Images of China for Americans, 1927-1950:
The Missionaries' Dilemma

by

Elizabeth Vanderzell Anderson, B.A., M.A.

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences of Carnegie Mellon University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree of

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Abstract

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Advisor: Dr. Richard L. Schoenwald

That the American Protestant missionaries created an image of China has been generally accepted; what they said precisely that created that image is not so well known. This dissertation surveys the picture of China's day-to-day life as observed, experienced and reported by approximately seventy long-term American Protestant missionaries in ninety of their books published between 1927 and 1950, their final years in China. The authors who made up the research sample were missionary churchmen, educators, and physicians and nurses. They represented several denominations, from mainline churches to the smaller sects. The authors, from a variety of backgrounds, wrote to a varied group of constituencies.

The missionary writers recorded a special piece of American history worked out in an alien land. They wrote out of who they were, and who they had become after long years in China. They wrote out of their roles in China and according to their purposes which, for some, changed over the years. They wrote of China's needs and of the obligation of Christian Americans to respond to those needs. They wrote of their dilemmas which grew as forces swirled around them beyond their control.
Episcopal Church; the YMCA archivist; the librarians of Houghton library of Harvard University, Lutheran Northwest Theological Seminary, and Hope College.

When books, papers, note cards and drafts overwhelmed home space, Covenant Presbyterian Church of Butler, Pennsylvania provided office space--Thank you.

To retired missionaries and enthusiastic China lovers, Dr. Andrew Roy and Mrs Margaret Roy, Dr. John and Dr. Cora Lennox, heartfelt thanks for the special time spent with me.

The confidence and faith of the stalwart home-front was crucial to the whole effort. Thank you Jim, Mike, Dina and Suzie. I could not fail because of you. Thank you brother John for prodding.

And as I search my mind to find answer to the frequent question of why China missionaries, a scene from my childhood surfaces: Our dining room loaded with layettes, hospital gowns, bandages to be sent--to China. Is that what started all this? Thank you parents for that dining room scene.
Acknowledgments

It is a wonderful time—the time when a job is finished. With a sense of joy and relief I thank all who have helped along the way.

Through patience, faith, suggestion, regular newspaper clippings and sturdy nudging, Dr. Richard L. Schoenwald guided me to the end of this long road. Dr. Donald Sutton launched me on the trip and provided rich opportunity to learn of China's past and present, sharing generously his time. Dr. Eugene Levy read through the manuscript, Dr. David Fowler offered early preparation with background on the American national character and Dr. Edwin Fenton's emphasis on an author's conceptual framework fit perfectly into the scheme of my project—to each one thank you.

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Special mention must be made of Miss Margaret G. Macosky, retired staff person of the American Baptist Church who graciously searched out biographical data on China missionaries of the Northern and Southern Baptist churches. To many librarians and archivists in various parts of the country I am indebted: Mark Shinise of the General Archives and History Center of the United Methodist Church in Madison, New Jersey; John Walker of the Presbyterian (U.S.) Historical Society in Montreat; Boyd Reese of the Presbyterian Historical Center in Philadelphia. Assistance was also provided by Dr. Robert S. Bates of the Disciples of Christ; the Historical Society of the
Episcopal Church; the YMCA archivist; the archivists and librarians of Yale University and Houghton library of Harvard University, Lutheran Northwest Theological Seminary, and Hope College.

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"China knows that what the world hears now is not herself but only the voice of necessity. When this is past, her true voice will speak again. . . . she will speak of beauty and morality and peace and democracy. She will condemn war and say quietly, as she has through many ages, 'All under heaven are brothers'."  

Images of China for Americans, 1927-1950:
The Missionaries' Dilemma

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Events of 1927 signaled a profound turning point in the history of modern China. During the Kuomintang's major drive to unite China the bloody split between the Communists and the Nationalist elements of the KMT occurred, and in the midst of the turmoil, missionaries suffered renewed virulent anti-foreign attacks. The Nationalists ruled that henceforth mission institutions were to be administered by Chinese. No longer were the missionaries to have complete control over the schools, hospitals, and publication houses they had established. The consequences of that watershed year affected both the work of American Protestant missionaries in China and the missionary movement's plans for its future there.

Missionaries continued to work "the purpose out" through modern China's being born and their own uncertain situations; and they continued to share China with zeal through newspapers, periodicals, professional journals, missionary journals, denominational literature, letters, lectures, and books. The slant, the color and content of private papers is different from that in published material. Diaries, journals, and letters were written for

1Anna Ashley Seward Pruitt, *Up From Zero* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1939), p. 147. Pruitt wrote, "They claimed that all buildings on Chinese soil belonged to China and must be controlled by the Party[KMT]. School buildings were appropriated. Hospitals were looted and defiled. Chapels were turned into stables."


3Phillip Francis Price, *Our China Investment* (Nashville: Committee of Foreign Missions, 1927), Foreword: "And now [1927] we are just completing the sixtieth year of our work in China amid dramatic and apparently discouraging circumstances."
reflection or limited sharing. In them writers dared to despair, rejoice, gossip, be critical, exaggerate, deprecate with minimal concern for consequences. Other writings from or about China, for business or diplomatic reasons, or for publication, were written for serious purpose with an eye upon consequences. For example, Ambassador John Leighton Stuart's communications to the State Department during China's crisis years clearly have a different tone from that of his memoirs. The study which follows considers missionaries' published material. To make the survey manageable, books published primarily between 1927 and 1950, written by long-term American Protestant missionaries or their children who were born or raised in China, were chosen for review and reflect considered purpose.

A pool of authors was developed from two bibliographies of China mission publications, one by Clayton H. Chu and the other by Kwang-Ching Liu. Selections from those lists were checked against data supplied in Charles Luther Boynton's "Missionaries to China and the Chinese" to determine a missionary author's length of stay in

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51950 the year missionary activity ceased in most instances. A few missionaries remained for a short period beyond that date, attempting to work with the Communists.

China. Whenever Boynton lacked that information, various other sources were found. Selection from a list of missionary authors who had spent at least 15 years in China followed until a working list of approximately 70 authors was drawn up. Among those authors were six non-China missionaries who were associated with missionary activity and wrote with intimate detail of China missionaries, their lives and times in China. Three wrote of their father's lives in China, one of her own growing up years there. Two wrote biographies of China medical missionaries.

The criterion for author selection, "length of stay in China," was based on the assumption that missionaries who had lived in China for long periods of time, even in the midst of crisis and turmoil, became knowledgeable about its customs and comfortable among its people. Subsequent research confirmed that assumption. Initially the observations of Florence D. Carlson, Director of East Asian Studies for Oberlin's Outreach Program, suggested the "length of stay" criterion. Carlson recommended that scholars distinguish between the reports


8 The original criterion of selection from a specific pool as described above was generally held to, but license was taken in some instances as material came to hand in the midst of the research itself.

9 The four children of missionary authors were James C. Burke, My Father in China (New York: Farrar & Rinehart Co., 1942), John C. Caldwell, China Coast Family (Chicago: Henry Regney Co., 1953), Addison Gulick, Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), all of whom wrote of their fathers, and Ray Parker Hamaker, Foreign Devils (Raleigh: The Oak Press, 1969) who wrote of her own life. The two other non-China missionary authors were, Edith Eberle, Macklin of Nanking (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1936), herself a missionary to Africa, and John C. Pollock, A Foreign Devil in China (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1971). The non-missionary authors, with the exception of Hamaker, have not been included in the statistical compilations which accompany this survey; their subjects have been included.
of "young college grads working in China sometimes only a year . . . and those [others] who . . . had made [China] . . . their life's work."^{10}

Short-term missionaries who had not committed their lives to China, did not become immersed in, or overwhelmed by, the Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{11} Their eyes, without time to adjust to their altered environment, were only able to see China from a Western perspective and they reported from that perspective. Many had unrealistic expectations and returned home to America disappointed, clearly not admirers of China.\textsuperscript{12} Long-term missionaries may also have had unrealistic expectations, but time and experience had allowed for reinterpretations. Their eyes (and those of their children) with time to adjust were able to view China from an altered, no longer purely Western, perspective.

Missionaries themselves rated the validity of various China reporters and to some extent also supported the "length of stay" criterion.\textsuperscript{13} Gordon Poteat, a missionary, wrote that missionaries who may have gone to China thinking they had much to teach and little to learn, soon discovered that they had to "learn much in order to teach a little."\textsuperscript{14} To learn much took time. Many authors gave evidence of

\textsuperscript{10}Florence Dunn Carlson, wife of Ellsworth Carlson, former missionary and author of "Foochow Missionaries, 1847-1880" in Harvard Monograph Series (Cambridge Mass.: 1974), private communication, November, 1980. The 15 year criterion was also suggested by P. F. Price, Foreword. Of the 312 Southern Presbyterian missionaries who had served in China by the year 1927, "The average term of service has been about 15 years."

\textsuperscript{11}The Oberlin "Shansi Reps" and the "Yale Bachelors" for example.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid.


their learning of China’s language, history, and belief systems. Their writings revealed not only the western thoughts which impelled them, but also the thoughts of Confucius, Mencius, and Lao Tzu, which had favorably impressed them. They said in different ways that one could not "understand China" if he could not "talk with [the] Chinese."

Arthur Smith asserted in his blunt fashion that "the only people who claim to know all about China are the newcomers and the reporters."

In a scathing response to a missionary newcomer’s criticisms, Bishop Samuel Schereschewsky wrote, "Remember that what you find is the result of fifty years of familiar acquaintance with the Chinese and their language. How then can the judgment of one who has yet acquired neither be anything but raw, crude, and inadequate," lacking both "good taste and common sense?"

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The Missionary Authors in this Survey

The missionary authors in the survey which follows include members of old American families, immigrants and first-generation Americans. Of the 65 for whom information was available, their origins show a broad geographic spread: 13 were born in the North, 11 in the South, 15 in the Midwest, 3 in the Southwest and 1 in the Far-west. China was the birthplace of 14, and 8 were born in other foreign countries.\(^{18}\)

They represented 20 denominations and 2 non-denominational sponsoring agencies. According to Valentin Rabe, "the Congregational and various branches of the Presbyterian Church carried a disproportionate share of the burden of the mission movement." Along with the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, "the Methodists and the Baptists, furnished the overwhelming" number of

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\(^{18}\)For all statistical purposes the three non-missionary children of missionaries (Burke, Caldwell, Gulick) who wrote about the lives and work of their fathers in China, are not counted. Only the data on the missionary fathers are included. The biographer of Samuel Schereschewsky, James Arthur Muller, himself a China missionary, is not counted, only the data on Schereschewsky is included; the biographer of L. Nelson Bell, John C. Pollock, is not counted, only the data on Bell is included. Edith Eberle, the biographer of Macklin is not counted, only her subject, Dr. William E. Macklin is included in the statistical record. All reference to the authors includes the subjects here enumerated. Birthplace data of four of the authors not available. See graphs which follow and the appendix for breakdown of authors by place of birth, roles in China, denominations, and for additional biographical data.
missionaries.\textsuperscript{19} The distribution of the authors did not reflect perfectly the denominational strengths in the field. While Presbyterian authors numbered 17, the Congregationalists, 6, and Methodists, 9, were slightly under represented. The number of Baptist authors, 17, and Episcopalians, 7, was higher than expected.\textsuperscript{20} The remaining authors served the smaller denominations and sects as well as the YMCA, and the Yale Mission.

In general the China missionaries were much better educated that the aggregate U.S. population. At a time when a college education was limited to a minute percentage of the population,\textsuperscript{21} the missionaries, who came primarily from middle-class families, represented a particular segment of America's "educated elite."\textsuperscript{22} Those who wrote books were an elite within that elite.

A summary of the educational level of 67 of the missionary authors reveals that 64 had earned at least one

\textsuperscript{20}In the above accounting, figures for the Northern, Southern, and Reformed Presbyterians were combined; Northern, Southern Methodists were combined; Northern, Southern and Seventh-day Baptists were combined. The various branches of Lutherans were also combined. See the breakdown in the appendix.
\textsuperscript{21}Rabe, p. 185. "White male college graduates at the turn of the century did not approximate as much as 1% of the white male population past college age, and historically only 30% of our congressmen and 60% of our presidents had earned degrees. . . . the preponderance of missionaries was drawn from this educated elite."
bachelor's degree,\textsuperscript{23} one was a registered nurse and two held normal school degrees. At least one graduate degree had been earned by 46\textsuperscript{24} of the 67 missionaries counted. Honorary doctorates had been awarded to several.

The missionary authors' roles in China cannot be neatly enumerated because several of them served in more than one capacity over their years in China. John Leighton Stuart is such an example. In his early years in China he struggled through a period as an evangelist and church worker. In the accounting of the missionary roles he is listed as an educator, but several others moved from church work, to educational work, to administration. They have been counted twice. In general the authors' roles broke down into categories of church and evangelism, education, and medical work. Of 65 authors for whom information could be found, 26 served under the heading of church worker, 35 were involved in education, 11 served in medical capacities, 1 specialized in work with urban youth and 1 was an editor. Several other tasks involved some of the authors: 3 were involved with publishing Christian literature, 2 with handicraft cooperatives, 1 with rural reconstruction.

\textsuperscript{23}One of the 63 was also a registered nurse, only her bachelor's degree was counted. There were then, however, two registered nurses among the authors. 
\textsuperscript{24}Of the 46 graduate degrees, 9 were M.D.
Using Hyatt’s terms of the successful missionary as one who was able to maximize his/her limitations and able to adjust to his/her China environment, the majority of the missionaries in this sample must be counted as successful. Rarely would one remain long-term in China unable to make those essential adjustments. This does suggest a sample biased in favor of successful missionaries.

