donate liberally to mission projects around the world.

On the other hand, at times when the denominational hospitals and schools were gaining the recognition of those in prominent positions, the writers and editors of the church's publications used this to strengthen the lay members' belief in the 'Spirit of Prophecy' and the uniqueness of the Seventh-day Adventist church. This was done by pointing out that successes in these institutions were a result of following the guidelines laid out by Ellen White in her writings. The continued promotion of the favour with which the denomination and many of its foreign missionaries were regarded in China indicated a desire by the church to be recognised for its work. As will be demonstrated below, these authors were highly selective in what they chose to record and thus helped to produce a cultural memory with long-term impacts on the denomination's view of its work in China and its relationships with the elite in that country.

## CHAPTER 3: Crafting The Memory: Seventh-day Adventist Writings after 1950

This chapter traces the continuation and changes to the discourse surrounding China in the Seventh-day Adventist community after the withdrawal of the denomination's missionaries following the 1949 Revolution. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw a resurgence of Seventh-day interest in China. During this time period, writing about China within the Seventh-day Adventist Church primarily occurred in the publication of the biographies and autobiographies of prominent missionaries and it is these texts which are examined in this chapter. These biographies can be seen as a form of nostalgia on the part of the church for a vanishing world.<sup>1</sup> Of significance is the timing of the publications which occurred at a time when the political situation was shifting and the United States was moving towards recognition of the People's Republic of China. Unlike the 1940s where the denomination's view of China mimicked that of broader American society, by the late 1960s and early 1970s attitudes towards China within the denomination were out of step with those in the mainstream American community. There was almost a need to demonstrate, through the publication of these biographies, the denomination's continuing ties with the Guomindang regime, particularly since the denomination had established an active missionary presence in Taiwan following the 1949 revolution in China. Many of the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries who had been working in China were relocated to Taiwan where they rapidly "established a training school and other facilities" including the Taiwan Adventist Hospital which opened in 1955.<sup>2</sup>

Within the Seventh-day Adventist church there was a distinct shift in the themes of the discourse about China between the magazine articles written during the mid-1920s through to the late 1940s and the biographies of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The use of writing about China to reinforce the denomination's eschatological and 'Spirit of Prophecy' beliefs is not evident in the biographies. Rather, many of the biographies highlight the connections which missionaries formed with members of the Guomindang and foreground the idea that the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries' relationships with the political elite were unique, and that the church held a position of privilege in China.

Discourses produced by, and about, Seventh-day Adventist missionaries in China contributed to a shared, or social, memory among the Seventh-day Adventist community (particularly in the United States of America) regarding the church's work in China. As Tamm notes "shared memories of the past are not accidentally produced by social groups" but rather are formed as a result of cultural mediation.<sup>3</sup> The editors of the Seventh-day Adventist church's magazines and later, the biographers of the China missionaries, were the principal curators of this aspect of the church's memory surrounding its mission work in China during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Winter's writing on memory as a site of nostalgia for this argument. Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century*, 19

<sup>2</sup> Land, *Historical Dictionary of Seventh-day Adventists*, 59.

<sup>3</sup> Marek Tamm, "Beyond History and Memory: New Perspectives in Memory Studies," *History Compass* 11, no. 6 (2013): 461.

century. This formation of collective memory contributed to a sense of meaning and cohesion regarding the church's missionary activity not just within China, but also in the global context.

During the late 1960s to the mid-1970s two publishing houses owned by Seventh-day Adventist church, Pacific Press based in California and Review and Herald Publishing Association located in Washington, D.C., released a large number of biographies based on the lives of missionaries who had worked in China from the early 1900s through to the 1940s. At least ten biographies and autobiographies of this kind were published between 1967 and 1976. Collectively, missionaries to China have been the subject of more biographies than those to any other nation. The publication of missionary biographies continued for several decades, though not specifically China focused. The late 1980s through to 1990 saw the publication of the *Hall of Faith* series. This series was designed for Young Adult readers. Like the earlier biographies of missionaries to China, this series was written for a Seventh-day Adventist audience. Specifically Seventh-day Adventist terminology is used in the books and the books assume knowledge of denominational theology and social mores. Each book in the series tells the story of a Seventh-day Adventist missionary or missionary family and is a condensed and simplified version of previously published books. Miller is the subject of one of the books in this series, the other books cover Adventist missionaries to the Amazon, Papua New Guinea and India. The life stories of missionaries have remained an important aspect of the church's discourse and self-image.

All of the missionary biographies discussed in this study can be categorised using Parke's definition of popular biography. The biographies recount "notable incidents and sayings with little or no attempt to establish chronology or to depict the subject in historical context."<sup>4</sup> Biographies, especially those written by authors personally acquainted with their subject, contain problems of bias and, as Parke notes, works of this kind are a challenge to the ideal of 'skeptical objectivity'.<sup>5</sup> However, because this study examines ways in which the Guomindang elite, and Seventh-day Adventist missionary activity in China were represented to the Seventh-day Adventist English-speaking community, these biographies are useful texts. The biographies of prominent missionaries to China helped shape Seventh-day Adventist perceptions of the political situation in China and Taiwan post-1949. These biographies, through their praise of Chiang Kai-shek and other members of the Guomindang regime, demonstrated an attitude that was at odds with the moves in the United States towards recognition of the People's Republic of China. Furthermore these biographies also served to bolster member support for missionary activity in other parts of the world (since China was no longer accessible to Adventist missionaries).

Contact with Nationalist China's political and social elite served to raise the profiles of missionaries within the Seventh-day Adventist church community. Most of the biographies and autobiographies about missionaries to China which were published by the church's publishing houses feature those who had high level contacts. Missionaries working in areas

---

<sup>4</sup> Catherine N. Parke, *Biography Writing Lives*, ed. Ronald Gottesman, Studies in Literary Themes and Genres (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Parke, *Biography Writing Lives*, 4.



removed from the centres of political power, where contact with the upper echelons of society was much more limited, were less likely to be profiled. The exception to this was if the missionary had an ‘exceptional’ experience such as those who were frequently evacuated as a result of war,<sup>6</sup> or were interred by the Japanese during the Second World War.<sup>7</sup>

### **Creating the Story of Harry Miller: “The China Doctor”**

The discourse surrounding Miller’s contacts with China’s political elite raised his profile within the Seventh-day Adventist church, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s. Miller’s name is still the most recognised name among Seventh-day Adventist church members when missionaries to China are discussed.<sup>8</sup> However, the dominant image of Miller, as portrayed in the biographies is not fully representative of all of Miller’s actions in China. The focus on Miller’s contacts with China’s elite served to shift attention from his behaviour in other areas of his life. Miller was able to achieve and maintain his high profile because of his contacts with this stratum of Chinese society and his promotion and publication of them. The missionaries, editors and authors who wrote about China for the English-speaking community of members created a story surrounding Miller which foregrounded his political connections and his medical success in China. This story continues to the present. A recent article in the *Record*, a magazine produced for Seventh-day Adventist church members in Australia, featured an article on the life of Harry W. Miller which focused largely on his political connections.<sup>9</sup> However, in light of archival evidence discovered during my research for this thesis I seek to challenge the dominant history of Miller as recorded by the Seventh-day Adventist church.

Unique among Seventh-day Adventist missionaries, Miller was the subject of two biographies. The first biography, *China Doctor* was written in 1961 by Raymond Moore and published by Harper. This book was reprinted in 1969 by the Seventh-day Adventist owned, Pacific Press. A shorter version of Miller’s life, written by Joy Swift, was published in 1990. This book, *The Long Road to China*, formed part of the *Hall of Faith* series.<sup>10</sup> Swift’s biography of Miller is a much abridged version of Moore’s earlier biography of Miller’s life. Because the book is aimed at Young Adult readers, it is shorter than the original biography and does not contain as many details as Moore’s work, particularly in regard to Miller’s contacts with China’s elite. With only one exception, the chapter sequence in both texts is identical and the chapter titles are remarkably similar. For example in Moore’s work the chapter which covers Miller’s time at the Washington D.C. sanitarium is entitled “Operating on the Siamese Elephant”, while in Swift’s biography the chapter dealing with the same time period is entitled “What to Do With the Elephant”. Furthermore much of the text in Swift’s book is nearly identical to that in Moore’s with only very minor vocabulary changes.

---

<sup>6</sup> Rose Christensen, *Invisible Escort* (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1969).

<sup>7</sup> Vinnie Ruffo, *Behind Barbed Wire* (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1967).

<sup>8</sup> Anecdotally, I have had numerous instances where, upon hearing the topic of this thesis, Seventh-day Adventist church members immediately mention “the China Doctor, Harry Miller.”

<sup>9</sup> Lester Devine, “Record Rewind: Missionary Doctor”, South Pacific Division Seventh-day Adventist Church <http://record.net.au/items/record-rewind-missionary-doctor> (accessed 4 December, 2014).

<sup>10</sup> Joy Swift, *The Long Road to China The Story of Dr. Harry Miller*, ed. Marvin Moore, Hall of Faith (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1990).

Therefore, for the purposes of this study, priority will be given to the examination of Moore's earlier biography as the later one by Swift is highly derivative.

There can be no doubt that Miller formed some significant political connections during his time in China. Hollington Tong (Tung Hsien-Kaung), former Ambassador for the Republic of China to the United States (1956-1958), wrote the foreword for the 1969 biography. Tong stated that he not only had a friendship with Miller, but also a familial association, pointing out that when the aunt of Miller's wife came to Shanghai it was Tong's wife who taught her the Shanghai dialect.<sup>11</sup> Tong also elaborated on Miller's other relationships with the Chinese Nationalist elite, which were formed during Miller's time in China stating,

Dr. Miller made many friends, a number of whom now hold influential government positions. The gratitude of both the government and the people for his work was expressed tangibly when President Chiang Kai-shek decorated him in 1956.<sup>12</sup>

This introduction by Tong gives credence to the claims of contact between Miller and high level governmental officials made in the biography and elsewhere in earlier Seventh-day Adventist literature.

Moore was a friend of Miller and the biography was written at Miller's request, from materials which Miller provided.<sup>13</sup> As such the omissions from Miller's life story are as telling as the inclusions. Moore's work gives great emphasis to Miller's relationships with China's elite, particularly his relationship with Zhang Xueliang and the wealthy clientele of the Shanghai Sanitarium and hospital. While this aspect of Miller's work in China also features in Swift's book, not as much detail is provided. Swift's biography emphasises Miller's uniqueness as a man of "uncommon courage, uncommon dedication, and uncommon faith."<sup>14</sup> Likewise, Moore did not intend for his biography of Miller to serve an academic or truly historical purpose. In the preface for the 1969 edition Moore notes that the biography is incomplete stating: "Here, for the first time, *a few of the details* of Harry Miller's distinguished life are pieced together for all to read."<sup>15</sup> This biography of Miller is not comprehensive, nor is it intended to be so. Moore's purpose for writing the biography was to inspire the readers, mostly Seventh-day Adventists, to participate in mission service and philanthropy and to acknowledge what he saw as Miller's extraordinary character. However, this biography remains worthy of academic study as it is reflective of Adventist culture at the time of writing. Furthermore the selection of incidents retold, and the omission of others, helped to shape Seventh-day Adventist attitudes and knowledge about China. Miller's biography foregrounded the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries' relationships with the Guomindang and the Chiang Kai-shek family. This narrative of close connections with the political elite and the favours done by members of this social group for the Seventh-day Adventist church helped strengthen the understanding among members that their church had

---

<sup>11</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, iv.

<sup>12</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, v.

<sup>13</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, vii.

<sup>14</sup> Swift, *The Long Road to China*, rear cover.

<sup>15</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, vii. Emphasis added

been influential and had occupied a position of privilege in Nationalist China. Miller's 1969 biography gave implicit and explicit support to the Guomindang regime in Taiwan.

Thanks, in large part, to Moore's biography, Miller is the best-known missionary to China within the Seventh-day Adventist church. Miller's relationships with Guomindang officials and other wealthy Chinese were widely publicised among the Seventh-day Adventist community. This recognition stems from his connections with China's wealthy elite which were widely publicised in contemporaneous magazines such as the *Review* prior to the publication of *China Doctor*. Miller himself generated much of the information which was provided to Adventist magazines. His renown was such that his obituary was published in a large number of denominational magazines. These magazines were published in geographically diverse locations and included the *Australasian Record*; the *Southeast Asia Messenger*; and the *Trans-African Division Outlook* as well as various regional church magazines published in the United States such as *The Lake Union Herald*. Miller's connections with the Chinese elite were given great prominence in the magazine articles announcing his death. Not all claims regarding Miller's political connections were accurate. For example the *Lake Union Herald* published an article entitled "Farewell, China Doctor". It notes the death of Miller on January 1, 1977 and then gives a summary of Miller's life. Among the claims in the article is the following statement. "Dr. Miller served as a physician to Chou En-lai [Zhou Enlai 周恩来], Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and once treated the Republic of China's first leader, Sun Yat-sen."<sup>16</sup> I have been unable to locate non-Seventh-day Adventist sources confirming Miller's treatment of Zhou Enlai, but am inclined to give credence to this claim given later events discussed below. The claim that Miller treated Sun Yat-sen is almost certainly false. Miller was not in China during the same periods as Sun Yat-sen in the early 1900s, and he returned to China several months after Sun's death in 1925. I believe this claim in the *Lake Union Herald* article, which was subsequently reprinted in other magazines such as the *Australasian Record*,<sup>17</sup> comes from a misinterpretation of a statement in Moore's biography which claimed:

...Miller was destined to become one of China's best known doctors, personal physician to the Chiang Kai-sheks and surgeon to *Madame* Sun Yat-sen – families now parted by the Bamboo Curtain.<sup>18</sup>

Miller himself drew attention to his interactions with China's rich and powerful through his reports to the General Conference. These were prepared during his time as Director of the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital and President of the China Division. Miller also wrote about these contacts in articles published by the *Review*. Both of Miller's biographers, Moore and Swift, also devoted significant space to his relationships with China's elite. This is particularly evident in Moore's account of Miller's life which details closely Miller's relationship with Zhang Xueliang. By the author's own admission this work drew heavily on

---

<sup>16</sup> "Farewell, China Doctor," *Lake Union Herald*, January 18, 1977, 4.

<sup>17</sup> "The Passion of "China Doctor"," *Australasian Record*, February 21, 1977, 1.

<sup>18</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 61. Emphasis added

notes and information provided by Miller. Thus one can surmise that this was a political connection/friendship which Miller himself wished to have foregrounded.

Miller's 1969 biography gave prominence to the curing of Zhang Xueliang's opium addiction by Miller, and the recounting of this incident forms the first chapter of Miller's life story.<sup>19</sup> In positioning the curing of Zhang Xueliang in the first chapter of the biography Moore created a framework in which the reader is led to understand that Miller was a man of substance: someone who moved in the very highest social circles, mixing with, and trusted by, the rich and the powerful. This connection to Zhang Xueliang continued to be promoted within the Seventh-day Adventist community throughout Miller's life. For example, in 1968 Miller was named 'Alumnus of the year' by graduates of Loma Linda University School of Medicine (a Seventh-day Adventist institution). This recognition was reported in the Seventh-day Adventist magazine *Far Eastern Division Outlook*, and the article reporting this recognition by Loma Linda makes note of his treatment of Zhang.<sup>20</sup> Miller's obituary in the *Lake Union Herald* states that "during his first stay in mainland China he cured a Manchurian leader, Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang of the opium habit"<sup>21</sup> indicating that this was a significant life event for Miller and something which loomed large in the Seventh-day Adventist community's memory of Miller whenever his work in China was discussed. In fact, the statement in the *Lake Union Herald Article* is not entirely accurate. Miller treated Zhang Xueliang for opium addiction in 1933 and this was Miller's third period in China, not his first.

Miller was an excellent self-promoter, apparently at the expense of the Sanitarium. By 1938, although the Shanghai Sanitarium had numerous prominent patients, this was due more to Miller's own reputation than that of the hospital. An internal church letter notes,

It seems that our Sanitarium in itself is not well known in Shanghai. Dr. Miller's name is, and it was his name that gave us the standing and enabled us to do the work which he did. Now that he is gone, we will have to build a good reputation for the Sanitarium itself. We are experiencing here an exact fulfilment of what you told Dr. Miller, that he was making a mistake in building the work so much around himself and not building an organization that could carry on if he dropped out.<sup>22</sup>

At this time Miller had been tasked with establishing a Seventh-day Adventist Sanitarium in Wuhan. The letter noted that Miller was repeating his behaviour in Wuhan: "Again he must carry on at Wuhan even though he builds around himself as at Shanghai. We have no one else for the Wuhan problem."<sup>23</sup> From this correspondence one can surmise that there had been some difficulty between Dr Miller and the Shanghai Sanitarium, although this is not made

---

<sup>19</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 1.

<sup>20</sup> "'China Doctor' Honoured by Loma Linda Alumni," *Far Eastern Division Outlook*, June 1968, 3.

<sup>21</sup> "Farewell, China Doctor," 4.

<sup>22</sup> "February 11, 1938 Letter to McElhany," Griggs Collection, Box 2, Fld 4, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.