In addition, although many of the missionaries served their stint in China’s “remote areas” and many had had experience in China’s country-side, the majority lived in China’s cities.

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26Several of the authors moved into positions of leadership in their particular fields, such as seminary presidents, members of college faculties, principals of middle day-schools and headmasters of boarding schools. They were directors of institutions they had established through struggle. Over long years, several received positive recognition in their adopted communities. The accounts of occasional women authors suggested a dreary life, but the missionary life offered other women unusual opportunities.

27Hutchinson, preface, “Only a small percentage of the missionaries in China live in stations containing more than five foreign workers, p. 95. See also Pearl Buck, Fighting Angel: Portrait of a Soul (New York: P. F. Collier & Son Corp., 1936), 101. Carie Sydenstricker, Pearl Buck’s mother, said of her husband that his brain “was a map of China. He knew every province, every city, every river and town.” See appendix: “Biographical data” for China locations where authors served.”
U.S. Origins of Missionary Authors

- North
- South
- Mid-West
- South-West
- West
Geographic Origin of All Missionary Authors

- United States
- China
- Other countries
Educational Level of Missionary Authors

- Bachelor
- Bachelor plus Graduate
- Registered Nurse
- Normal School
Denominational Representation of Missionary Authors

- Baptist
- China Inland Mission
- Christian Reformed
- Congregational
- Disciples of Christ
- Episcopal
- Friends
- Lutheran
- Methodist
- National Holiness
- Presbyterian
- Reformed Church in America
- Seventh Day Advent
- Yale Mission
- YMCA
Introduction

"The historical method consists in the apprehension of a given event from every conceivable angle, and in every possible relationship."  

It is important that the dissertation which follows, "Images of China for Americans, 1927-1950: The Missionaries' Dilemma" be put in the context of the best works on the subject, such as John K. Fairbank's *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr.'s *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, Paul Varg's *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* and others which provide similar rich background. Scholars of the American Protestant missionary movement have come to several conclusions regarding its many-sided nature. Yet John K. Fairbank has made clear that precise analysis is hardly feasible given the "imperfectly known" record of that "highly fragmented and idiosyncratic movement." "The bare data

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on who went where, when, and to what end have hardly yet been assembled," he has written. "Not that facts are in short supply," he added; "there are simply too many."³

Each effort to pull together certain themes of this piece of Sino-American history, a strange history of foreigners who for over a century settled in another land in an effort to alter its very character, has added to the unfinished collage, "missionary movement." From its beginning, that collage has promised a remarkable picture of peaks--hope, adventure, commitment, nobility and high purpose, along with valleys of presumption and despair. The dissertation which follows deals with a fragment of the American side of the picture, a fragment to add to the whole.

Scholars have traced the changing missionary attitudes, methods and goals which developed over time from the movement's beginnings in the nineteenth century to its final days in mid-twentieth century. The day of the "supremely private enterprisers" of the nineteenth century passed as the institutionalization of the twentieth century took over.⁴ Evangelism had become less strident. Fairbank has written that "ultimately the promotion of evangelism became less a religious duty than the responsibility of all good people to help others in need."⁵

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³Fairbank, Miss. Enterprise, p. 4.
⁴Ibid., p. 4.
⁵Fairbank, Miss. Enterprise, p. 8. See also Valentin H. Rabe, "Evangelical Logistics: Mission Support and Resources to 1920," Miss. Enterprise, ed. Fairbank, p. 80
The missionaries' theological thought and related practices in regard to Chinese culture in the twentieth century went far beyond the nineteenth in recognizing that the good, the true, and the beautiful were of God—in China as in America and the rest of the world.⁶

According to Paul Varg, the later missionaries spoke in terms of "charity, mercy, of individual responsibility, of the worth of every individual" as prerequisites to a free society⁷. M. Searle Bates has noted that the memorial sent to imperial officials after the all-Protestant 1907 missionary centennial conference⁸ expressed the twentieth century's less aggressive and broader missionary goals: "The missionary's object is not to get large numbers to join the Church," they wrote, they only wanted those to join who "wish[ed] to lead good lives." "Our great desire for China is that it may prosper and take a leading place among the nations of the earth."⁹

As for the American churches, missionaries from the same 1907 gathering called upon their supporting agencies to "sanction the right of the mission-planted churches in China to organize themselves in accordance with their own views of truth and duty," the ultimate goal being a self-governing Chinese church.¹⁰ Bates cites as evidence of the trend to relinquish control, the small percentage (23%) of "ordained men" in the American contingent of missionaries by the year 1935-1936. "The strong tendency [was] to

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⁹Ibid., p.149.
¹⁰Ibid., p. 144.
That such a goal was not easily accomplished is evident in the writings of the missionaries in the 1930s and 1940s.12

Scholars have noted the many dilemmas of the missionaries as they attempted to accomplish their goals in China. The dilemmas, tensions and frustrations were both internally as well as externally imposed. From the beginning many suffered to some degree the deprivations of China. Disease was an ever present fear. Lack of fuel was taken for granted. The ravages of civil war and revolution destroyed the physical manifestations of their work, and they had to rebuild again and again.13 They were never far removed from physical danger.14 Despair was no stranger.15

No matter how their goals were expressed, successes were sharply qualified. The missionaries’ need to project an optimistic face toward both their Chinese and their American audiences was constant in spite of often dreadful circumstances. Hope was a Christian virtue to which they were obliged to witness—to the

11Ibid., pp. 136-137. See also pp. 142-144, 158.
12Below, p. 51.
13Varg, p. 277.
Chinese in order to promote their faith, and to the homefront in order to retain credibility.

The homefront caused other dilemmas. According to William R. Hutchison, difficult theological dilemmas—not denominationalism, but the conflict between modernism and fundamentalism, liberalism and conservativism caused great strain for some missionaries. The racial prejudice which America projected worked against the missionaries. American diplomacy weakened their position in China. Missionaries in the last few decades of their time in China pointed increasingly not to America as "the norm of society," but to "the Kingdom of God." At the same time their "deprecation" of Chinese society lessened, Bates found.

They had to face a number of day-to-day dilemmas in China. On the whole, according to Bates, the members of the missionary body appeared to have congenial relationships with each other, but

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16 Bates, Miss. Enterprise, ed. Fairbank, p. 139. Regarding denominationalism Bates writes that there was evidence of missionaries furthering "a common, basic Protestant Christianity with substantial yearning toward organizational unity."


22 Bates, Miss. Enterprise, ed. Fairbank, p. 139.
occasionally, Varg has noted a "few bad apples" caused irritations or serious problems. In addition, missionaries knew, day-to-day the strains caused by their own excessive expectations as they sought to divide time between spiritual duties and practical demands; and to husband resources when great needs far outstripped what was available.

Most missionaries, even those whose roles were of an entirely practical nature, faced to some degree the dilemma of faith propagation. At best the Chinese became friends; they never became Christian in any significant numbers. There were indeed examples of worthy Christian lives to point to, but most day-to-day efforts had to find satisfaction in the practical rewards of that day, the goiter removed, the baby girl saved, the impoverished body clothed.

The missionaries were required to make psychological, intellectual, and faith adjustments. Missionaries who took time to consider their dilemmas found different routes to resolve them. Rearticulation of goals was one way. Those who could bend, adjust,

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23 Varg, Miss. & Chinese, p. 277. Varg's mention of "bad apples" in this instance refers to racial prejudice which he says "most missionaries had outgrown."
24 Valentin H. Rabe, The Home Base of American China Missions: 1880-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 187-188. See Anne Walter Fearn, My Days of Strength: An American Woman Doctor's Forty Years in China (New York: Harper & Bros, 1939). The story of the Fearn's work in Soochow, provides a humorous example of the problem of dividing time according to priorities. Mrs. Dr. Fearn was determined to attend immediately to her hospital rounds in the morning while Mr. Dr. Fearn was determined to attend first to his personal morning devotions. In this case the decision regarding the moral use of time caused strain in a missionary marriage.
redefine the missionary purpose might find satisfaction. Those were in trouble who could not learn the "ultimate lessons" of which Hyatt speaks; they neither grew nor thrived in China. China indeed enriched some, overwhelmed some, disappointed some, killed some, seduced some.

Scholars have come to various conclusions regarding missionary interaction and actual adjustment to the Chinese. For instance, Varg speaks of missionaries ignoring "the attitudes and spiritual values of those they sought to change," while Bates "notes the varying degrees of accommodation or simplification by which American Protestant missionaries adjusted themselves theologically to the Chinese scene." Hunt concludes that "the missionary message was on the whole self-serving;" Bates describes missionary efforts in terms of helping the Chinese, "work[ing] with them for good ends." The scholars are not disputing each other; they have simply emphasized one or another of the various approaches made by various missionaries in pursuit of their China goals.

John K. Fairbank's Christianity in China: Early Protestant Writings, attempted to "explore what the Protestant pioneers of the
nineteenth century wrote in Chinese for their target audience."\textsuperscript{31}

The survey which follows explores what twentieth century missionaries wrote in English for their target audience--their readers in America.

Neither the missionaries' success or lack of it, was as "significant," Varg concluded, as the "enrichment of knowledge concerning China" made available to Americans.\textsuperscript{32} The "steady diet of missionary opinion,"\textsuperscript{33} the "backflow of reporting" which the missionaries "transmitted to the American people,"\textsuperscript{34} described Chinese day-to-day life as the missionaries wanted it described.

Fairbank has cautioned about the missionary reports:

One must . . . be past-minded about the missionaries . . . . for they were Americans of an earlier generation . . . a far different and simpler world than we face today.\textsuperscript{35}

In addition, one must keep in mind the great diversity among missionaries even when generalizing about them.\textsuperscript{36} The trend away from nineteenth-century broadside evangelical activity to twentieth-century emphasis on the development of caring communities did not affect all individual missionaries at the same rate.\textsuperscript{37} Some persisted

\textsuperscript{32}Varg, \textit{Miss. & Chinese}, p. 13; See also Fairbank, \textit{Miss. Enterprise}, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{33}Hunt, pp. 39-40.
\textsuperscript{34}Fairbank, \textit{Miss. Enterprise}, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{36}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{37}The caring communities involved more than churches and Christian communities, they involved as well all of the service enterprises, the hospitals, schools, orphanages, etc.
in operating within the nineteenth century framework of faith and conviction, while others moved on to expanded goals and activities.\textsuperscript{38}

The China missionaries were primarily "workers and teachers rather than theological scholars or thinkers."\textsuperscript{39} Their activist roles "led to a gradual multiplication and deepening of their associations with Chinese."\textsuperscript{40} They made efforts to understand the alien life around them, but that "road to . . . understanding" was a difficult one and could only be achieved by a "genuine openness to disquieting lessons."\textsuperscript{41}

There were limits, however, to what the missionaries could know deeply. Varg has quoted Dr. W. A. P. Martin's cogent thoughts on the subject: "We want the breadth to comprehend a civilization different from our own."\textsuperscript{42} Missionaries could simply not convey the whole story of China and the Chinese. Nevertheless, for their audience, they were indeed the experts, and their writings stimulated interest in China among American readers.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p. 137. Bates has written: "Often the German and sometimes among the British missionaries, Americans were deprecated as activists."
\textsuperscript{40} Bates, \textit{Miss. Enterprise}, ed. Fairbank, p. 157. See also below, pp. 33-52.
\textsuperscript{41} Hyatt, pp. 236-237. Hyatt here refers specifically to Calvin Mateer and Loctie Moon, whom he credited as successful and Tarleton Perry Crawford who clearly failed. See also Varg, \textit{Miss. & Chinese}, p. 106. Varg says that the missionaries' attitude toward China changed from one of petty criticism and condescension to one of respect and understanding; Bates, \textit{Miss. Enterprise}, ed. Fairbank, p. 158. "their understanding of the good and the best in Chinese thought and life increased." See also below, p. 200.
\textsuperscript{42} Varg, \textit{Miss. & Chinese}, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{43} Fairbank, \textit{Miss. Enterprise}, p. 6.
Missionaries wrote in accordance with their specific purposes and hoped for particular responses. Evangelists describing China, their movements in the countryside, their experiences in store-front chapels and their attempts to reach the Chinese masses wrote to create interest in their activities. Medical missionaries told of China's medical situation, primitive clinics, the building of hospitals, their countryside itinerating. Educators wrote of their experiences establishing schools, curricula, and the behavior of their students. Missionaries wrote of the turmoil of events which swirled around them. Because "The mission movement was pre-eminently a people-to-people phenomenon," the missionaries had to write about the people, about Chinese day-to-day life and China's needs. What they wrote was limited by their own observations, experiences and prejudices.

Scholarly study of Chinese culture was the focus for very few of the missionaries. They were busy with a myriad of tasks in China: doctors in their short-handed hospitals, teachers in their schools, churchmen in their efforts to build and maintain churches, missionary wives and mothers with difficult house-managing and their own mission activities with Chinese women or children. With all of their work, they required Chinese assistance. They knew the Chinese with whom they worked and who worked for them. They met the Chinese in their day-to-day living; that was the culture of China with which they became familiar.

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44 Ibid.
45 Rabe, p. 23.
In order to become close to the people, the missionaries placed great store upon learning to speak Chinese. Most spent at least one year in language school to acquire speaking facility before beginning their work.\textsuperscript{46} Their writings are full of references to their personal language teachers with whom many spent several hours a week over a period of years and from whom they learned much in addition to language.\textsuperscript{47} From their language teachers some became familiar with the classics.\textsuperscript{48} In most cases, however, their language studies were aimed at missionary purposes.\textsuperscript{49} Writings are replete with notice of the Chinese language textbooks some missionary educators wrote and of the numerous Bible translations they produced in the vernacular.\textsuperscript{50} Yet with few exceptions, because of the nature of the language itself with its several dialects and thousands of non-phonetic characters, the missionaries' spoken and written vocabulary was limited to language essential to their roles in China and for day-to-day discourse.\textsuperscript{51} As Bates pointed out, the missionaries were primarily workers and teachers, not scholars.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{47} Below, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{48} Varg, \textit{Miss. & Chinese}, p. 106. Varg has written, "They probed into the Chinese classics and discovered a world that demanded admiration."
\textsuperscript{50} Roberto Paterno, "Sheffield and the Founding of the North China College," \textit{American Missionaries in China}, (ed.), Kwang-Ching Liu, (Cambridge, Mass. East Asian Research Center, 1970.), p. 91, note 99. Regarding Bible translations, there were several early efforts at the production of the Bible in wen-li and later in Mandarin.
\textsuperscript{51} For further references to missionaries and the Chinese language see Hyatt, pp. 220, 228-229, 232; Fairbank, \textit{The People's Kingdom}, p. 136; James Arthur Muller, pp. 212-213 Bishop Samuel Scherechewsky was a missionary-scholar gifted in the Chinese language. He was said to have between nine thousand to ten thousand characters at his command.
\textsuperscript{52} Above, p. 9.
No author writes from a completely neutral and objective framework. The conceptual framework out of which the missionary writings came was constructed of many elements, among them the national identity of the missionaries, their religious shaping, their personalities, the presence or absence of their "health and happiness," the dilemmas which challenged them in China, the growth or stunting of intellect and faith in an alien environment, their psychological stamina, their acquired knowledge of China and the Chinese.

\[53\text{Hyatt, p. 235.}\]
Chapter II

The Missionaries

They Wrote about China

"Are not the unfinished task, the infinite opportunities and stupendous problems, ours as well as theirs?"1

Scholars have written of the "persistent effort of missionaries to understand Chinese life,"2 and of their "many concrete encounters" with it.3 From the level of understanding the missionaries acquired, they wrote about China. Through missionary eyes China was presented to America, limited by their preparation, experiences, and viewpoints.4

Since the publication of Harold Isaacs' Scratches On Our Minds,5 it has been generally acknowledged that the American Protestant

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3Bennett and Liu, Miss. Enterprise, ed. Fairbank, p. 159.
missionaries were historically important as creators of an image of China for Americans. It also has been generally acknowledged that that image was benevolent. What the missionaries actually said that created the "nearly universal esteem for the Chinese" or the "brother's keeper" view of China that Americans came to hold is not so well known. A look at the missionaries' language as they recorded their ordinary interaction with their Chinese environment, revealed not only their picture of China, but also some of the tensions and dilemmas of their lives as China missionaries.

Among Americans in China, according to scholars of the missionary movement, it was the missionaries who "reported most fully." They were the foreigners in China who were most acquainted with Chinese life and China's contemporary scene, its culture and its civilization. The missionaries' geographical range over China was broad. They were in China's coastal cities, and in its "remote parts," often the only foreigners in a particular area. They were the only foreigners who "sought direct contact with the common people," in their churches, schools, hospitals, on China's

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6 Isaacs, pp. 216, 126-127.
7 Barnett and Fairbank, pp. 2-18.
8 Liu, Amer. Miss., p. 6.
9 Hutchinson, preface, "only a small percentage of the missionaries in China live in stations containing more than five foreign workers," p. 95. See also Pearl Buck, Fighting Angel: Portrait of A Soul (New York: P. F. Collier & Son Corp., 1936), p. 101. Carie Sydenstricker, Pearl Buck's mother, said of her husband that his brain "was a map of China. He knew every province, every city, every river and town."
streets and in China's homes. From them tales of China poured forth.

Because many missionaries were great story-tellers they captured an audience. Each missionary author had his or her own particular constituency in America. The total audience consisted of the denominational and inter-denominational supporting groups, university communities which had ties to educational institutions in China, YMCA organizations, medical people involved in mission projects, and that part of the general public which was fascinated by stories of heroes and far-away places. According to the reader's purpose, notice of the time-frame of those stories might or might not be taken. Some publications of the 1930s, for instance, were drawing colorfully the author's remembrances of China in the previous century.

The author's purposes affected their writings. One who wrote from the turmoil of the contemporary scene had an entirely different purpose from the one remembering. The missionaries, clerics, educators, physicians, and editors, wrote for many reasons. Those

10 John K. Fairbank, Chinabound (New York: Harper & Row, 1982) p. 280. Fairbank confesses his own lack of "personal, man-to-man contact with the common people" of China during his several years of study there. Regarding missionary direct contact with refugees, see p. 36; Barnett & Fairbank, pp. 2-4.

11 Varg, Miss. & Chinese, p. 121; Rabe, p. 197, notes to p. 5. Referring to the period 1810-1934, Rabe noted that, "The editors of some 70 [American] secular periodicals were far more willing to publish missionary articles if they dealt with China than with any other field." See also Varg, Myth, p. 113.

12 Rabe, See particularly pp. 9, 173, 188.

remembering wrote to justify their own lives and the lives of loved
ones who had been lost to China's harsh environment. They wrote to
memorialize those who had preceded them in the China work. They
wrote of schools, hospitals, churches, some so laboriously and lovingly
built sacrificed to war. Nothing was to be forgotten.

They wrote to obtain support. Since Americans were the
financial patrons of the missionaries; it was essential that Americans
be committed to missionary efforts in China. Striving for the ear and
sympathy of Americans, so showered with blessings--education,
science, more than enough to eat--was not easy. Missionary authors
had to hold their audience. What they wrote of China had to show its
wounds clearly, but the substance could not be so dark that the
Chinese would be seen as villains. The Chinese had to be viewed as
victims, unique, beyond knowing, yet loving. The lovely and the
ugly, the miserable and the possible had to be presented in the most
effective mix. The authors' burden was to induce continuing deep
support, not just for themselves, but for China. Mere bursts of
sentiment would not do.

Missionaries wrote to create an interest and a sympathy for
China because they loved China and the Chinese. They wanted to
teach about China. They wanted to preserve in their own language,
for their own people, China's unique aspects. They had learned to
value, according to their reports, China as "celestial," "eternal,"
"picturesque," "massive," "mysterious;" the "magic" of China, the
"spell" of China, the "myth," "mist" and "romance" of China. The missionaries became China's advocates.

The long-term missionaries wrote as those who had been nurtured on American myths and values; they wrote also as American Christians who had been sinicized. They had shifted away from their own solid center--their American moorings--to uncertain moorings in an alien land. They pictured admiringly the slower pace of China--more pleasant, more caring, not so self-centered. At the same time their words, filtered through their American value system, recorded their myriad dark observations, their social concerns, and their experiences of "grimmest reality," in China. As they separated by degrees from their native culture, they were neither authentically wedded to, nor full participants in, the culture of their "adopted home." They had differences with the Chinese and with other Americans. They had learned the Chinese

16Earle H. Ballou, Dangerous Opportunity: The Christian Mission in China Today (New York: Friendship Press, 1940), p. 19. Grimmest reality for some of course was death itself. Many died of China's endemic diseases; violent death was also not without example. In terms of the primary resource authors of this work, for example, Rawlinson was killed by crossfire on the streets of Shanghai, Daniel Nelson, Sr., father of the author Daniel Nelson, was also killed by a stray bullet. Daniel Nelson's brother was held captive by the communists for many months during the 1930s and finally killed. Both Betty and John Stam were ruthlessly murdered in their humble quarters.
way, and to some degree they questioned their own American myths.\(^{17}\)

The missionaries' language was colored by the tensions and dilemmas which were inherent in their situations. They could not overcome history. They were handicapped, from the beginning by the nature of their goal—to change "changeless" China. They knew they were being outpaced in the salvation race by others who were both "powerfully anti-Christian,"\(^{18}\) and anti-Confucian,\(^{19}\) whose methods were swift and destructive. The missionaries' dreams for saving China were increasingly overwhelmed by disintegrating forces beyond their control.

Notes of defensiveness, of exasperation and of weariness regarding their situations can be found along with expressions of confidence and daring-do. An aura of the sacred surrounded their "tremendous" hopes.\(^{20}\) Suffering China would be changed by an under-girding religion, intrinsic to good and orderly government, and the Chinese would know a new freedom. American readers were encouraged to keep faith in the "supernatural aspect" of the work and to accept the possibility that while the missionary goal might

\(^{17}\)Creighton Lacy, p. 58.

\(^{18}\)Ballou, p. 187.

\(^{19}\)Chen Tu-hsu, New Youth, 1918, as quoted in Virginia Ethel Huntington, Along the Great River (New York: National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 1940), p. 148. "The poison poured into China by Confucianism," was even more destructive "than the poison of Western religions."

indeed be "beyond human power to accomplish," it was not by implication, beyond the power of the Almighty.\textsuperscript{21} The goal was noble, but, according to the missionary writers, the realities were tough beyond measure and created tensions from which they could not escape.

Through all of their pages runs a thread of the tragic.\textsuperscript{22} The missionaries had invested much, but it was clearly not enough. China's needs were unlimited. They continued to plead for China and for their own dreams. They would spread "The Word" by word and by deed and the blessings would rain down not only upon China, but upon the entire world. They would spread the word in both directions: do for China, learn about China, learn from China as well.

And their spreading of the word created an image of China entirely from their views and opinions. The reflection of China through their eyes was viewed in the day-to-day scenes they drew.

\textsuperscript{21}Brockman, p. 29. Brockman was aware that "such language" was not considered "good form" at the time of his writing. He acknowledged his awareness of the priority in America, given to the "other" influences which had gained ascendancy over faith in missionary concepts. See also W. R. Williams, \textit{These Fifty Years with Ohio Friends in China} (Damascus: Friends Foreign Missionary Society of Ohio Yearly Meeting, 1940), p. 173. Williams offered as assurance, "Faith could see farther than sight."

\textsuperscript{22}Stuart, pp. 4, 35, 201, 217; Rosa W. Palmborg, pp. 106, 264; John C. Caldwell, pp. 224-225.
The Missionary Image in Recent Times

In recent times the general perception of the American Protestant missionary has been that of an ineffective figure—neither particularly admirable, nor worthy of regard. In 1958, Isaacs wrote that "he cuts a poignant or a pathetic figure, according to how you view him and his role in all this history." The reasons for the change, from 19th and early 20th century hero to the more recent image of insignificance, are varied. Freud as well as the physical and social sciences had challenged religion and the church as realms relevant to the pursuit of the good life or a better world. The concept of altruism had come under suspicion. The material world had gained ascendency over the spiritual. The general public was pulling away from churches not only in terms of financial support, but also in terms of commitment or interest. The missionaries, in turn, as part of the religious establishment, suffered loss of status.

The missionary enterprise and the quality of its emissaries, was under question—even within certain segments of its own

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23 Isaac, p. 205.
24 In their hey-day, the last decades of the 19th century to the mid-twenties of the next century, the missionaries were often accorded a hero status. John King Fairbank, China Watch (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 27; See also Rabe, p. 104. Rabe quotes Bishop Peabody of Massachusetts who labeled the missionaries "heroes of our times"; Varg, Miss. & Chinese, p. 121; Burke p. 15. In the farewell service for William Burke before he left for China in the late 1880s it was claimed that "God had conferred honor" on Macon, on the South Georgia Conference of the Methodist church and on the Burke family by "calling the young minister to preach" in China; W. R. Williams, pp. 280-281; Varg, p. 121.
supporting community. The controversial Laymen's Report which found the majority of missionaries "to be limited,"--however sublimely devoted--served to further undermine the enterprise and to support the general notion of the missionaries' minor consequence.26

Pearl Buck, widely read in the 1930s and 1940s, Nobel prize winner for literature and the China missionary best known to the general public, did not enhance that image. In Fighting Angel, she exposed her father, Andrew Sydenstricker, a missionary who had spent well over fifty years in China, as a distant father and an insensitive husband. She drew him as a rigid, self-righteous family man of limited compassion, not the love-motivated man of God missionaries were presumed to be.27 To her, he represented the group. No doubt her own failed marriage to missionary-agricultural expert John Lossing Buck, further colored her gloomy regard for the missionary scene. Other missionary children also

26 The Laymen's Inquiry and Reconsideration of the Role of Missions, 1931-1938, as cited in Varg, pp. 167-169, 217-218. The inquiry was a response to widespread criticism of the missionary enterprise and was viewed as the "high watermark of Protestant liberalism." Chaired by Prof. W. E. Hocking of Harvard its members observed mission work, interviewed missionaries, native Christians and non-Christian leaders, etc. Many of the outstanding missionaries on the field were understandably critical of the Inquiry using the arguments against it used in the discussion of short-term versus long-term missionaries in "Resource Selection," e.g. those who come and take a quick look and then conclude--versus those who have spent years on the field with real knowledge of the work within the Chinese context. See also Huntington, p. 239.