<sup>23</sup> "February 11, 1938 Letter to McElhany."

clear in the text. Miller had also been removed from his position as President of the China Division at the end of 1936.<sup>24</sup> The letter continues,

I truly sympathize with Dr. Miller. He has a superhuman work to perform. His wife is not well; his family is in America, and we cannot give him the financial help he needs. I am sure his transfer to Wuhan and his not being much desired in Shanghai is a great cross to him. It is a hard experience.<sup>25</sup>

Significantly, there is no mention of any difficulties, financial or otherwise, in either of the biographies written about Miller. Both of these works portray Miller in an extremely positive light, with Moore's biography verging on the hagiographic.

Miller's biographers are disingenuous in their use of the popular biography genre. This type of biography allowed both authors to avoid the true reasons for Miller's departure from China in 1938. Lay Adventist readers, with little or no knowledge of Chinese history or Seventh-day Adventist missionary history in China would accept the biographers' reasons for Miller's departure at face value. However, these claims do not align with either Seventh-day Adventist practice in China during the period or with the broader political climate within China. Moore states that Miller was forced to evacuate China in 1938 due to war conditions after the Japanese invasion of China.<sup>26</sup> However, the 1940 Seventh-day Adventist Year Book shows no visible reduction in the number of foreign missionaries in China from previous years, (the 1940 Year Book reports the 1939 figures).<sup>27</sup> In fact, Miller was among the very few missionaries to return to the United States due to the Japanese invasion of China. Many foreign missionaries continued to work under the Japanese occupation (for example, the Oss family remained in Shanghai working for the Seventh-day Adventist church until 1942 when they were interred by the Japanese). Other missionaries were evacuated to what the Seventh-day Adventist church referred to as 'Free China' (areas of China not occupied by the Japanese) or Hong Kong to continue their work. As such, Moore's statement that Miller left China due to war conditions does not stand up under scrutiny.

Swift claims that Miller's departure from China was because the "enormously loyal Nationalist Party considered all foreigners to be a threat to the government and ordered all of them to leave China."<sup>28</sup> However, Lacy's figures show that in the period between 1937 and 1940 the number of Methodist missionaries in China grew from 254 to 280.<sup>29</sup> Missionaries were not the only foreigners to remain in China during this period. For example, Phil Greene, an American doctor associated with the Yale-in-China Xiangya Hospital transported a truck and five tons of medical supplies from Shanghai to Changsha early in 1939 and performed

---

<sup>24</sup> To date I have been unable to locate material regarding Miller's change of position in 1936. It is possible that Miller's term had simply been completed and new leadership elected. There was a General Conference session in 1936 and administrative posts are decided during these meetings. However, his removal and relocation to Hankou by 1938 may also speak to underlying concern regarding Miller's behaviour in the mission field. Further research is required in order to make a definitive statement.

<sup>25</sup> "February 11, 1938 Letter to McElhany," p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 118.

<sup>27</sup> H. E. Rogers, *1940 Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination* (Washington D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1940), 103-104.

<sup>28</sup> Swift, *The Long Road to China*, 70.

<sup>29</sup> Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*, 136.

operations at the hospital there.<sup>30</sup> Chiang Kai-shek was also accepting a large amount of supplies and advisors from the Russians at this time.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, Swift's explanation of Miller's departure from China cannot be taken at face value either.

Examination of the archival record has revealed that Miller was recalled from China in 1938 due to 'immoral' conduct. A letter between W. H. Branson (President of the China Division) and J. L. McElhany (President of the General Conference) reveals that

...for many years unsavoury rumors had been circulated through the field concerning Dr. Miller's relationships with some of his associate women workers, and that now the thing had come to a head...there was only one step to take, and that was to request the General Conference to permit us to return him to the homeland.<sup>32</sup>

Apparently, the General Conference had been informed of concerns regarding Miller a few months before the incident which required Miller's removal from his position. Branson reminded McElhany

...of course you knew some months ago from correspondence that came to the General Conference from Brother Griggs, that there was a great deal of criticism in China regarding Doctor Miller's relationships with some of his nurses, and that there was a possibility of something very serious developing in this case in the future.<sup>33</sup>

The above statements raise serious questions regarding the degree to which church administrators in China (and at church headquarters in the United States) knew of Miller's actions and behaviour, and why he was allowed to remain in his position for as long as he did. Following Branson's report to McElhany, Miller was returned to the United States and his ministerial and missionary credentials were revoked by the General Conference.<sup>34</sup> As such, he was no longer employed by the Seventh-day Adventist church. There is no evidence to suggest that Miller was removed from his position because his relationship with Zhang Xueliang was causing political problems for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in China.

Continuing the research into soy milk which he had begun in China, Miller went into private business in Ohio, developing a production plant to produce Soyolac a soya milk product.<sup>35</sup> Initial attempts by Miller's friends to have him rehabilitated were not successful. In 1942 Branson, by then Vice President of the General Conference, turned down a request from W. M. Robbins, President of the Ohio Conference to have the Ohio Conference vote to return Miller's ministerial credentials. Robbins claimed that he was "fully convinced that the Doctor

---

<sup>30</sup> Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, 168.

<sup>31</sup> Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, 149.

<sup>32</sup> Branson, "23 November, 1938 Letter to J. L. McElhany," p. 4, Box WH 3038 - Miller, Harry W. MD Collection, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Archives.

<sup>33</sup> Branson, "23 November, 1938 Letter to J. L. McElhany," p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> "Three Hundred Twenty-Fourth Meeting General Conference Committee February 24," 1939, p. 1055, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

<sup>35</sup> William Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi, "Dr. Harry W. Miller: Work with Soy: A Special Exhibit - the History of Soy Pioneers Around the World", Soyinfo Center [http://www.soyinfocenter.com/HSS/harry\\_miller.php](http://www.soyinfocenter.com/HSS/harry_miller.php) (accessed 24 March 2014).

has fully confessed his wrong to the Lord and is living a consecrated Christian life.”<sup>36</sup> Robbins further stated “I think that Dr. Miller’s case is an exception to most cases of moral fall. My profound convictions are that few charges of immorality have a parallel with Dr. Miller’s case...”<sup>37</sup> Branson was fully aware of the details surrounding Miller’s case as he had been the President of the Seventh-day Adventist China Division at the time of Miller’s dismissal. Branson responded by rejecting the request to reinstate Miller’s credentials noting:

The brethren [the General Conference Committee] do not know of any extenuating circumstances in connection with Dr. Miller’s unfortunate experience in China that differ in any material way from the circumstances surrounding any of the other brethren who have passed through this kind of experience. They feel that the granting of ministerial credentials to Dr. Miller on the strength of his former ordination cannot be possibly sanctioned by the General Conference Committee...<sup>38</sup>

Branson did note that the committee had investigated a way for Miller to be granted a missionary license, but this also had been rejected as they could not make an exception for Miller.<sup>39</sup> This indicates that, *at this time*, ethical morality was more important to the church hierarchy than any benefit which could be derived from Miller’s political connections.

Exactly how Miller moved from disgrace to a Seventh-day Adventist missionary icon is a multi-faceted question. I argue that it was Miller’s political connections in China which aided greatly in his rehabilitation. In 1949 the Chinese Communist Party gained political control over China. It was at this time that Miller returned to Shanghai, aged seventy. His return was despite internal church documents from 1938 warning that it would be very damaging to the Seventh-day Adventist church in China if Miller was to ever return.<sup>40</sup> According to Moore’s account, Miller was asked to take over the Shanghai Sanitarium while on a private business trip in Hong Kong. He frames Miller’s return to China as a result of his “hound-tooth-clean record of refusing to take sides in Chinese affairs...Dr. Miller’s presence in China would be an embarrassment to no one. He knew, and was known by, both Communists and Nationalists.”<sup>41</sup> This was a crucial period for the Seventh-day Adventist church as they wished to keep foreign missionaries in China and retain denominational control over their medical and educational institutions. It may have been that, due to his alleged medical treatment of communist officials especially Zhou Enlai, during the 1920s and 1930s, Miller was seen by church administrators as having the necessary connections on both sides of the political fence to be able to influence the political landscape in favour of the church.

The level of official endorsement to Miller’s return to China is unclear. He is not listed as employed by the denomination in either the 1949 or 1950 Seventh-day Adventist Year Book,

---

<sup>36</sup> H. M. Robbins, “July 2, 1942 letter to W. H. Branson,” p. 2, Vice President General Files of W. H. Branson, 1942, M- Radio Com Box 9, Fld 1942 R, General Conference Archive of Seventh-day Adventists.

<sup>37</sup> Robbins, “July 2, 1942 letter to W. H. Branson,” p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> W. H. Branson, “July 10, 1942 letter to W. M. Robbins,” p. 1, Vice Presidential General Files of W. H. Branson, 1942, M - Radio Com Box 9, Fld 1942 R, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

<sup>39</sup> Branson, “July 10, 1942 letter to W. M. Robbins,” p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Branson, “23 November, 1938 Letter to J. L. McElhany,” p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 129.

and I have been unable to locate any official correspondence between General Conference officials and Miller making the request of him to go to China. Furthermore, as the Seventh-day Adventist Yearbooks during this time period listed all Seventh-day Adventist employees worldwide, if Miller had been officially appointed his name should be listed. This suggests that Miller may have been asked to take an unofficial liaison role with the Communist Party on behalf of the church administration. All foreign missionaries from the Seventh-day Adventist church were withdrawn from China by the end of 1950 and Miller's name does not appear on any documentation relating to the withdrawal of those missionaries.

As a further sign of this rehabilitation, in 1953 Ezra Longway a former missionary to China who was then working for the Seventh-day Adventist church in Singapore, suggested to Miller that the church was in need of a sanitarium in Taiwan and that Miller should be the one to establish it.<sup>42</sup> In 1954 Miller went to Taiwan in order to assist with the establishment of the Seventh-day Adventist hospital in Taipei. Longway had been employed in China at the time of Miller's dismissal in 1938 and would have been well aware of circumstances under which Miller left China. That Longway would suggest to Miller that he open a hospital under the auspices of the church indicates that by the early 1950s Miller's rehabilitation was complete. The Taiwan Adventist Hospital opened in 1955 and, at the time of writing, the hospital website credits Miller as being the institution's "founding father".<sup>43</sup> Moore points out that in Taiwan Miller was able to re-establish his connections with influential Chinese in order to facilitate the importation of goods and establish the hospital quickly<sup>44</sup> and it may have been for this reason that Longway asked Miller to take on the task. While in Taiwan, Miller was awarded the Order of Brilliant Star (景星勳章) medal. This award recognises outstanding contributions to the development of Taiwan and Miller was personally awarded the medal by Chiang Kai-shek.

As a result of Moore and Swift's biographies, successive generations of Seventh-day Adventists have been introduced to the sanitized version of Miller's life. Miller crafted denominational opinion about himself during the 1920s and 1930s through the articles he wrote for the *Review*. He also contributed to the sense that Seventh-day Adventist missionaries held a position of privilege with the Guomindang regime. This shaping of memory was continued with a new generation in the 1960s and 1970s through the publication of Moore's biography, and Swift reintroduced Miller and the discourse of Seventh-day Adventist privilege to yet another generation of Seventh-day Adventist readers through her work published in 1990. Moore's biography of Miller contributed greatly to the creation of the Miller mythology. This text, and the earlier articles written by Miller himself, tend to provide a shallow representation of the prominent people in China with whom Miller came in to contact. Seventh-day Adventist writing about surrounding Miller falls largely under the category of "Friends of the Work" and, with the exception of his relationship with Zhang Xueliang, little detail is provided concerning those members of the political and financial

---

<sup>42</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 133-134.

<sup>43</sup> "Taiwan Adventist Hospital: About Us", <http://www.tahsda.org.tw/en/AboutUs.php> (accessed 26 March 2014).

<sup>44</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 134-135.



elite with whom Miller had contact. The focus of much of this writing is on Miller and his actions. The people with whom he interacted are superficially characterised and remain two dimensional for the reader. Aside from the fact that Miller met and treated the prominent person named in the work, little is shared of that person's personality or character, or indeed of any contact Miller may have had with this person outside of his professional capacity. The name and position of the person is given great emphasis because, by knowing them, Miller's own position is elevated. Moore's biography situated Miller as a friend of the Guomindang regime and portrayed the political elite from that time period in a favourable light. It also highlighted the denomination's on-going connection with Chiang Kai-shek and the Guomindang government in Taiwan. This is an attempt to reassure the denomination that the time, energy and expenditure of financial capital in China had not been in vain, and that the success of the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries was continuing even though their access to the People's Republic of China had been cut.

For Miller personally, his biographies served much the same purposes as the earlier articles written by Miller himself which were published in the *Review*. The biographers portray him as a role model and his 'life of sacrifice' is held up as something for members to aspire to. By eliminating Miller's dismissal from the public record the biographers created an almost hagiographic discourse around him. This selective cultivation of cultural memory does both Miller and the reading audience a disservice. There can be no denying that Miller lived an extraordinary life and made great personal sacrifices for the work of the Seventh-day Adventist church in China and other parts of Asia. However, the lack of transparency surrounding Miller's dismissal from China, and the lengths Miller's biographers went to in order to cover this up, suggests that Miller's political connections and the prestige they brought to the church by association were more valuable than acknowledging the damage that Miller's actions caused, not only to the women he was 'involved' with, but also to the reputation of the church in China and the impact which such actions by a foreign missionary inevitably had on the local church members. I suggest that a narrative which examines all aspects of Miller's life, not just his extraordinary achievements, but also the times when he did not behave in the manner one would expect from a missionary, would humanise Miller and allow readers to acknowledge that despite stumbles and obstacles one can still make a positive contribution to the church community.

### **Elisabeth Redelstein – “ The China Nurse”**

Redelstein's biography is, in many ways, a counterpoint to Miller's. Where Miller is styled as the “China Doctor”, Redelstein is the “China Nurse”. Miller's biography is somewhat shallow in its representations of the social and political elite with whom he came into contact, while Redelstein's has more in-depth characterisation. However, there is also a commonality shared by the discourses about Miller and Redelstein's experiences in China. These two Seventh-day Adventist missionaries worked together at the Shanghai Sanitarium. Redelstein went to China largely at the instigation of Miller who had been one of her instructors at the Washington Sanitarium during her nursing training.<sup>45</sup> Although Redelstein's biographer

---

<sup>45</sup> By all accounts Redelstein was an exceptionally competent nurse and nurse educator. I have found no evidence of any impropriety between Redelstein and Miller.

reports a smaller number of connections with individuals among the Guomindang elite, those connections which she did make appear to have had more depth. Ogle, Redelstein's biographer, foregrounds Redelstein's connections with Soong Meiling and Madame Zhang Xueliang (Yu Fengzi) and these relationships are seen as significant enough to be included in the blurb at the back of the book.

The portrayal of China's Nationalist elite in Redelstein's biography does not vary from that in Redelstein's own articles, even though a period of thirty years separates the writing of these works. In many ways the biography expands on the themes evident in Redelstein's own account of her time in the household in Chiang Kai-shek which was written in 1943. However, the biography expands on Redelstein's role in the household and claims that in addition to her position as nurse and household manager Redelstein acted as an interpreter between Soong Meiling and the German advisor, General Alexander von Falkenhausen and that she also made use of her French language skills by acting as an interpreter for the Italian Air Force advisors who also spoke French.<sup>46</sup> The recounting of these incidents lent tacit support to the Guomindang regime led by Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan and highlighted the continuing importance of this relationship to the story of Seventh-day Adventist missionary activity in China.

Within this biography, the Shanghai Sanitarium was positioned as a significant point of contact between Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and the elite of Nationalist China. Redelstein's relationship with Soong Meiling is characterised as one of friendship rather than that of an employer/employee.<sup>47</sup> According to Ogle, Redelstein had a friendship with Soong Meiling prior to going into service as her personal nurse/household manager. In her 1943 articles Redelstein claimed that Soong Meiling first came into contact with the Sanitarium when her mother was a patient there in 1928.<sup>48</sup> Ogle elaborated on this claiming that through this contact "a real friendship developed between the wife of the Generalissimo of China and Elisabeth...more than once Elisabeth enjoyed being a guest for tea in the Madame's beautiful house..."<sup>49</sup> This strongly reinforces, and is an extension of, the portrayal of Seventh-day Adventists as occupying a position of privilege within the Nationalist regime which is evident in the earlier articles about China published in the *Review*.

The biography relates several incidents which portray Soong Meiling and Chiang Kai-shek as deeply spiritual, devout Christians. A notable passage describes how Soong Meiling ascribed her poor health to her lack of Bible study and then states that Elisabeth and Soong then studied the Bible together every day from that point onwards and that Soong Meiling and Chiang Kai-shek also studied the Bible together every morning "no matter how early he had to go away on business".<sup>50</sup> Echoing earlier Methodist authors such as Lacy, Ogle also mentions Chiang Kai-shek's prayer life.

---

<sup>46</sup> Ogle, *China Nurse*, 73 - 74.

<sup>47</sup> Ogle, *China Nurse*, 52.

<sup>48</sup> Redelstein, "My Year With China's First Lady Part 1," 12.