27 Buck, Fighting Angel The subject of Pearl Buck and her father could be an interesting one for a psycho-historian. How much did her Mother's unhappy marriage as well as her own to missionary Buck affect her often negative portrayal of missionaries in general and her own eventual discomfort in that role.
wrote critically or with less than enthusiasm of missionary activity.28

The critical popular image was exploited in the early nineteen sixties by James Michner in his best-selling novel *Hawaii*, which later became a movie. His description of the personalities and activities of Hawaii's first American missionaries focused upon their unholy traits and lack of redeeming features. He supported those who assumed the popular scoffing view. Audiences for commercial ventures are usually given that which pleases them and therefore other movies fed upon the popular prejudice, portraying missionaries as either naive, whimsical characters or as narrow-minded individuals interested primarily in putting clothes on the bodies of care-free natives, turning, in the process, happy innocents into guilt-ridden dependents.29

28I cite here as examples: Ida Mae Pruitt, *A China Childhood* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978) and *A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945). In *China Childhood*, pp. 38, 42, she wrote fondly of her parents, their kindness and gentle approach to the Chinese, however, she left no doubt that she felt herself to be more Chinese than they and was critical of their "western" vestiges. In her adult years she separated herself from the religious or dogmatic aspects of missionary activity also. Fairbank in *China Watch*, Chapter 4, suspects that some missionary children who express discomfort with the missionary business do so out of their personal separation from the religious aspects of their parents activities. It is well to note here also that several missionary children, according to their experiences, wrote positively of missionaries and their endeavors.

All missionaries were not unaware of the popular view. Medical missionary, Nellie Holman, wrote that while she was at home on furlough, she was asked by an American friend "with several university degrees" why she was in China confusing the Confucianists. Lucy C. Lee was willing to acknowledge that "probably nearly every criticism . . . was justified in some particular case," but she resented the unfair and untrue "generalization[s]" directed toward the "missionary body as a whole."

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, missionaries were considered to have large significance. Audiences at home were eager to hear them. Their leaders were welcomed and respected by national figures. There was confidence among them and their supporters that their purpose was noble and imperative. In the

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30Lucy Chaplin Lee, *An American Sojourn in China* (Annandale, Virginia: The Turnpike Press, Inc., 1968), p. 14. Given the negative popular image, it was clear to Lee why men and women born of missionary parents were often embarrassed rather than proud of that fact. See also Stuart, pp. 16-18. Stuart describes his miserable years as a schoolboy in America. He was treated differently from other boys his age by both his peers and his elders because of his China upbringing and his missionary parents. The uncomfortable attitude about being a missionary child is evident also in Ida Mae Pruitt's, *China Childhood*.


32Lee, p. 15.

33Ibid., p. 23. "The typical American in China, whose voice and influence was heard in Washington, was the missionary, not the businessman." See also Chambers, p. 134; Stuart, p. 92; Philip F. Price, pp. 27-28, Varg, *Myth*, pp. 159, 170.
more recent past they have been considered—when considered at all—as out of step and bumbling.

In terms of that negative image, scholars as well as novelists had fallen victim to "presentism" according to the Harvard historian James Thomson. In his Foreword to Ruth Greene's book, published in 1980, his dismay was clear. Because "historians on both sides of the Pacific . . . [had] denounc[ed] or belittl[ed] or entirely neglect[ed] the contribution of American Christian missionaries to the Chinese Revolution," he called for a retrospective, fuller, more honest scholarly look at China missionary history.

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34 James Thomson, himself the son of long-term China missionaries.
From Americans to Sinicized Americans

Except for their unusually high educational level, the American Protestant missionaries were typical main stream Americans. They came out of the dominant Protestantism of their time and like their compatriots, had been nurtured on American myths and values. They set store by the "pioneer spirit;" they were believers in action and the positive possibilities of change. Highly motivated by the missionary mandate to go into all the world, they did, in fact, pioneer in China; they acted energetically, and they became agents of change. In tune with the American belief system, the missionaries acted it out for others as well as for themselves.

36 Isaacs, p. 199. See also Varg, Miss. & Chinese, pp. 80, 122; Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 167.
37 Pioneer spirit is used here to describe a willingness and an ability to "move on" into unknown and possibly dangerous areas. Mary C. Alexander, Seedtime and Harvest in South China Mission of the Southern Baptists Convention: 1845-1933 (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 1933), p.24; Robert T. Bryan, Christianity's China Creations (Richmond: Foreign Mission Boards, Southern Baptist Convention, 1927), p. 27; John C. Caldwell, p. 14; Eberle, Forward, p. 9, pp. 38-39, 64-65; Chambers, p. 40; John Jay Heeren, On the Shantung Front (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church USA, 1940), p. 209; Hollister, p. 100; Daniel Nelson, The Apostle to the Chinese Communists (Minneapolis: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, 1935), p. 6; John Oss, Mission Advance in China (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1949), p. 98; Charles A. Powell, Bound Feet (Boston: Warren Press, 1938), p.36; F. W. Price, Rural, p. 16; F. W. Price, Twilight, pp. 36-37, 139; Phillip Francis Price, pp. 2, 88; Huntington, p. 242. See also Clayton, p. 117. With the bravado of the frontiersman who was his cultural forebearer, Clayton describes more than once his reliance on his Colt automatic for protection. See also Hyatt, p. 231.
38 Liu, Amer. Miss., p. 1; Martin Marty, The Pro & Con Book of Religious America (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1975), pp. 15-16. Marty wrote: "In 1951 the United States Supreme Court ... announced that 'We are a religious people.'" "3 out of 5 people list themselves as church members 200 years after most of the original states removed all legal sanction for religion." "In Search of the Constitution," P.B.S. telecast, May 22, 1987: "God and the Constitution." Bill Moyers began with the words, "We are a religious people." H. Ross Perot, the
The missionaries held ideals and exhibited characteristics which are often labeled stereotypically "American." As Americans, they had been raised on the story of the Pilgrims, the mythical ancestors, who had left home, braving the unknown, in order to create a more moral or more "just" society. Missionaries were being characteristically American as they crossed the waters to challenge and overcome the lost and benighted and to achieve in the process, a Christian China—a utopia—caring, thriving and neat.

They were motivated by the "peculiarly . . . American need to rationalize any behavior inconsistent with the idea that all men are created free and equal." Most Americans "wanted to believe that" social, political and individual relations "could be guided by . . . the flambouyant Texas business man claimed on national television that Americans are doers who somehow possess special courage and spirit. WQED, Pittsburgh, January 27, 1981. The sentiments of DeToqueville, "America is good because her people are good" continue to be echoed today.

Isaacs, p. 384. Isaacs, not totally comfortable with the notion of national characteristics referred to the "descriptive traits" of a large group of people who claimed both a geographic space and certain common cultural notions.

Francis Wayland Goddard, Called to Cathay (New York: Baptist Literature Bureau, 1948), p. 43. Goddard described his China missionary grandfather, Wm. Dean, in terms of Puritan John Robinson who "gathered his little band at Scrooby, transported them to Leyden," etc. See also Walter N. Lacy, A Hundred Years of China Methodism (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948), p. 38. Lacy quotes a Methodist China Missionary, Mrs. White, who wrote to a friend in 1887, "That blue line of native land is engraved indelibly on my memory; I would not have it efface; but I saw the last dim outline without any regret."

Ida Mae Pruitt, Forward xi. Fairbank refers to the author's "parents," the missionaries Cicero and Anna Ashley S. Pruitt, "who had followed the urge that had been with the people of Western Europe ever since the dawn of history, the urge to go West and ever further West." See also Varg, Miss. & Chinese, p. 5; T. Scott Miyakawa, Protestants And Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity On the American Frontier. (Chicago and London: The Univeristy of Chicago Press. 1964), regarding missionaries and the taming of the frontier, order, neatness, etc. n.p.

Isaacs p. 199. See also Varg, Miss. & Chinese, pp. 80, 176; Hunt, p. 217 for a discussion on Wilson's view of democracy and Christianity.
Sermon on the Mount."\(^{43}\) The missionaries, as Americans, confidently proceeded to implement creation's design in China where the Sermon on the Mount was unknown and where equality was not part of the reality. The mind-set of Americans to see all problems in terms of morality, fueled further the "missionary impulse ... [\(^{\text{,}}\) more rife in America than elsewhere."\(^{44}\) The missionaries became, according to, Paul Varg, the "noncommissioned ambassadors of the great American republic."\(^{45}\) They did not represent merely particular groups at home--boards, agencies, societies, friends, and individuals with energy, money or reputation who presumed to share their vision; they represented mainstream America.\(^{46}\) American characteristics explain the fact that although the United States had the smallest financial investment of all the Powers in China, the missionary commitment of its citizens was the greatest in terms of money and numbers of workers.\(^{47}\)


\(^{44}\) Varg, *Miss. & Chinese*, p. 122; Fairbank, *Chinabound*, p.376; Samuel Capen, *The Missionary Herald* 96. 1:13, cited by Rabe, p. 75--"'The American who does not believe in foreign missions, denies his ancestry, his country, and his God.'"

\(^{45}\) Varg, *Miss. & Chinese*, p.79.

\(^{46}\) Rabe, pp. 66, 84.

The American value system favors the activist, one who will take risks. The missionary life provided those risks as well as unique opportunity for adventure and service. According to the missionary, Virginia Huntington, it offered "the thrill, albeit rigorous, of living where history [was] in the breathless making." These young people, in the prime of life, "with every opportunity that America offer[ed]," chose, rather than success at home, an uncertain environment in which to work toward uncertain ends. The activist missionary, in his own words, driven by "mysticism and spiritual insight . . . social intelligence and [a] passion to serve," was sent to China by his fellow Americans.

The missionaries' writings suggest that though typical Americans, they were, in particular aspects, at the edge of the spectrum. They did not simply nod in the direction of the American value system: they were its exemplars. They moved. Their movements introduced them to a number of different people from a variety of cultural backgrounds. On their journeys to and from

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48 Hollister, p. 214.
49 Clayton, p. 107; Eugene Schuyler English, By Life and by Death: Excerpts and Lessons from the Diary of John C. Stam (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1938), p. 49; See also Rabe, pp. 106-107. Rabe stresses that the missionary could have "demanded and received" more money and the "perquisites" of professionals if they had stayed at home; Fearn, p. 139.
50 Price, Rural, p. 226. See also Chambers, p. 198. Mrs. Chambers, herself a missionary, wrote that her husband "combined a mystic piety with an aggressive practicality."
51 Powell, p. 214. Missionary Powell gives an example and appears to be suggesting a difference between Americans, with their American characteristics, and others. "Among the missionaries who have gone to China there have been many with unusual talents . . . who sacrificed personal interests at home in order to devote their lives to the interests of the Chinese. This appears strange to many Europeans."
China, many traversed the expanse of the United States. Coming home on their furloughs took them not only across the Atlantic or Pacific, but also took some across Siberia or the Indian ocean. Several traveled through Europe.\textsuperscript{52}

During their years in the vastly different civilization of China, the missionaries persevered through grim days of danger and uncertainty. They assumed as a personal responsibility, the challenge of turning the despair of China into hope.\textsuperscript{53} In the midst of changed environments and altered life styles, they changed. Cornelia Spencer, born and raised in China of missionary parents, wrote that the "rich, mellow flavor of [Chinese] living" made henceforth "every other flavor [of living] flat and insipid by contrast."\textsuperscript{54}

The long-term missionaries became sinicized; they did not remain typical Americans. Missionary authors struggled with the negative realities of the American model that had originally served them. They struggled with some aspects of their culture-bound Christianity. In an alien context the missionaries' values and their very ideas of right and wrong became altered.

Lucy Chaplin Lee's actual involvement with a major beheading event and Myra Scoval's great relief at the arrival in her beleaguered city of a trainload of Japanese prostitutes who would calm rapacious

\textsuperscript{52}Chambers, p. 96 On the route home, the Chambers traveled across Siberia and spent Easter Sunday in Moscow "a never-to-be-forgotten experience. It was the Russian Easter, and he heard the great chorus in the beautiful cathedral of Our Saviour, a choir of a thousand voices with no musical accompaniment . . . He had never in his life before or since been so thrilled by the power of music." They then traveled across Europe and spent three days in London.

\textsuperscript{53}Basil Mathews, \textit{John R. Mott, World Citizen}, p. 416 as quoted in Rabc, p. 198, n. 5; See also: Price, \textit{Rural}, pp 164, 225; Huntington, p. 193; Chambers, p. 194; Clayton, p. 110; Nelson, \textit{Apostle}, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{54}Spencer, \textit{Made In}, p. 198.
Japanese soldiers are straightforward examples. They no longer looked at all aspects of life in terms of American moral black and white.

Fletcher Brockman too moved from a provincial American Christian to a sinicized, more sensitively aware Christian. As he grew in China, he was able to free himself from his "narrow" bondage of "preconceptions and prejudices unrelated to reality," he wrote. He re-read the Bible from "a Chinese point of view" and was startled to discover that while he had been picturing himself as Elijah, the uncompromising foe of false religion, "in reality Elijah [would have been] a native Chinese and the prophets of Baal [would have been] the foreign missionaries[,] . . . the representatives of a foreign religion, and instruments of political intrigue." An example from Burke is touchingly simple. His "retirement in American was not agreeing" with him. After 50 years in China, "he had grown with Sungkiang, not Macon." His "old habits" from China "stuck by him.