<sup>49</sup> Ogle, *China Nurse*, 52.

<sup>50</sup> Ogle, *China Nurse*, 69.

The Generalissimo apparently did not realize how thin the ceiling-partition was between his study and Elisabeth's upstairs bedroom. Many times at night she heard him praying aloud. He pleaded with the Lord for wisdom to know how to work for his country and his people.<sup>51</sup>

This builds on the Redelstein's own earlier portrayals of Chiang Kai-shek's genuine faith which were published in 1943.

The portrayal of the Xian Incident is very similar in both Miller and Redelstein's biographies. Both works follow the line that Chiang Kai-shek feared the communists more than the Japanese and both used the phrase "in a fit of temper" to describe Zhang's motivation for kidnapping Chiang. Both authors claim that Chiang Kai-shek had given Zhang Xueliang a 'tongue-lashing' prior to the actual kidnapping. Moore describes Zhang's actions: "in a fit of temper which superseded his normally fine common sense, he permitted a clique of Communist influenced officers to take the Generalissimo captive."<sup>52</sup> Ogle related the same incident: "In a fit of temper, Chang Hsueh-liang permitted a group of Communist-influenced officers to dispatch a small force to the Generalissimo's quarters."<sup>53</sup> This incident is recounted in the respective biographies for two very different purposes. In Moore's account of Miller's life this description of the Xian Incident is followed by the claim that Soong Meiling requested that Miller negotiate with Zhang Xueliang for Chiang's release. In Ogle's biography of Redelstein the Xian Incident is used to explain why Yu Fengzi, (Zhang Xueliang's principal wife) and Redelstein were delayed in their plans to leave Europe and return to China. However, the similarity in syntax and content leads one to infer that Seventh-day Adventist understanding and interpretation of this event were strongly influenced by Moore (and thus Miller's) viewpoint. *China Nurse* further extends the involvement of Seventh-day Adventists in this incident claiming that a former employee of Soong Meiling, Caleb Chu, who had trained as a nurse at the Shanghai Sanitarium was called upon to help Chiang Kai-shek recover from the back injury sustained during the kidnapping.<sup>54</sup>

Redelstein's 1943 published articles, framed Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Meiling as proto-Seventh-day Adventists, characterising their lifestyle and spirituality in terms which would have been instantly recognisable to a Seventh-day Adventist audience. These articles focused on Redelstein's connections with China's First Family which helped position the church as holding a unique and privileged position in Nationalist China. Unlike other authors, Redelstein's articles did not draw any theological lessons from her work in China. The biography written about her life also follows this discourse. It expands on, and provides more details regarding Redelstein's time in the households of Chiang Kai-shek and Yu Fengzi, contributing to the discourse of Seventh-day Adventism's privileged position in China and strengthening this belief for a new generation of Seventh-day Adventist readers.

### **Paul Quimby – The "Yankee on the Yangtze"**

---

<sup>51</sup> Ogle, *China Nurse*, 69.

<sup>52</sup> Moore, *China Doctor*, 110.

<sup>53</sup> Ogle, *China Nurse*, 97.

<sup>54</sup> Ogle, *China Nurse*, 98.

Like Miller and Redelstein, Paul Quimby also had close personal contact with Soong Meiling and Chiang Kai-shek. This was due to his work at the I Tsu School for Sons of the Revolution. Much of the discourse about Quimby's employment at the school during the 1930s and 1940s was produced *about* Quimby rather than *by* him. Other authors reported Quimby's appointment to the I Tsu School to the readers of the *Review* but this was never the focus of Quimby's writing. Unlike Redelstein, Quimby did not write feature-length articles about his experiences for the *Review*. Nor did he, like Miller, insert the names of the famous people he met and knew into his writing for Seventh-day Adventist magazines. In his writing for Seventh-day Adventist magazines during his time in China Quimby at most, referred obliquely to his position, but it was not the dominant theme in his writing.<sup>55</sup>

Despite this reticence to write about his experiences with Republican China's elite during the time he was in China, Quimby's autobiography is the most pro-Nationalist, and pro-Chiang, of all the texts written about or by missionaries to China during this time period. Quimby's autobiography was published in 1976. Nixon's 1972 visit to China had signified a profound shift in US-Sino relations. In addition to recording his personal friendship and experiences with Republican China's elite, Quimby's positive portrayal of Chiang Kai-shek and other Guomindang officials was almost certainly a reaction to the changing political climate in the United States. Professionally, Quimby was an historian, holding a PhD degree from the University of Southern California (1940). His dissertation was in Chinese history and was entitled "A study of the foreign policies of Li Hung-Chung" (Li Hongzhang李鴻章).

Reflecting his professional life, Quimby's autobiography is also the most educational in nature as he provided background to, and interpretation of, the major events referenced in the text. His respect and admiration for Chiang are clearly evident in this work. In 1927 Quimby and fellow Seventh-day Adventist missionary, Fred Landis, were caught in the midst of the Nanjing Incident. With other foreign nationals they were evacuated, under the protective gunfire of American and British gunboats, from the headquarters of the Standard Oil Company. According to Quimby's account he was tasked with transporting the American flag and Consul Davis' daughter from the American Consulate to the Standard Oil Company headquarters.<sup>56</sup> Always an educator, Quimby provides a history lesson as an aside to the account of the events he experienced in Nanjing. His explanation of the cause of the events is very similar to that of William Dennis' report in the July 1928 issue of the *American Journal of International Law* even though Quimby's account was written decades later in the 1970s. Dennis reported that the Nationalist Government's claimed the incident "was entirely instigated by the Communists prior to the establishment of the Nationalist Government at Nanking."<sup>57</sup> Quimby also viewed this as an attempt to discredit Chiang Kai-shek. In his autobiography he stated, "in Nanking this Communist segment tried again to arouse the indignation of the foreign powers by killing foreigners in that city, planning that the blame

---

<sup>55</sup> A typical example of Quimby's writing during his time of missionary service can be found in: Paul Quimby, *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 24 December, 1936, 24.

<sup>56</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 37 -38.

<sup>57</sup> William C. Dennis, "The Settlement of the Nanking Incident," *The American Journal of International Law* 22, no. 3 (1928): 594.

should fall on Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.”<sup>58</sup> Later in the autobiography Quimby discusses the “significant results” (the Guomindang-Communist split) which developed out of the Nanjing Incident. The Guomindang-Communist split led to a radical change in the political situation in China and Quimby viewed the split in a positive light and framed it in the following manner:

He [Chiang Kai-shek] purged his government of those fierce and violent forces that had wrought such havoc in the city. With authoritative and meticulous thoroughness, he purged the National party of its Communist membership. He cleansed his army in the same way.<sup>59</sup>

Analysis of the language used above is revealing of Quimby’s attitude towards Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Government. Throughout the autobiography Chiang is rarely referred to without the honorific Generalissimo, indicating the degree of respect held for him by Quimby. Chiang is characterised as being authoritative, meticulous and thorough. No mention is made of the violence toward the communists which accompanied this purge, it is sanitized for the reading audience. It makes no mention of the bloodshed which accompanied the Guomindang-Communist split. As Taylor notes, in Shanghai hundreds were killed and similar “purges took place in Canton, Guilin, Ningbo, Amoy and elsewhere.”<sup>60</sup> Also of interest is the characterisation of the communists as fierce and violent, reflective of American mistrust of communists during the period under discussion. This attitude was out of step with the rapprochement between the United States and the People’s Republic of China at the time that Quimby’s autobiography was being written.

Quimby painted a very complementary picture of Chiang Kai-shek. He informed the reader that because of his work at the I Tsu school he had the opportunity to observe Chiang under a variety of circumstances. He acknowledged that Chiang could be “stern and severe” at times, but characterised him as “always gentle, dignified and considerate.” In Quimby’s view, Chiang “lived for one purpose: to serve his nation and benefit his people. In private, in public, with the army, or in a political capacity, he evidenced the qualities which made him China’s greatest modern leader.”<sup>61</sup> When discussing the establishment of the Guomindang government in Nanjing, Quimby named Chiang as “the great man behind it” and stated that the government was “driven by a mighty purpose...”<sup>62</sup> Quimby claimed to have been present at a meeting between Chiang and his generals at which the Japanese invasion of Manchuria was discussed. He portrayed Chiang as being deeply distressed by the suffering of the people in this region. He stated that Chiang “told his officers that he had made a great mistake in depending on the League of Nations to maintain peace” and that it was a mistake to put millions of dollars into the universities and other social institutions saying to his officers “I should have put all that money into military defense.”<sup>63</sup> The recounting of this incident and Quimby’s claim to have been present at a meeting of this nature place him at the very heart of

---

<sup>58</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 28.

<sup>59</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 55.