He found himself turning used envelopes inside out to reuse them—as was commonly done in frugal China. He bought a new pocket diary for 1937, but the first thing he did was to mark the old Chinese lunar calendar dates over the corresponding Gregorian dates. Now and then, when called on to preach a guest sermon . . . he would begin thinking in Chinese on the

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55Lee, p. 41. See below, p.158; See also Scoval, pp. 74-75.
56"Claremont Study," Homer Vernon Bradshaw interview, C-7. Bradshaw said that "you even reach the point where you are ready to admit that some of their ways and morals are even better than yours." n.p.
58Ibid. See also Scoval, pp. 20, 23; Palmborg, pp. 116, 181.
pulpit, and his delivery would become halting for a moment while he got his mind adjusted.\textsuperscript{59}

The process of sinicization was clear in the childhood memoirs of China. Ray Parker Hamaker told of going to sleep surrounded by tall idols and of being "wakened by sudden booms" of brass temple gongs in the Buddhist temple which her family called home.\textsuperscript{60} Daniel Nelson and his brothers had watched "brown toes" "knead" and "caress" the wonderful Chinese taffy before it was "molded into the shape of birds and dainty fairies."\textsuperscript{61} A sight which typical American children had never seen. Missionary author, Cornelia Spencer, quoted her sister's remembrance:

"Did I not see sights which children should not see and hear talk not fit for children's ears? If I did, I cannot remember. I saw poor and starving people in a famine year, but my parents bade me help them ... and I learned early that trouble and suffering can always be relieved if there is a will to do it ... Often I saw lepers, their flesh eaten away from their bones, and I saw dead children lying on the hillsides, the wild dogs gnawing at their flesh ... The dead taught me not to fear them, and my heart was only made more tender while I chased the dogs away as best I could. It is better to learn early of the inevitable depths for then sorrow and death take their propler place in life, and one is not afraid."\textsuperscript{62}

Experiences leave their mark. China had indeed reshaped the typical Americans through "adventure and tribulation," through

\textsuperscript{59}Burke, p. 375.
\textsuperscript{60}Hamaker, pp. 144, 38; Lee, p. 19. the "nightly lullaby" of "temple gong."
\textsuperscript{61}Nelson, \textit{Apostle}, p. 10.
acquaintance and adjustment to the rhythms of Chinese life.\textsuperscript{63} And Brockman could declare:

\begin{quote}
I am rich! \ldots I have come into a great inheritance. My wealth has been gathering for thousands of years. Confucius, Mencius, Mo Ti, Buddha, Abraham, Moses, Isaiah, Paul, Jesus--I have entered into an inheritance. I am heir of the ages.\textsuperscript{64}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{64} Brockman, p. 188. See also Arthur T. Pierson \textit{The Crisis of Missions} in Rabe, p. 198, notes to pp. 5-6. Pierson wrote of "These Oriental Yankees."
"They are used to me now."  

The missionaries and the Chinese had a life together, the details of which they described for their American readers. Their relationship came about through a variety of individual experiences in a variety of settings and in accordance with a variety of needs. There were indeed the well-known teacher-student relationship, and the master-servant tie, but there were other categories of relationship which were equally important—for instance, the victim-savior, the child-parent, the employee-employer, the guest-guest, the observer-observer, the Chinese Christian-western Christian, and the non-Christian Chinese-western missionary.

Daniel Nelson wrote of his closeness to the peasants with whom he had "lived . . . talked and laughed." He had "slept in their homes." He had "preached, baptized, married, and buried" them. But missionaries' contacts with Chinese were not limited to the small community of Christians. Missionaries "were interested in all phases of Chinese life," according to Lee, and "those with whom [she was] familiar were close to the Chinese people," were "informed, sympathetic and humble."  

65Palmborg, p. 88.
66Nelson, Apostle, p. 146.
Isaacs' claim that the missionaries came to China unbidden by the Chinese is certainly a fact of history and well documented in the writings of missionaries and scholars.\textsuperscript{68} The earlier missionaries wrote of violence and threats of violence as they attempted pioneering entrance into cities, villages, and rural areas.\textsuperscript{69} They could not acquire housing nor make contact with the literati who scorned them.\textsuperscript{70} Palmborg wrote that in her early days in China she took walks after busy days in her clinic, but there "was little pleasure" in her walking because she was "followed by children and crowds" who said such "unpleasant things" about her.\textsuperscript{71}

Many missionary accounts told of personal and family danger during periods of crisis in China's on-going revolution. Between 1925 and 1927, "'hatred of the foreigner flared like unto that of the Boxer days.'"\textsuperscript{72} Dr. Phillip Greene wrote to his family in the 1940s:

"We still get 'foreign devil' yelled at us as we go through the streets but I don't wonder--us, so prosperous looking,

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\textsuperscript{68} Isaac, p. 204.
\textsuperscript{69} Lee, p. 23; Burke, p. 39; Several missionary citations. Substantiated by Hunt, p. 156.
\textsuperscript{70} Heeren, p. 41; Lee, p. 22; Buck, \textit{Fighting Angel}, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{71} See Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, pp. 11, 13; Ida Mae Pruitt, pp. 61, 129; Margret E. Crossett, \textit{Harvest at the Front}, (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1946), pp. 4-5; Fearn, p. 33, 51. Much of the unpleasantness stemmed from the well-known charges made by the Chinese of the missionaries taking out the eyes of children and similar tales of medical horrors. For an artist rendition of missionary surgery which was "reprinted in all the Chinese publications. . . . the patient lying on a table, her knees drawn up in an agonizing position . . . on the table, standing over her in high-heeled shoes, was the foreign woman devil doctor, battle-axe in upraised hands."
\textsuperscript{72} Eberle, p. 104.
striding about our efficient business of which they know so little."73

American readers were told as well, however, of the warmth and welcome extended to them by the Chinese. Directly after the Boxer days the Governor of Soochow province cabled the Fears to come back from furlough immediately, thinking that their "presence would have a stabilizing influence."74 They "made a point of going about the city every day" where they were "received with eager words of welcome."75

When Robert Bryan returned to China in 1923 a little launch with "banners unfurled" and firecrackers booming, carried "welcoming Chinese" to meet him.

Every bright, black, Oriental eye scanned the row of incoming passengers on the high deck above. . . . "Is there some official aboard to merit such an ado? inquired a . . . passenger on the ocean steamer's deck." 76

Although they had been advised by the American Consular service to leave during the Sino-Japanese war, many missionaries stayed on because they were "needed" and wanted."77 During the period of attempted "reconstruction" which followed the war, the missionary was also treated "warmly" because, according to Price he

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74Fearn, p. 108.
75Ibid.
76F. C. Bryan, pp. 189-190.
77Ballou, p. 198 Italics author's; Greene, p. 157.
had "identified himself with the struggles and sufferings of the people." 78

The Chinese remember the many missionaries who did relief work under fire, the missionaries who lost all their personal possessions, the missionaries who joined the great migration to West China, and those who stayed behind and were interned after Pearl Harbor in Shanghai, Hongkong, Weihsien, and Peiping. 79

What of the teacher-student relationships that developed? Pearl Buck thought of her Mr. Kung as she gave a speech before a "literary organization" after being awarded her Nobel prize. It was he, she remembered, who had taught her not only about dignity and democracy, but also about humility. 80 Palmborg's official language teacher taught her manners as well as language so she would not be an "ignoramus." 81 The missionaries were dependent on their language teachers who were not depicted as humble tools, but often as men of haughty, though patient and loyal disposition. 82

According to their writings, many missionaries learned from their teachers the Chinese proverbs and classics which, when found to have a

78 F. Price, Twilight, p. 132.
79 Ibid.
80 Spencer, Pearl S. Buck, p. 15. Kung had taught her that "those who wrote fiction were only tellers of tales and never important literary figures." See also Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 11. Pruitt wrote that the teacher was "a very important person in our lives . . . more than a teacher; he was friend, counselor, and partner."
81 Palmborg, p. 6. See also p. 16. Palmborg looked to one of her nurses who also provided quite "unconsciously" tips on Chinese courtesy.
82 Lee, p. 25. Lee remembered that her teacher was an "elderly Chinese gentleman who firmly shared the common belief that all foreigners smell bad and held an orange to his nose during the entire lesson."
Christian fit, the missionaries used to instruct both the Chinese—and their American readers.83

The missionaries too became respected teachers. Several were asked to teach English,84 but it was as teachers in the mission institutions that they acquired the special respect Chinese grant teachers.85 Stuart gave the perfect example. With Huang Hua's assent, Stuart, the U.S. Ambassador spoke with Huang, the communist government's first Foreign Minister, as teacher to student, in language and on subjects that would not have been acceptable in strictly diplomatic terms.86

To their readers there is little doubt that the missionaries' lifestyle appeared exotic and privileged. The missionaries had "wonderful" servants, anywhere from one to an entire staff including nursemaids, laundry boys, cooks and a variety of other household help.87 Yet missionaries could explain. Myra Scoval described her suprise when upon returning home one day, she found a woman hanging their laundry on the line. Who the woman was or where she came from,

83Stuart, p. 35; Burke, p. 134; Eberle, p. 133. When a heckler one day speued out to Macklin, "'You have to come over here to learn from us'" Macklin replied with a Chinese proverb. "'Be diligent in study, but despise not learning from an inferior.'"
84Palmborg, p. 39.
85Holton, p. 35; Tena Holkeboer, God's Bridge or the Story of Jin-Gi (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1945), p. 34.
86Stuart, p. 258. Huang was a graduate of Yenching University, the institution at which Stuart had served as president. See also Rae, pp. 246, 2-3, 5,7, 209, 327, 329.
Scoval did not know. But the unbidden helper was an essential, loving member of the household throughout the Scoval's years in China.  

Readers learned of the necessity for help in that land of vastly different customs, dirty water, disease, scarce fuel, and no refrigeration. In addition, the missionaries' servants were on-the-spot subjects. Edwin Harvey, the missionary-sociologist who described Chinese society, cited his servants: "My servant once told me," he would begin as he discussed Chinese practice of magic, charms, exorcism, etc.

Authors might differentiate between their household servants and the workmen they hired for their building projects. There they had a problem unless the workers had been "foreign trained." The foreign trained, Powell wrote,

worked hard and cheerfully without supervision, and took pride in doing their work well. The local men, however, were lazy and tricky. . . . Labor with these local workmen was a most exasperating task and the results very unsatisfactory.

The missionaries had various opportunities to make contact with the Chinese. Macklin began in casual conversation with the mailman, who eventually became his first convert. There were the informal possibilities available in the tea rooms, the restaurants, the shops, and the streets. Chambers made it his business regularly to go "out in the

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88Scoval. See also Powell, pp. 9, 56-57. Others wrote of the "dependability of the Chinese servant" and of a special servant being the last person in their sight when they left China.
90Powell, p. 95.
91Eberle, pp. 65-68.
streets about 4:00 p.m. [to have] interesting conversation with several men in a crockery shop." Individuals often came to the missionaries' homes looking for work.

The missionaries also held open house upon occasion, which always according to their accounts, lured many Chinese. A New Year's open house at the Powells, attracted six hundred people the first day.

The missionary women might invite Chinese women to tea in an effort to get acquainted. Palmborg invited some "ladies" of her "neighborhood," who, when she left the room to prepare refreshments, pulled open and investigated . . . bureau drawers. I realized in time to prevent my feeling annoyed, that although they would never have done such a thing in a Chinese home, the feeling of curiosity about a foreigner was greater than they could withstand! We had a good time.

The missionaries met the parents of children in the mission day schools. Palmborg's readers were to understand her hospitality to those parents in Biblical terms:

In obedience to the behest when you make a feast to invite those who cannot invite you in return, we gave a feast to all the mothers and sisters and brothers of the day-school children who would come. We had forty at the tables.

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92 Chambers, pp. 41, 48. See also Holton, pp. 112-113.
93 Chambers p. 41.
94 Powell, p. 125. See also Goforth; Scoval.
95 Palmborg. See also Hamaker, p. 50.
96 Palmborg, p. 81.
Chinese and missionaries met in a special way when missionary institutions were dedicated in public ceremony. Of that "gala day" when the Chao Hsien hospital was dedicated, Powell wrote:

The crowd was the greatest that the city had ever seen and grew even larger towards night and exerted such a pressure against the compound walls that the employees begged me to entice the people from the grounds before the walls were pushed over. . . . There was not room enough for them in their eagerness to see the buildings and equipment.97

Under circumstances of extremity they met, as victims and as saviors. In their life together the missionaries offered succor to the victims of natural disasters and endemic wars.

Most of the relief work in hundreds if not thousands of places outside the metropolitan areas of Shanghai, Tientsin and Peiping, undertaken with funds received from abroad, had to be done by local churches and under the supervision of Chinese Christian workers, lay and professional, with their missionary colleagues. . . . Christians were in a position of peculiar, almost unique, advantage [to carry out service].98

They described their care of orphans, disposable girls, and lepers. Their proffered education and medicine induced life sharings. And in

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97Powell, pp. 239, 133. Several other citations available regarding these public dedication ceremonies in which non-Christian Chinese officials and business men often took part.

98Ballou, p. 142, writing of the Japanese invasions of 1937-38. See also Clayton, pp.169-229; Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 165; Huntington, p. 218, regarding 1931 flood and missions, "The mission undertook to train flood orphans;" Heeren, p. 160. Following his portrait of the corrupt war-lord Chang Tsung-ch', Heeren wrote, "As compared with the general, and especially the political confusion, the missionary and religious situation was a stabilizing influence and to some it seemed that the church alone enjoyed some measure of security."
their efforts, the missionaries too were victims, handicapped according to their accounts, by Chinese tradition and chaos.99

Vignettes which showed a missionary's personal involvement in the individual lives of needy Chinese were told across America. Ida Mae Pruitt wrote that "The gateman was always some church member who was old and poor and needed a place to live."100 Palmborg, in the business of rescuing, took three tubercular girls up to Mokanshan for a cure. "The girls took the chairs, and I walked up eight miles." The girls thrived, returning fit and able.101

Ray Parker Hamaker told of her mother's concern for poor children "who had no clothes even when there was snow on the ground."102

Back in Soongkong she had collected quantities of samples from dry goods stores in Shanghai, which she and some helpers sewed together into large "plates" to be cut out with other garments as patterns.

Hamaker remembered "the scene in [her] dining room" as her mother prepared the material and cut the cloth. "Before long, dozens of little urchins were strutting proudly about the village in 'crazy quilt' garments."103

The Chinese were grateful. And readers, vicariously involved in the saving ventures because of their ties to the missionaries, could bask

99Greene, p. 40.
100Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 21. See also Palmborg, p. 61.
101Palmborg, pp. 122-123. Regarding her care for an old blind women see p. 68.
102Hamaker, p. 78.
103Ibid., p. 79.
in the gratitude. A shrine had actually been erected, for instance, to the spirit of missionary Holmes, who had been killed in an effort to save the village of Chuki from the Taiping rebels in the mid-nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{104} The elderly Mrs Holmes became the beneficiary of special gratitude herself. A Tientsin business man, whom she had rescued as a starving boy-child and raised as her son, not only "endowed a [Christian] day school in Tengchow," he sent her money each year of her "later life . . . as a gift of love and gratitude.\textsuperscript{105} And Holkeboer shared her note of thanks from Jin-gi: "Tongue can never tell how much I appreciate all you and your American relative have done for me."\textsuperscript{106}

Gratitude of an institutional sort was demonstrated during the 1935 centenncial of the American Episcopal church in China. According to Huntington "the anniversary might have passed unmarked had it not been for the Chinese, with their flair for an occasion."

Memorial services were held in all churches of the three American dioceses, and a united service held on October 6, 1935, in the Church of Our Saviour, Shanghai, with more than a thousand in attendance, . . . As a tangible expression of thanksgiving for the century of Christian work, the Chinese Church sent a substantial offering to the Church in the United States. One stanza of one of the centennial hymns written for the occasion, in literal translation reads:

"Remember the Mother Church's one hundred years of effort, From which has sprung great blessedness for us Chinese. He who drinks water can surely not forget the

\textsuperscript{104}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Up}, pp. 22. How ironic, thought Pruitt, that a man who had come to China "to turn the people from idols . . . should himself have been given a shrine where men continue even until today to pay divine honors to his spirit."

\textsuperscript{105}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 39.

\textsuperscript{106}Holkeboer, p. 48.
spring. . . Sounding and transmitting has been the Mother Church's part, Our task is to continue and advance."107

Especially in the accounts of the medical missionaries, expressions of Chinese gratitude were recorded. Palmborg received "fifty eggs and four fish [one] day as a gift of gratitude."108 And there was the day a ricksha puller refused to take the money which Dr. Macklin offered him, because, he said: "When I was sick you took me in. . . . you saved my life. I can't take money from you."109

Powell's "most touching" experience, had to do with a gift "of the least pretense," given by the mother of a little boy whose life he had saved. The mother and her son walked ten miles to present Powell with a piece of red paper on which "a short message of appreciation" had been written by a "professional writer." For this she "had spent a few coppers out of her meager purse." He was struck by the "widow's mite," which was given with "dignity and courtesy."110

There was yet another more peculiar example of appreciation for a missionary. When Dr. Ayers hurried on a forced night trip to attend his wife, dying in Chefoo, he was attacked by robbers who-

meant business, but when they learned that their victim was Ai Dai-foo of Hwanghsien, they hastened to return all his possessions to him and begged him to resume his journey in peace, with their sincere apologies.111

107 Huntington, p. 241.
108 Palmborg, pp. 88, 61.
109 Eberle, p. 91.
110 Powell, pp. 337, 259, 335; Fearn, p. 39.
The missionary made various approaches in his attempt to deliver his message. Burke, for instance, never "brought up" Christianity in his private meetings with people.\textsuperscript{112} He simply began with a store front meeting place where all sorts of interesting interaction took place.\textsuperscript{113} Hamaker's father preached in an open chapel.

People dropped in to rest a minute. One fellow brought his load—a basket of greens at one end of his pole, some chickens at the other. He settled comfortably at the foreigner's feet. . . . [Father] preached directly to the new listener! After a moment he rose, stretched, adjusted his pole . . . [then exclaimed] . . . "I'll be the son of a turtle. I never saw such a big nose in all my life."\textsuperscript{114}

The missionary homes also provided meeting places. Lee wrote of her husband's "superior master[y] of the Chinese language" which enabled him to attract "scholars of all varieties of religion and philosophy as personal friends."

There was a group that met each Sunday evening in his study and discussed religion, as such, for two or three hours. They included Confucianists, Buddhists, followers of Tagore and representatives of other philosophies.

He did not share the attitude of hostility towards Buddhism and Taoism displayed by some of the more fundamentalist missionaries. He looked rather for the common truths on which he could build in convincing the Chinese that our message was not a complete rejection but

\textsuperscript{112}Burke, p. 179.
\textsuperscript{113}Several missionary authors described the interaction in those store-fronts. For instance, Huntington, p. 43, wrote that "use was made of rented buildings on busy streets where a native evangelist or missionary was host to any inquirers who cared to enter, to question, to discuss, and to learn."
\textsuperscript{114}Hamaker, pp. 57-58. Scoval, Burke, others described similar scenes.
rather a refinement and fulfillment of those partial revelations bequeathed by Buddha, Lao Tze and Confucius.\textsuperscript{\textit{115}}

Examples from the missionary writings made clear that the "in loco parentis" role was part of the rescue mission and of the Western-Chinese life together.\textsuperscript{\textit{116}} Ti-kaw, Jin-gi's impoverished mother, worked in far-away fields during Jin-gi's vacations, so he became a part of his mission school teacher's "family" where he was treated as a "son."\textsuperscript{\textit{117}} Pruitt described her role as surrogate mother to the boys in her school. Each night she dispensed eye wash or lined up "a dozen or more boys, giving each his bedtime dose of cough medicine."\textsuperscript{\textit{118}} Stuart wrote that the Yenching students "constantly spoke of themselves as my children, and I had very much of a fatherly feeling for them."\textsuperscript{\textit{119}}

But these Chinese children grew up to a China in the chaos of change. Modernization, foreign ideas of freedom, new notions of economics and justice whirled around them.

Patience and fortitude were the virtues required of China's friends. Young China was in adolescent throes at once exasperating and endearing; was like a loved child struggling through what excesses, with what ardors of aspiration, to manhood. The adolescent flowering was viewed with pride, with prayer, with pangs of the parental.

\textsuperscript{\textit{115}}Lee, pp. 14-15. See also Gardner/Chambers, p. 43. In his early days in Wuchow, Chambers had Bible reading every night in his dining room. "Dining room full tonight," he recorded.
\textsuperscript{\textit{116}}Isaacs, p. 204.
\textsuperscript{\textit{117}}Holkeboer, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{\textit{118}}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, p. 83.
\textsuperscript{\textit{119}}Stuart, p. 90.
or elder brotherly heart. The hand that would guide and discipline must appear to withdraw.\textsuperscript{120}

Missionaries confessed that what was seen and what was experienced led, on occasion, to misperceptions, confusion, and clash of cultures on both sides.\textsuperscript{121} Even the simple and obvious differences in the appearance of westerners was enough to jolt the Chinese. "Crying babies" on the streets "dried their tears at sight of such queer beings with faded skin and long swinging gait."\textsuperscript{122} Indeed, readers were told, "white faces, prominent noses, blue eyes, light hair, were not human characteristics as [the Chinese] knew them."\textsuperscript{123}

Missionaries soon learned that familiarity with the Chinese manners which surrounded day-to-day intercourse was crucial. Pruitt described her efforts to behave according to Chinese expectations when she had Chinese guests.

I tried so hard to translate my manners as well as my thoughts into Chinese form. I, too, asked ages and family connections. I kept careful notes lest I forget and ask the same questions a second time, or credit Mrs. Wong's four sons to her neighbor, Mrs. Jong.\textsuperscript{124}

And again when she was the guest of a wealthy family of Hwanghsien she was alert to the fact that the manners she had acquired to deal with her day-to-day neighbors were not adequate.

\textsuperscript{120}Huntington, p. 203. See also Rawlinson, \textit{Naturalization}, p. 192. Rawlinson candidly warned that those who dispense favors are apt to wrap themselves in "spiritual cloaks made out of paternalism."
\textsuperscript{121}Huizenga, p. 100.
\textsuperscript{122}Holton, pp. 112-113.
In spite of James's injunction to be no respecter of persons, my heart was much disquieted. . . . With these superior people I must not use the accustomed forms of speech. Instead of asking as I was wont, "How old are you?" and "How many children have you?" I must inquire as to my hostess' "elevated longevity," and the number of her "superior progeny." Everywhere I must avoid the use of the second personal pronoun.125

Readers were clearly shown the problems surrounding the attempts of American women to be gracious and non-judgemental regarding customs. When the Parkers "invited some very rich ladies to dinner" they were "asked questions about nearly everything in the room" and then the guests "had the maids turn up our dresses to show what we wore underneath!"126

Palmborg described misunderstanding and confusion regarding wedding customs. When her "nurse helper" married in the hospital chapel, several of the groom's non-Christian university friends behaved in a manner considered most unacceptable to Palmborg.

I supposed they would be above the usual custom of going into the bedroom, lifting her skirts to see the size of her feet, pulling up the silk towel that covered her face, and saying embarrassing things to her. But they were not, and I offended them by interfering, to such purpose that some of them were for leaving the feast in anger! I placated them to some extent by telling them that as we had no such customs in America, I had not understood about them here, and apologizing as best I could without admitting that I approved. I learned something from it, and I hope they did.127

125Ibid., p. 48.
126Hamaker, p. 50.
127Palmborg, p. 29. That wedding took place in 1899, but Palmborg's book describing it was not published until 1943. See also Palmborg, p. 153 regarding her Chinese daughter's "American style" wedding in the mid 1920s. Several weddings took place in hospitals. See Powell p. 258; Fearn.
Palmborg gave other examples of confusion on both sides in attempts to be sensitive to the manners and courtesies of each other. For instance, Yung Wing on the ship returning to China after years in the United States "proffered" his seat to the woman, Dr. Palmborg, according to western custom; Palmborg, according to Chinese custom showed him respect by declining with "you, are old and I am young."128

Cressy offered an interesting illustration of misperception and confusion. A carpenter boasted of "getting the best" of a missionary whom he characterized as a simpleton. The missionary's gateman inquired of the missionary's language teacher if that accusation were true.

"Not exactly," he replied. "He is a graduate of a famous university and he knows our classics. He is not a fool, but he lacks the dignity of the superior man. He is too ready to admit that he is wrong and that makes me lose face as his teacher."129

And then there was the misperception on the part of the Chinese concerning the presumed wealth of the missionaries. Huizenga told of a Chinese farmer who thought he was "rich."

Had I . . . told that farmer how really poor I was in earthly goods . . . he would never believe me, for our homes look like the very heavens themselves to these poor people who know not what it is to have a floor or ceiling, a stove or a soft bed.130

128Palmborg, p. 30.
130Huizenga, p. 95.
Ideas were central to the possibilities of confusion. Missionaries were not unaware of this. Walter Lacy quoted from a letter which an early missionary had written.

"When we reflect how ridiculous those ideas appear to us which seem natural to the Chinese, we may be sure that ours, on corresponding subjects, are equally as ridiculous to them. We must become acquainted with the shape and complexion of their ideas and feelings, if we would have our thoughts find entrance and exert influence over them."  

Chinese and American missionaries were in touch as friends. "How," Scoval asked, "does one express that quiet quality of friendship with which a Chinese reaches out to you?" Friendships were described as genuine expressions, on the one hand of enjoying each other, and on the other, of faithfulness under extreme conditions. W. R. Williams' hair-raising account of being hidden in a well during the disturbances of 1927 by Chinese friends who put themselves in extreme danger on his behalf, was a classic case of friendship being tested to the ultimate. "Let no one think of your missionaries in China as being out there without any near-to-hand friends," he wrote. Not only had his

131 Pruitt, *Up*, p. 26. A simple example regarding the missionaries' task: The Chinese indulged him, Pruitt decided, because they viewed him as merely seeking "merit for himself by the good deed of conferring material benefits upon the Chinese in schools and hospitals."
133 Powell, pp. 79, 258; Burke, p. 68.
134 Scoval, p. 19.
Chinese Christian friends never failed him, but "the favors accorded him by non-Christians [were] at times notable."\(^{135}\)

And the friends worked together. Robert Bryan, who had spent nearly 60 years in China mused, "I was thinking the other day how finely the Chinese have treated me all through my life. I believe I'd rather work with the Chinese than with any other people."\(^{136}\) Missionaries and Chinese worked together not only in their churches, but in other endeavors as well. Palmborg discussed the "arrangement" she had "entered into" with the Bus Company which had built the road from Shanghai to her village of Liu-ho. She would provide free medical service to the bus company employees and in return she and the doctors of her denomination got free passes on the buses and "no toll" privileges on the privately owned bus road. "I do love the idea of working together for the general good!" she wrote. Not only did she have an arrangement with the bus company, but with the Chinese Buddhists who had a refugee camp across the street from her hospital. "How glad I am of our well! ... and [the Buddhists] are also glad to have our ... water."\(^{137}\) In all of the mission institutions, working together with the Chinese was essential. Fearn acknowledged that without the

\(^{135}\)W.R. Williams, pp. 170-171. See also Burke, p. 159; Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 202; F. C. Bryan, p. 202; Huntington, pp. 193, 200, 202; Spencer, Buck p. 133.