<sup>60</sup> Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, 68.

<sup>61</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 94.

<sup>62</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 81.

<sup>63</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 138.

Chiang's inner circle and foregrounds the discourse of intimate ties with China's political elite. By portraying Chiang as a strong yet compassionate leader Quimby also provides support for the Guomindang in Taiwan.

Similar to the discourse put forward by Elisabeth Redelstein in her 1943 articles and in Ogle's biography of her life, Quimby also places great emphasis on the genuineness of Chiang's spiritual life. An entire chapter in his autobiography is dedicated to demonstrating this. Entitled "The Generalissimo Tells the Story of Jesus", Chapter 14 of the text is dedicated to a Christmas programme at the I Tsu School which Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Meiling attended as guests. According to Quimby's account Chiang Kai-shek gave an impromptu sermon to the assembled students.

...the Generalissimo began in a calm and subdued voice, but with conviction vibrating through every syllable, to tell the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution the wonderful story of Jesus...No one who heard the Generalissimo on that day could doubt his personal experience with Christ.<sup>64</sup>

This theme of the spirituality of Chiang Kai-shek, is given greater emphasis in Quimby's autobiography than in any other Seventh-day Adventist text. Other texts such as Redelstein's articles and the biography of her life tend to focus more on the religious life of Soong Meiling. However, Quimby was not alone in his reporting on sermons by Chiang. Thomson makes note of a sermon given by Chiang at Ginling College in 1934.<sup>65</sup> As such Quimby's account cannot be seen as being unique to the Seventh-day Adventist discourse, but is reflective of broader reporting of Chiang's religiosity.

### **Conclusion**

The publicity which surrounded the connections that individual missionaries had with the political elite led to a higher profile for those missionaries within the Seventh-day Adventist church community. Missionaries with connections to China's political elite were much more likely to be the subject of a biography, or have their autobiographies published, than those who did not form these connections. Miller, in particular was able to leverage these connections into an increased profile which not only made him one of the most recognised Seventh-day Adventist missionaries but also obscured the unprofessional conduct which led to the termination of his employment in 1938. Miller and his biographer specifically selected themes which they knew were important to Seventh-day Adventist discourse about China when crafting Miller's biography. It was through the foregrounding of Miller's connections with China's political elite that his reputation was established.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China foreign missionaries, including those from the Seventh-day Adventist church, were expelled from the country. The publication by the church of these missionaries' life stories were part of an attempt to validate the expenditure of resources and personnel in China. The connections which the missionaries formed with the Guomindang elite, and the esteem with which the church believed these missionaries were regarded, became increasingly important to the denomination because they

---

<sup>64</sup> Quimby and Youngberg, *Yankee on the Yangtze*, 138 - 139.

<sup>65</sup> Thomson Jr, *While China Faced West*, 154.

were a tangible symbol of the success the church had once had in that country. The publication of these missionary biographies during the late 1960s to mid-1970s was reflective of the increasing interest in China in American society generally as the American government moved towards rapprochement with the People's Republic of China. However, due to the growth of the denomination's mission in Taiwan, Seventh-day Adventist sympathies remained with the Guomintang regime.

There is a distinct shift in the discourse surrounding China between the publication of the magazine articles at the time the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries were in China and the publication of the missionary biographies in the 1960s and 1970s. While the theme of denominational privilege and status is evident in the discourse in both periods, it is strengthened and foregrounded in the missionary biographies. However, the discourse which supported the denomination's eschatological theology and which was used to strengthen belief in the 'Spirit of Prophecy' and Ellen White evident in the magazine articles is missing from the missionary biographies. The theme of privilege and elite connections portrayed in the later missionary biographies became the dominant way in which the Seventh-day Adventist church remembered and spoke about the denomination's work in China

## CONCLUSION

China was important to the Seventh-day Adventist church on both a practical and a symbolic level. By the end of the Nanjing Decade the China Division employed the third largest number of institutional workers (both medical and educational institutions) and the second largest number of evangelistic labourers (ordained and licensed ministers, missionaries and colporteurs) within the denomination. There was a significant investment by the church in both money and personnel in this region. As such the importance of China to the church in terms of funding and staff cannot be understated. However, China was also important to the church because of what it represented. During the mid-to-late 1920s the Seventh-day Adventist church experienced significant difficulties and setbacks in some areas of China. These conditions were used to reinforce the members' belief (both inside and outside of China) in the denomination's eschatological theology. On the other hand, praise for, and recognition of, medical and educational institutions by the political elite during the Nanjing Decade served to bolster the self-image of the church. Reporting of this recognition was also used by some authors to strengthen the denomination's belief in the role of Ellen White as a prophet, as a connection was drawn between following her teachings and the success of these institutions.

Although Seventh-day Adventist missionaries arrived in China much later than other mainstream Protestant groups such as the Methodists and Presbyterians the denomination rapidly established a network of sanitariums, hospitals and schools. It was these institutions which were to bring the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries into contact with members of the Chinese political and social elite. The Seventh-day Adventist church in China did not operate in isolation and its missionary experience in China does parallel that of other Protestant denominations in some areas. Missionaries from all denominations were courted by the Guomindang and offered employment opportunities by the regime. However, the Seventh-day Adventist church differed from these groups in that they attempted to fulfil all requests made of it by various government officials. Unlike the denominations affiliated with the National Christian Council, there appears to have been no discussion by Seventh-day Adventist missionaries or administrators as to the implications for accepting the offered positions. When the church did turn down requests for missionary assistance it was because of a lack of available personnel rather than for philosophical reasons.

It was during the 1920s that the most significant difference between Seventh-day Adventists and other Protestant denominations operating in China appeared. The reporting of troubles and setbacks suffered by missionaries and indigenous evangelists during the early 1920s helped to reinforce the denomination's belief in its eschatology which foretold the imminent return of Jesus Christ in the Second Coming. It also supported the sense that the church was indeed the 'remnant' spoken of in Revelation. This is evident in the portrayal of China in articles published in the *Review* and other magazines such as the *Signs of the Times*. The influence of this discourse was felt in both the United States and in China. The situation in China reinforced the distinctive eschatology of the church. In turn the church's eschatological beliefs informed the denomination's response to the Anti-Christian Movement which occurred in China during the 1920s. The Seventh-day Adventist reaction to the loss of property and life during this period and the Nanjing Incident of 1927 illustrated the impact of



the church's theology on their missionary practices. As a result of their belief in the imminent return of Jesus Christ the church viewed difficulties in China as a sign of the 'Time of the End' and continued to commit a large amount of the denomination's personnel and financial resources to the area. The Seventh-day Adventist church did not see a large reduction in missionary numbers during this time, nor did they slow the rate at which they were building medical and educational institutions. Although Seventh-day Adventist missionaries were withdrawn from dangerous areas they were relocated to Shanghai. In Shanghai these displaced missionaries and new recruits to China, continued to study the language of their local area in order to be ready to return when the political situation would allow.

During the late 1920s the representation of the situation in China to the sending community in the United States differed between the Seventh-day Adventist and the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations. The latter denominations were hesitant to fully report all the difficulties facing the missionaries in China as they were concerned about the impact this information would have on funding for mission projects. However, the Seventh-day Adventist church fully reported the difficulties which indigenous and foreign workers were facing and also informed the membership of the destruction of the China Theological Seminary in Nanjing. In fact this incident was used as a fund-raising tool for the 1927 Annual Week of Sacrifice offering. The basis for the Seventh-day Adventist response was its distinctive eschatological theology which viewed the situation in China as a 'Sign of the End'. As a result of this world view, the church committed as many resources as it could to evangelise China. Rather than minimizing the difficulties the church was facing in China, these events were publicised and used to encourage the donation of money to mission projects within the denomination.

During this period the Seventh-day Adventist church deliberately contrasted its commitment to mission with that of other Protestant denominations. It did this primarily through articles published in the *Review* which were designed to increase member donations to mission funding. Although the Seventh-day Adventist experience during this time period was parallel to that of other Protestant denominations, the Seventh-day Adventist response differed due to its eschatological beliefs. Unlike the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations which saw a reduction in both the number of missionaries and funding available for China during this period, the Seventh-day Adventist church did not demonstrate any significant fall in missionary numbers. While the Methodist leadership recommended caution when publishing letters by their missionaries about the troubled conditions in China, the problems the Seventh-day Adventist church in China were facing were actively presented to the denomination's membership through regular articles in the *Review*.