\(^{136}\)F. C. Bryan, pp. 249-250. See also Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 200. According to Rawlinson, it was essential for men "to learn to work together long before they can think together in final terms;" P. Buck, Fighting Angel, p. 128. Andrew Sydenstricker "learned bitterly" that he could trust the Chinese more than his compatriots.

\(^{137}\)Palmborg, p. 137.
loyal help of her Chinese nurse who accompanied her everywhere "until the very day [she] left Soochow," she "could have done nothing."138

With so much evidence of Chinese talent and dependability, what of turning "the work" over to them? Many missionaries thought in those terms according to their publications. In the strongest language Rawlinson wrote that if Christianity were indeed unique, if it were "to have any dynamic value at all!"--it "must" prove itself not to be dependent on the messenger. The "bearer of the message must yield authority."139 Several agreed and described the steps they had taken to strengthen indigenous Christianity. In 1902 Chambers "astounded the Chinese and shocked his fellow missionaries by not only refusing to serve . . . [as presiding officer of the Chinese Baptist Association], but by maintaining that a Chinese ought to fill this position."140 Bryan had a rule of his own, "'to shepherd a flock only until a Chinese pastor can be found.'" He granted that this policy had brought criticism upon him "'by some missionaries who said that the time was not ripe,'" but the "'more I can get the Chinese to take over, the more I see the wisdom of it.'"141.

138 Fearn, p. 30.
139 Rawlinson, Naturalization, pp. 192, 26. See Burke, pp. 34, 51, for an interesting and intriguing account of a famous "messenger," Young J. Allen, who was not prepared to yield authority and the resultant loss of "Charles" Soong from the missionary endeavor.
140 Chambers, p. 79. "That was the last time a foreigner was ever even nominated to this position and was one of the leading steps toward independence of the Chinese." See also Chambers, pp. 177, 198; Lee p. 18; Anderson, p. 30, "the missionaries have been subject to the will of their Chinese brethren;" Huntington p. 151 According to Huntington, the missionary was committed "to the precarious business of sawing off the limb on which he sat."
141 F. C. Bryan, pp. 195-196; Brockman pp. 189-205; P. Buck, Fighting Angel, p. 230. See also Walter Lacy, Chapt. V. Both Walter Lacy and Heeren provide detailed accounts of the movement to turn over authority and responsibility to the Chinese in the Methodist and Presbyterian communities. For Lacy's
Missionaries admitted that the living-together effort required learning on their part; according to their accounts, mistakes were made. Lee expressed confidence that the "mistakes were largely offset by the sincerity, mutual respect and affection" of personal relationships.¹⁴²

¹⁴²Lee, p. 23. For an example of confusion or insensitivity consider Burke's presumed obligation to display his democratic inclinations; he walked to a party rather than accept a chair carried by coolies, sent for him by his host. Burke, p. 180.

Imaginative description of a truly indigenous Chinese Christianity, see p. 15. In a church in Cleveland, he remembered, there were two colored windows, one was "colored with pigments externally applied, rich in shading and harmony, but varying in intensity and permanency. In contrast, the rich blue of the rose window has been fused into the glass. . . . the pigment which was introduced into the molten flux was extraneous to it but became an inherent part of the glass:
Chapter III

The Missionaries' picture of Chinese Life

The Chinese: a growing attachment

"the Chinese must be another chosen people of the Lord because of their peculiar endowments, separateness, and God's blessing upon them in their long life."1

According to Varg, the American missionaries pictured the Chinese as "a remarkable people, who if converted to Christianity, might even surpass the Anglo-Saxons."2 What the missionaries said about the Chinese was of significance because it was their words which had "largely" created the "vague, but nearly universal esteem" Americans came to have for the Chinese.3

The missionary writers made plain to their readers that it was they who knew the Chinese. They had observed, scrutinized and shared in the everyday life of the Chinese. It was they who could give a true picture.

Although China was pictured as a land over-run with people, Daniel Nelson cautioned, China was not to be seen, as "an inhuman

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1 F. C. Bryan, p. 248. quoting her father. See also Hollister, p. 16. "Surely God spoke to [China's sages] even as He did to the Hebrew prophets."
2 Varg, Miss. & Chinese, p. 105. See also Varg, pp. 17, 105.
3 Isaacs, p. 216
mass" of swarming blue coated figures, but as "a nation of . . . pulsating hearts."  

According to the authors, the Chinese were a people with high "ethical values and ideals. The "admirable" qualities, "built into" their very character," were enlarged on for American readers to take in. Much evidence was given of Chinese genius, intellect, artistic talents, courtesy, loyalty, dignity, endurance, love of life, frugality, generosity, common sense, and skills of adaptation in the quest for harmony.

There was no apparent attempt to overlook Chinese negative traits. They were not highlighted, however, and authors generally balanced the negative traits they noted with defensive explanations.

According to Huizenga, the Chinese were "of all peoples, most unique." So complex and so fundamentally different" that he feared it "almost impossible" to present a "fair . . . complete . . . [or] honest description." Unlike Huizenga, most long term China missionaries did not equivocate in their descriptions.

Readers were often reminded that the Chinese were largely peasants who valued land ownership tremendously. Their families

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4 Daniel Nelson, Journey to Chungking (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1945), p. 153. See also Spencer, The Land, p. 4; Herren, p. 41
5 Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 3; Frank J. Rawlinson, Chinese Ethical Ideals (Shanghai, College of Chinese Studies, California College in China, 1934), p. viii.
6 F. C. Bryan, p. 57; Rawlinson, Ethical, p. viii.
7 Huntington, p. 147.
8 Huizenga, p. 74
9 Ibid.
"lived for thousands of years on the same soil."11 "The land and the people [were] one."12 Unless forced, the majority had no "desire" to travel or move.13

In appearance, the Chinese is "small boned and graceful."14 Foreigners by comparison "are not as good looking as Chinese. We knew that we . . . would never attain to their standards of beauty."15 Huizenga, who confessed his limitations at description nevertheless determined to try. So charmed by the luxuriant black hair of Chinese women,16 he noted that Chinese men not only lacked generous growth on their heads, but their facial hair arrived "late."17 Chinese children "were wonderfully winsome."18

The differences between Southern and Northern Chinese in appearance and demeanor also received attention. According to Spencer, "The people of the South tend[ed] to be short, lithe and well built. In general, their skin seem[ed] to be a little fairer and their eyes more pointed or almond-shaped at the outer corner."19 Southerners were "quick."20 Northerners, on the other hand, appeared "a distinct

12Spencer, The Land, p. 8.
13Creighton Lacy, p. 21. See also Cressy, p. 59; Hutchinson, pp. 176-177, wrote on the other hand that the Chinese were "great travelers."
15Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 55
16Below, p. 80.
17Huizenga, p. 85.
18Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 55. See also Holkeboer, p. 13.
20Ibid., p. 9
race" with the features produced by their "Tartar blood." They were "tall, square-shouldered, dark-skinned. They tend[ed] to be slow in reaction." Nelson, found Northerners "proud of their cultural and traditional background" and in general "more polite and gracious than the people of South China." "North China," wrote Spencer, "is classical China, the [historical ground] of the sages."

As for "intellectual possibilities the Chinese are second to none." Pruitt spoke of their "intellectual stamina," which had persisted "in spite of generations of illiteracy." That "many of [Peiping's] ricksha coolies [could] read and write" gave evidence of that intellectual stamina. Chinese "genius," "capacity" for achievement, and "honor for wisdom" were relentlessly cited.

In addition, the Chinese were "artistic to their fingertips." To know that a thing is from China is to feel the spell which began two thousand years ago; the spell which will continue to exist as long as there are Chinese, for it is born of their nature.

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29Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 5; Stuart, p. 87.
30Spencer, *Made In*, pp. xiv, 30; Powell, p. 233; Palmborg, p. 259.
Readers were told of Chinese "natural theatrics," and love of music.31 Hollister put it poetically. "No one," she wrote, "can know the Chinese people, their past history, their art and literature, the quality of their civilization, without finding streams of truth and beauty."32

The courtesy of the Chinese was praised.33 Over his many years in China, Robert Bryan had found the Chinese "so uniformly courteous and thoughtful--even the most uneducated of them."34 Clayton's example of Chinese courtesy came from a hunting expedition experience. The Chinese guide, "without waiting for us to object," removed all his own traps and arrows so that the missionaries might have an uncontested hunt.

One of the party remarked, "Just imagine an American hunter doing that for a party of Chinese!" The courtesy and kindliness of these people for those whom they like is ever a marvel to me.35

Perhaps small proof of the long-term missionaries' "partial sinicization" was their high regard for Chinese courtesy in spite of Chinese discourteous curiosity. Palmborg wrote of being "followed by crowds from place to place" when she made medical visitations in villages. People even followed her into sick rooms, "crowding into the bedrooms in the most private kind of cases."36 Women entered her

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31Burke, p. 78; Harvey, p. 224. See also Powell, p. 248.
32Hollister, p. 15.
33Oss, p. 240. "The courtesy . . . of the old-school Chinese scholar makes Occidental etiquette seem crude and out of place."
34F. C. Bryan, pp. 249-250.
35Clayton, p. 148. See also Holton, p. 121; P. F. Price, p. 6; Burke, p. 60.
36Palmborg, p. 87.
room to watch her "dress and undress to satisfy their curiosity as to what kind of clothes I wear and how I get into them." Powell had similar experiences during his medical visits to outlying areas. He also realized that when the Chinese felt his clothing and went into his room to watch him eat and drink, "They did not intend to be a nuisance or annoy me, but were satisfying their curiosity in a good-natured way, and were so persistent that I gave up trying to keep them out of the room."  

Accounts of Chinese loyalty abound. When Powell's hospital was in urgent need of medical supplies which were held up because of ice on the river, he consulted with his servant, Yuin Ho, "as to what could be done." Over Powell's protest, Yuin decided to go himself. The round trip was over one hundred and twenty miles along the river bank.

Sixty hours after he had departed he returned with a load weighing over fifty pounds on his shoulders. His shoes were worn through and his feet cut and bleeding. With the exception of the few short stretches on ferries crossing the Chao and Yangtze Rivers, he had walked the entire distance without sleep and no rest.

And Fearn reminded her readers that

During the frequent social or anti-foreign upheavals, many disasters were averted because grateful patients brought news to the hospital of impending trouble,

37Palmborg, p. 99 (dated 1914). See also Hamaker, p. 50; Pruitt, Up, pp. 48-49. "How do you get into this garment?" "How much cloth does it take?" or 'How do you catch your fleas when your sleeves are so tight?"
38Powell, p. 176. See also Gardner/Chambers, pp. 41, 43; Palmborg, p. 41; Pruitt, Day, p. 14; Crossett, pp. 4-5; Heeren, p. 41; Eberle, p. 142. Several others on the subject of courtesy.
39Powell, p. 58.
though they came to us in the certain knowledge that the act might mean their death.40

Above all, the Chinese possessed a "sober common sense."41 They were a practical people.42 Graham wrote that they exhibited the "frugality" of a Scotsman.43 Oss wrote of their generosity to charitable endeavors.44

The Chinese were realists; "they know what man is," Spencer wrote.45 They were not a religious people.46 They were "fatalistic," in outlook, confident that "one more crisis [could] be faced, either in triumph or defeat."47 "Indomitable" with "great patience," bravery and "self-mastery," the Chinese "endured."48

In contrast, for example: "American soldiers in China" during the war "would have succumbed under the living conditions of the

40Fearn, p. 74. See also Fearn, p. 30; Brockman, p. 91; W. R. Williams, pp. 170-171; Eberle, p. 105; Scoval, pp. 184-186; Oss p. 241.
41Huntington, p. 186. See also Rea, pp. 1-2. "Stuart's 1946 dispatches reflect his deep faith in the common sense of the Chinese."
42Burke, p. 97; Nelson, Apostle, p. 55; Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 132.
44Oss, p. 163. See also W. R. Williams, p. 171; Powell, p. 205. Powell gives an example of an individual wealthy man and his "kindly habits" of charity.
45Spencer, Made In, p. 72. See also Burke, p. 89; Ballou, 180; Oss, p. 238.
46Burke, p. 120. According to Burke they "had no reverence for their multitudinous gods. . . . only a certain respect for them. . . . They wouldn't take the risk of offending them." See also Hollister, p. 16, regarding the Chinese "belief in a Supreme Power." "This sense of a ruling Power is part of the people's heritage." It might result in fatalism Hollister states; Gustav Carlberg, China in Revival (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1936), p. 245. The Chinese lack of "sin consciousness" was, according to Carlberg "a source of much trouble and grief to the missionary workers."
47Burke, p. 111; Huntington, p. 104. See also Rae, p. 182. quoting John L Stuart on the subject of Chinese fatalism.
48Nelson, Journey, p. 104; Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 5; Rawlinson, Naturalization, pp. 27, 75; Nelson, Apostle, p. 105. Nelson refers to the brave Chinese who "died by the millions in defense of their country;" R. T. Bryan, p. 36; Hollister, p. 115.
ordinary Chinese soldier." And Chinese ingenuity under stress was only short of miraculous. "When imports were cut off" during the war, "Professor Lin Yi of Fukien Christian University [had indeed] made motor fuel from pine roots." Examples of Chinese character during that period were provided by many authors. One from Clayton's account:

The remarkable tenacity of the Chinese, their determination to carry on every single worth-while activity regardless of the dangers or whatever the conditions, was evident everywhere. On the first day the bombs had torn up the track directly in front of the station, had twisted the rail into ribbons, had dug holes twenty feet in diameter and ten feet deep in the station platform, and had decorated the wood work with bits of shredded sheet iron roofing until it all looked like a prickly pear. But two hours later the afternoon train to Shanghai passed over the repaired roadbed and the passengers mounted the train through a station almost cleared of debris.