During the 1930s and 1940s Seventh-day Adventist writings about China partially paralleled the discourse found in other Protestant denominations. For example, discussion of the Christian faith of Chiang Kai-shek was similar to that found in the publications of the Methodists and, at times, Seventh-day Adventists made use of the anecdotes and stories about Chiang which were published in non-Seventh-day Adventist religious magazines. However, unlike some other Protestant denominations where there was a range of views regarding the effectiveness of Chiang's regime, within the Seventh-day Adventist church the portrayal of

Chiang Kai-shek and his wife was unfailing positive. Furthermore the church used reporting of official praise or assistance for the church to bolster the idea that the church was especially blessed because it was following the guidelines, of Ellen White in the fields of medicine and education. Seventh-day Adventist literature strove to portray the church as being held in special regard by the Guomindang leaders and holding a position of privilege with the Chiang Kai-shek family. This is particularly evident in Elisabeth Redelstein's 1943 articles for the *Review* which coincided with the visit of Soong Meiling to the United States in 1942-1943.

A significant shift in the key themes of the discourse surrounding the Seventh-day Adventist experience in China, especially in regard to the representation of Ellen White, is evident over the period under examination. In the 1930s the success of the church's medical and educational institutions was connected to the writings of Ellen White. These institutions were seen to be achieving prominence in their fields and official recognition of their value because they were following the guidelines established by Ellen White on these topics. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, the use of China to bolster belief in Ellen White's prophetic role is no longer evident in the biographies about the returned missionaries like Elisabeth Redelstein, Paul Quimby and Harry W. Miller. The denomination's successes in the fields of medicine and education institutions had previously been held up as proof of the veracity of Ellen White's writings. However, these medical and educational institutions had been lost to the church following the Chinese Revolution in addition the missionaries were expelled from China during the 1950s. Therefore there is also a degree of pragmatism in the shift in discourse. These institutions were no longer evidence of the church's success in China and therefore, discourse about them could no longer serve the purpose of bolstering the membership's belief in the 'Spirit of Prophecy. This change in focus also reflects the shift in the way in which Ellen White was beginning to be regarded within the church during the early 1970s.<sup>1</sup>

The writings of the late 1960s and early 1970s foregrounded and emphasised the political connections which the missionaries had formed with prominent members of the Guomindang elite and this became the dominant way in which the church understood its work in China. Now that the locus of their missionary activity had moved to Taiwan the denomination also needed to prove its loyalty to the Guomindang regime. By the mid-to late 1960s China had become an important site of collective memory for the denomination. Several missionary biographies were published which stressed the continuities between the denomination's work and political relationships in China before the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and the ongoing work of the Seventh-day Adventist church in Taiwan. There is the sense in the biographies that even though the church had been expelled from China and the institutions which it had built had been lost, the mission of the church continued in Taiwan. As such the relationships with the political elite remained important and they were foregrounded in Seventh-day Adventist writing. Furthermore the move to Taiwan demonstrated that the mission of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Patrick, "Re-visioning the Role of Ellen White for Seventh-day Adventists Beyond 2000" <http://www.sdanet.org/atissue/white/patrick/egw2.htm> (accessed 19 December 2014).

church to 'spread the gospel' remained unchanged despite the changes to China's political landscape and the expulsion of Christian missionaries from the mainland.

The connections between missionaries and members of the Guomindang elite became so important to Seventh-day Adventist discourse about China that it raised the profiles within the denomination of the missionaries who had cultivated these connections. In the case of Harry Miller, it was his political connections to members of the Guomindang elite which led to his rehabilitation and the creation of the legend around him which rendered him the most famous missionary of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination.

There is much that remains to be studied on this subject. Of particular interest is the degree to which these relationships with the political elite were maintained in Taiwan following the Chinese Revolution of 1949. The dismissal and rehabilitation of Harry W. Miller also requires further investigation. To what extent were church officials and administrators aware of Miller's actions prior to his 1938 dismissal? Exactly how did he return to China in 1950, given the denomination's refusal in 1942 to reinstate his ministerial or missionary credentials? Also of interest is the extent to which the experiences of the Chinese church leaders who were imprisoned post-1949 impacted on the denomination's response to the evacuation of Americans from Vietnam. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the church had a shift in policy as a result of the Chinese experience. An investigation into these questions, however, will need to await further study.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Anderson, V.G. "What do Ye More Than Others." *North Pacific Union Gleaner*, 4 June 1946, 1.
- Appel, George J. *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 21 April, 1927, 24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "From North China Union Mission." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 28 April, 1927, 10.
- Atkinson, Harry G. Letter dated 3 May, Thiele Collection, Fld 13, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- Baker, A L. Letter dated October 11, Secretariat General Files, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.
- Beddoe, B. E. "Workers Entering Foreign Service in 1926." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 10 February, 1927, 3-4
- Branson, W. H. 23 November, 1938 Letter to J. L. McElhany, Miller, Harry W., MD, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Archives.
- \_\_\_\_\_. July 10, 1942 letter to W. M. Robbins, General Conference Archives Record Group 11 Vice Presidential General Files of W. H. Branson, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter to George J. Appel, Record Group 11 Vice Presidential General Files of W. H. Branson, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.
- Brewer, N. F. . "Chinese Officials Buy Anti-Opium Signs." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, November 12, 1925, 24.
- "China's President." *Signs of the Times*, 22 December 1930, 4-5.
- "'China Doctor' Honoured by Loma Linda Alumni." *Far Eastern Division Outlook*, June 1968, 3.
- "Chinese General Speaks." *Pacific Union Recorder*, 13 November, 1946, 2.
- Christman, L.E. "A Mighty Evangelizing Agency." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 30 April, 1931, 11-12.
- Clement, Lora E. "Inspirations!" *The Youth Instructor*, 8 July, 1941.
- Conard, Claude. God's Plan For Education in China, Document File 4009-a, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *1949 Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1949.
- Crisler, Clarence C. "Our Work and Workers in China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 27 August 1925, 11-12.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Bringing a Language School to Our Doors." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 30 June 1927, 11-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Further Word Concerning Our Work and Workers in China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 10 March, 1927, 12-14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Mission Board Items." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 2 July, 1931, 24.
- Division Committee Minutes, Officers' Winter Council. Record Group CH1, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.
- "Farewell, China Doctor." *Lake Union Herald*, January 18, 1977, 4-5.
- February 11 Letter to McElhany. Griggs Collection, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University
- Griggs, Frederick. "Turbulent China." *Lake Union Herald*, 11 May, 1927, 1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Awakening China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 23 September, 1937, 13.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letter to Cormack dated February 12, IDE File Record Group 21, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.
- Hatch, Emery B. Letter dated 2 January, Thiele Collection, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- Hsu, Hwa. An Accusation Against Imperialistic United States of the Crime of Using the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination To Promote Aggression in China, Thiele Collection, Center for Adventist Research
- Kern, M. E. . "Five Years' Advance." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 12 March, 1931, 32.
- Kotz, E. "Mission Board Items." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 28 April 1927, 24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "How Shall They Hear Without a Preacher? Workers Sent to Foreign Fields During 1928." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 24 January 1929, 1-2.
- Kuhn, O.B. "As Signboards Showing the Way." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 30 January, 1930, 23-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Bible Circulation in China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 2 April, 1931, 17.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Making Christ First." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 15 January, 1931, 15
- Lee, Frederick. "Trials of Faith in China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 20 January, 1927, 8-10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Medical Missionary Work in the Far East." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 8 June 1930.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Evangelistic Advance in China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 19 March, 1931, 21-22.
- Longway, Ezra. Letter to A.W. Cormack dated March 5, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Record Group 11, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.
- Meyers, C K. Letter to Baker dated November 9, Secretariat General Files, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.
- Meyers, C. K. "To the Mission Fields in 1927." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 19 January 1928, 4-5.
- Michael, Thomas J. "In All the World." *Review and Herald Centennial Special 1844-1944*, 19 October, 1944.
- Miller, Harry W. "Recruit and Advance." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 30 June, 1927, 12-13.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Good Word From China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 23 January, 1930, 32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Shanghai Sanitarium Report." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 27 February, 1930, 32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Spirit of Apostolic Evangelism in China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 9 April, 1931, 12-13.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Financial Statements of the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital and Shanghai Sanitarium Clinic Ending December 31, Thiele, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Superintendent's Report ---Chairman's Report Shanghai Sanitarium and Clinic, Thiele Collection, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "An Unusual Call." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 28 February, 1935, 14.
- Minutes of The China Division Executive Committee Officer's Council. Thiele Collection, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- "News and Notes." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January 21, 1902, 13.
- "News and Notes." *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January 7, 1902, 12.
- Nichol, F. D. "The Second Advent, the Only Hope." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 2 April, 1931, 5-6.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Seventh-day Adventism Indicted." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 12 February, 1931, 12-13.
- Oss, John. *Mission Advance in China*. Nashville: Southern Publishing, 1949.
- "Our Work and Workers in China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 23 July 1925, 24.

- “The Passion of “China Doctor”.” *Australasian Record*, February 21, 1977, 1.
- Quimby, Paul *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 24 December, 1936, 24.
- Rawlinson, Frank, ed. *The China Christian Year Book 1936 - 37*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1937.
- Rebok, D. E. “China Theological Seminary: Re-opening of the Theological School at Chiao Tou Djen.” *Far Eastern Division Outlook*, April 1928, 20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “The China Theological Seminary.” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 9 October, 1930, 25-27.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “An Unusual Call for Help in Educational Work.” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 16 November, 1933 1933, 20.
- Redelstein, Elisabeth. Letter to J C Shull dated October 6, 1938, General Conference IDE File Record Group 21, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “My Year with China's First Lady Part 4.” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 25 November, 1943, 12-14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “My Year With China's First Lady Part 1.” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 4 November, 1943, 12-14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “My Year With China's First Lady Part 2.” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 11 November, 1943, 14-16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “My Year With China's First Lady Part 3.” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 18 November, 1943, 12-14.
- Report of China Division Educational Secretary, Spring Council 1935. Thiele Collection, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- Robbins, H. M. July 2, 1942 letter to W. H. Branson, Record Group 11 Vice President General Files of W. H. Branson, General Conference Archive of Seventh-day Adventists.
- Rogers, H. E. *Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*. Washington D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1926.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*. Washington D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*. Washington, D.C., United States of America: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *1940 Year Book of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination*. Washington D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1940.
- Schultz, James E. “On Sinim's Altar.” *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, January 13 1916, 14.
- Secretariat, GC. Letter dated June 11, General Conference Archives IDE File Record Group 21, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.

- Shaw, J. L. "Our Mission Offerings." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 8 September, 1927, 24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Week of Sacrifice for China, November 20-26." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 27 October, 1927, 24.
- Sheng, Pen Siang. To Accuse the American Imperialists Used S.D.A to Invade China, Thiele Collection, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- Shultz, J. Harold, and Dorothy Schultz. "The Hospital in Lanchow, China." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 4 April, 1935, 11.
- Sien, Chen Ho. Order No. 604, re Ministry of Education Order for Compliance with Regulations Governing Private Schools and in Case of wilful Disobedience to Deal in Severe Manner, Thiele Collection, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- Spicer, W. A. "To the Fields in 1916." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 4 January 1917, 3-4.
- "Symposium of Foreign National Representatives, Sabbath, May 30, 3 p.m." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 2 June. 1936, 101-107.
- Thiele, Edwin R. "Success Under Persecution." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 1 May, 1930, 18-19.
- Three Hundred Twenty-Fourth Meeting General Conference Committee February 24. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.
- Tiedemann, R. G., ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China Volume Two: 1800-present*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Warren, M. C. Central China Union Mission 1934 Report, McElhany Collection, Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University.
- Watson, C H. "South China Union Mission." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, July 23 1925, 9-10.
- "A Well-informed Laity." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 20 March, 1930, 32.
- White, Stemple. "We Should Have Done More." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 22 December, 1927, 19-20.
- Wilkinson, Geo. L. . "The West China Union Mission - Years 1933-1934." *The China Division Reporter* 1935, 5-6.
- Wood, K. H. . "East China Union Mission." *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, 9 January, 1930.



## Secondary Sources

- Bays, Daniel H. *A New History of Christianity in China* Blackwell Guides To Global Christianity. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2012.
- Berg, Carol. "Margaret Thomson in China, 1917-1939." *Historian* 53, no. 3 (1991): 455-466.
- Bull, Malcolm, and Keith Lockhart. *Seeking A Sanctuary Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*. 2nd Edition ed. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Chen, Yiyi. "Peking University's role in China's Anti-Christian Movement in 1922 - 1927." *Social Sciences in China* 31, no. 1 (2010): 184-197.
- Christensen, Rose. *Invisible Escort*. Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1969.
- Collie, Craig. *The Reporter and the Warlords*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2013.
- Dennis, William C. "The Settlement of the Nanking Incident." *The American Journal of International Law* 22, no. 3 (1928).
- Devine, Lester, "Record Rewind: Missionary Doctor", South Pacific Division Seventh-day Adventist Church <http://record.net.au/items/record-rewind-missionary-doctor> (accessed 4 December, 2014).
- Erl, Astrid. *Memory in culture*. Translated by Sara B. Young. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Fenby, Jonathan. *Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and the China He Lost*. London: Simon & Schuster, 2005.
- Ford, Herbert. *For The Love of China The Life Story of Denton E. Rebok*. Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1971.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992.
- Knight, George R. *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists*. Hagerstown: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1999.
- Lacy, Walter N. *A Hundred Years of China Methodism*. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948.
- Land, Gary. *Historical Dictionary of Seventh-day Adventists*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2005.
- Lawson, Ron. "Church and State at Home and Abroad: The Evolution of Seventh-Day Adventist Relations with Governments." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, no. 2 (1996): 279-311.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory: Insights from the Evolution of the Nonschismatic Mission Churches of Seventh-day Adventism." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 4 (1998): 652-672.

- Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei. "Co-optation and its Discontents: The Seventh-day Adventists in Maoist China." In *American Academy of Religion Annual Meeting*. San Francisco, 2011.
- Liu, Judith, and Donald P. Kelly. "'An Oasis in a Heathen Land': St. Hilda's School for Girls, Wuchang, 1928 - 1936." In *Christianity in China From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, edited by Daniel H. Bays. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Lo, Bruce, "Keh Ngo Pit" <https://sites.google.com/site/adventisminchina/individual-name/nationals/kehngopit> (accessed 20 January 2015).
- Longway, Ezra. *Dangerous Opportunity*. Washington, D.C: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1974.
- Luke, Handel Hing-tat. "A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education in the China Mission, 1888 - 1980." EdD, Andrews University, 1983.
- Moore, Raymond S. *China Doctor: The Life Story of Harry Willis Miller*. Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1969.
- Morgan, Douglas. *Adventism and the American Republic The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2001.
- Neall, Ralph, and Beatrice Neall. *The rains descended and the floods came: a survey of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Communist China.*, La Sierra. n.p., 1971
- "Oberlin Shansi", <http://shansi.org/fellowships/partnerships/china/>.
- Ogle, Mary S. *In Spite of Danger The Story of Thelma Smith in China*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *China Nurse The Life Story of Elisabeth Redelstein*. Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1974.
- Pakula, Hannah. *The Last Empress Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and the Birth of Modern China*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009.
- Parke, Catherine N. *Biography Writing Lives Studies in Literary Themes and Genres*, Edited by Ronald Gottesman. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996.
- Patrick, Arthur, "Re-visioning the Role of Ellen White for Seventh-day Adventists Beyond 2000" <http://www.sdanet.org/atissue/white/patrick/egw2.htm> (accessed 19 December 2014).
- Prouty, Steve. "The Three-self Movement and the Adventist Church in Early Communist China." MA Thesis, University of Nebraska, 2009.
- Quimby, P, and N. Youngberg. *Yankee on the Yangtze: One Missionary's Saga in Revolutionary China*. Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1976.
- Ruffo, Vinnie. *Behind Barbed Wire*. Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1967.

- Shai, Aron. *Zhang Xueliang: The General Who Never Fought*: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012. (accessed 28.11.2013).
- Shurtleff, William, and Akiko Aoyagi, “Dr. Harry W. Miller: Work with Soy: A Special Exhibit - the History of Soy Pioneers Around the World”, Soyinfo Center [http://www.soyinfocenter.com/HSS/harry\\_miller.php](http://www.soyinfocenter.com/HSS/harry_miller.php) (accessed 24 March 2014).
- Spalding, Arthur W. *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*. Vol. IV: Review and Herald, 1962.
- Stone Garrett, Shirley. “Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties.” In *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, edited by John K Fairbank, 442. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Swift, Joy *The Long Road to China The Story of Dr. Harry Miller* Hall of Faith, Edited by Marvin Moore. Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1990.
- “Taiwan Adventist Hospital: About Us”, <http://www.tahsda.org.tw/en/AboutUs.php> (accessed 26 March 2014).
- Tamm, Marek. “Beyond History and Memory: New Perspectives in Memory Studies.” *History Compass* 11, no. 6 (2013): 458-473.
- Taylor, Jay. *The Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and the Struggle for Modern China*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Thomson Jr, James C. *While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937* Harvard East Asian Series. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Tyson Li, Laura. *Madame Chiang Kai-Shek China's Eternal First Lady*. New York: Grove Press, 2006.
- Varg, Paul A. *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats The American Protestant Movement in China 1890 - 1952*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Winter, Jay. *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.