The next day six high-explosive bombs were followed by incendiary bombs, and in less than a minute the whole station was ablaze. Flames roared through it for three hours; but four hours after the bombing, the evening train loaded two hundred passengers for Shanghai.

The "stoicism" of the Chinese in daily life was brought to the attention of readers. They were "probably the best patients in all the world." The medical missionaries, Palmborg and Powell, also questioned American endurance, by comparison. Describing a

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50 Ibid., p. 38.
51 Clayton, p. 175. See also Nelson, *Journey*, p. 147, "Bombs can not destroy them;" F. W. Price, *Twilight*, p.4.
52 Spencer, *Made In*, p. 93. See also Powell, p. 310; Oss, p. 240
particularly difficult obstetrical case Palmborg determined that American women could not live through "what women will live through here."53

Authors stressed the impressive "virility" of the Chinese in spite of filth, lack of medicine, "fever-racked bodies," and natural disasters.54 Through it all the Chinese lived "a life of self-respecting independence," living it with a "smiling face."55

There was a lighter side of the Chinese to be appreciated as well—their "keen sense of humor,"56 their love of life,57 their pleasure in human company, their fondness for little children, their hospitality and geniality.58 At the same time they were possessors of a traditional calm.59 Even those who "lived in . . . comparative poverty," had self-respect and dignity.60 According to Ida Mae Pruitt, "all" Chinese had dignity and integrity. It was evident "in their bearing, in their every movement, and in the expressions on their faces."61

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53Palmborg, p. 102.
54Burke, p. 104. See also Powell, p. 76; Price, p. 53.
55Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 15. It is well to note, Rae, doc 9, pt. 5 p. 269, John Leighton Stuart on this subject. Stuart did not lack a sense of realism himself. During China's disaster years immediately following the war he warned that even Chinese patience and endurance had limits. "The long-suffering Chinese populace," he wrote, "can endure a great deal but when it comes to daily necessities like food and fuel there will be riots."
56Poteat, p. 21. See also Palmborg, the Preface by Mrs. F. J. Rawlinson; Ballou, p. 153.
57Spencer, The Land, p. 28. See also Spencer, The Land, p. 16; Burke, p. 21.
58Poteat, p. 21. See also Burke, p. 172; Huntington, p. 24.
60Cressy, p. 102.
61Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 133.
The Chinese walked the Confucian way: the way of the "wistful dream" of "complete virtue," achievable by "the Princely man."\(^{62}\) From such complete virtue must come harmony. Out of that dream came Chinese strategies for social interaction. In the precise words of Creighton Lacy:

The Chinese . . . are adept at reaching a satisfactory compromise between two alternatives of action, between two possible dangers, between two seemingly diametric opinions. From the earliest centuries they have possessed this distrust of extremes in any phase of life. This rejection of extremes is not a sign of apathy or surrender of principles. Rather, it is the knowledge, born of ageless experience, that life is more simple, peaceful, and harmonious if a Middle Way of mutual agreement can be found.\(^{63}\)

The Chinese were seen to be masters "in the art of compromise."\(^{64}\) They shrank from "absolute" positions.\(^{65}\) They approached no issues "with the assumption that [there was] only one side."\(^{66}\) They did not push.\(^{67}\)

Rawlinson knew that to Westerners the Chinese way of retreating before opposition would appear to "be a show of weakness;" he explained their "restraint" in terms of strength.\(^{68}\) His readers were given Chinese proverbs to ponder.

\(^{62}\)Hollister, p. 16. See also Oss, p. 240, regarding "the Superior Man" and "control of . . . emotions."
\(^{63}\)Creighton Lacy, p. 74.
\(^{64}\)Poteat, p. 28. See also Oss, p. 238. "The Chinese regard the loss of temper as the greatest of shortcomings."
\(^{65}\)Ballou, p. 180.
\(^{66}\)Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 27.
\(^{67}\)Ibid., pp. 30, 45.
\(^{68}\)Ibid., p. 28-29. See also Eward Hicks Hume, The Chinese Way in Medicine (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 1.
"If you lift your hand to strike you are three-tenths lower than your opponent: if you begin a fight you have no Li."\(^{69}\)

and

"A wealth of yieldingness gives firmness. Yieldingness will overcome anything superior to itself: its strength is boundless."\(^{70}\)

Burke provided personal anecdotes to illustrate the Chinese way. When he rebuked a Buddhist, the Buddhist only "nodded and smiled in ever-polite Chinese agreement."\(^{71}\) During his first days in Sungkiang he marveled that:

People were not reacting as . . . [he] had hoped. . . . How were these people to be argued out of their darkness if they wouldn't argue?

A strange case which involved "self mastery" as well as the consequences of failed compromise instructed Burke further:

A man ran to the parsonage shouting "I am bleeding to death! . . . The man had got into an argueement with his wife and, in a burst of celestial passion, had seized a butcher knife and chopped off the tip of his [own] forefinger.

Burke looked to Kwe, his Chinese language teacher, for explanation. Kwe put the incident into Chinese terms. "'It was better [for the man] to relieve his anger by cutting himself [rather than for him to cut] his wife.'"\(^{72}\)

The way of accomodation was responsible for what John Leighton Stuart referred to as the "native Chinese genius on techniques of

\(^{69}\)Li=The rites of propriety.
\(^{70}\)Rawlinson, *Naturalization*, p. 28.
\(^{71}\)Burke, p. 171.
\(^{72}\)Ibid., pp. 110-111.
political compromise."73 Involved also was the basic tolerance of the Chinese regarding "the foibles of others."74 Chinese, labeled "pacific" by nature, did not "care much" who ruled them as long as "they had peace."75 It was only when the government manifested "any weakness" which resulted in disorder that the Chinese cared.76 Then, they exerted their traditional "right to rebel."77

Authors noted the "strange paradox" of a people, "peaceful [by] nature,"78 a people, "generally calm under duress and strain,"79 a people not militarily inclined80--yet a people who engaged in the "violent outlawry and rebellions which . . . marked every generation of China's history."81 Burke, Rawlinson and others, all of whom had stressed the heavy hand of family and clan upon the lives of individuals, pointed to the "individualistic character of the people" as basic to the paradox.82

During the war years missionary writers tried to convince Americans of the democratic instincts of their Chinese allies. Because of their individualism, readers were led to believe that, "by nature," the

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74 Caldwell, p. 50.
75 Oss, p. 163; Hamaker, p. 44.
76 Nelson, Apostle, p. 105.
77 Huizenga, p. 67. Huizenga quotes Mencius and notes the Confucian way of obeying the Prince.
78 Burke, p. 74.
79 Oss, p. 238.
80 Spencer, Let's Read About China (Grand Rapids: The Fideler Co., 1948), p. 18. Written in the context of the Chinese "usually" being defeated in battles with European invaders.
81 Burke, p. 74.
82 Ibid., pp. 74, 135. See also Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 45.
Chinese were "a democratic people,"83 "with the oldest and strongest cornerstones for democracy"84 Lacy supported his contention with myth and history.

Through four thousand years of recorded history, millions of Chinese have shared the conviction that "tyrannical government is even more oppressive than ferocious tigers."85

In spite of the "heroic, patient, [and] kindly qualities" noted, there were also negative aspects to consider.86 The realities of Chinese behavior did not match their professed ideals.87 And they exhibited traits, which while not evil, were irritating to Westerners. The practice of "Squeeze," for instance, required missionary accommodation.88 Although the Chinese were, "generally speaking . . . very honest," it was "equally true . . . [they were] always trying to get the best of [those they were] dealing with."89 Understand the practice this way, Huizenga said:

Jacob boasts of his honesty and at the same time he uses all his ingenuity to get out of Laban what he can, and

\[\text{\smaller 83}\text{Spencer The Land, p. 78. See also Stuart, p. 5.}\]
\[\text{\smaller 84}\text{Creighton Lacy, pp 10-11.}\]
\[\text{\smaller 85}\text{Ibid., p. 15. Lacy continues with a story attributed to Confucius about the woman who lost several members of her family to tigers including her only son. Confucius asks her why she doesn't move and she replies that "here there is no oppressive government." See also Gardner/Chambers, p. 72.}\]
\[\text{\smaller 86}\text{Hollister, p. 16.}\]
\[\text{\smaller 87}\text{Burke, p. 90.}\]
\[\text{\smaller 88}\text{Powell, p. 18.}\]
\[\text{\smaller 89}\text{Huizenga, p. 37.}\]
Laban in turn changes his hire over and over. Such is also common in China.90

Burke was irritated because the Chinese "overcivilize . . . everything they touch."91 Powell found "some of their habits were always difficult to endure."92 Their behavior "at their temples, theaters . . . [and] places, which in the West normally elicit rapt silence" was "clamorous and unruly."93 Although "not intentionally," they had a "habit of doing things upside down."94 By American standards, they "do not put . . . much emphasis on details;" they were "careless."95 In addition Chinese were "never in a hurry," often "frustrating" those "missionaries who employ[ed]" them.96 But Hamaker could explain such slowness because her amah had taught her that hustle and bustle was unseemly:

It was so vulgar the way Americans were always walking fast, all over the place, always trying to be "on time" somewhere. That's why Americans never seem like really polite gentlemen. They are in too much of a hurry. It is not wise, nor is it polite, upsetting people like that.97

Nelson presented a picture of the Chinese unhurried way. The Peking to Hankow train upon which he was riding had already been stopped once for fear of bandits. When it stopped the second time,
The passengers were notified that the engine had lost a huge bolt and that it was impossible to proceed without it. Men were running along the railroad track with flashlights looking for the lost bolt. It all seemed very foolish at first, but . . . they actually found the bolt which was installed with great ceremony. . . . The train made the 150-mile trip in 22 hours, true to the ancient Chinese proverb: "Pu P'a man, chiu p'a chan." (Do not be afraid to go slow; fear rather to stand still.)

The missionaries included serious charges against the Chinese character which Americans readers would have found difficult to excuse and the authors found difficult to temper. Readers had to know that vice was not absent among the Chinese; after all, that was "true of any people on earth." Ballou admitted that:

The splendid qualities of individual Chinese [as well as] the lofty principles of much of their literature and philosophy . . . were overshadowed by the more obvious evils of the general social order, and by the exasperating wiliness of officialdom.

Everywhere the missionaries felt the "Chinese indifference to misery." In graphic detail Powell described executions, torture, mob actions, and cruelties which to him "seemed out of place among a race of people who as a whole were peaceable and gentle." At brutal sights which nauseated him he found crowds of Chinese "clapp[ing] and clapp[ing] and clapp[ing] and clapp[ing]" and

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98 Nelson, Apostle, p. 97.
99 F. W. Price, Rural, p. 16, 31. Price along with other authors granted that "sexual irregularities and the use of intoxicating liquors [were] not a particular weakness of the Chinese people." See also Powell p. 197. "gambling" was the national weakness.
100 Ballou, p. 43. See also Eberle, p. 63; Crossett, pp. 42, 107-108.
101 Greene, p. 16.
cheer[ing] loudly."  

Hamaker, who had witnessed similar events, explained to her readers and to China "new comers," that, "those for whom life is painful and hopeless cannot be blamed if they are cruel."  

Rawlinson denied out of hand charges of cupidity, mendacity, lack of reliability, and criminality sometimes hurled at the Chinese. John Leighton Stuart, however, born and raised in China of missionary parents, and long-time missionary himself, noted other serious flaws. In his reports to the Department of State during the difficult days of his ambassadorship to China, he wrote of the Chinese "lack of self-reliance," their "instinct for relying on others," their "inclination to look for a scapegoat when things go wrong," and "their pride of race." Such flaws he attributed "partially to age-long social patterns." As the situation in China continued to deteriorate in 1948, he made further effort to interpret for his American superiors.

The present tension is accentuating the peculiar Chinese dread of public criticism and the fallacious habit . . . that maintenance of proper appearances is the supremely

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102Powell, pp. 106-112.
103Hamaker, p. 64. See also Burke, p. 85. Burke found a positive attribute among the otherwise cruel public displays. "The Chinese" he said "never hurt demented people."
104Rawlinson, Naturalization, pp. 17, 75.
105Rea, pp. 94, 165, 278. It is interesting to note that the rather harsh indictments--which appeared in secret government memos--written during days of hopelessness and international crises, did not appear in his published material written during his private days of retirement in America. In his communications with Washington he tried with little success to describe the Chinese and how they should be handled. While his direct analysis of Chinese character identified traits which from the western perspective were negative, the same reports indicated positive Chinese traits which Americans, with their limited focus, failed to appreciate and in their ignorance failed to use. See also Clayton, p. 94.
106Rea, p. 94.
important emphasis. This "make-believe" is a deeply-ingrained instinct and helps to explain why . . .
Government officials issue statements which are manifestly unreal.\textsuperscript{107}

He warned the Department of State that China was in crisis and that the "Chinese" have a "tendency to panic in times of crisis."\textsuperscript{108} In his book Stuart wrote of the tendency to reckless "herd movements" of "even the most orderly and friendly students" of Yenching during times of crisis.\textsuperscript{109} Huntington, having experienced many incidents of disorder over her 26 years in China, had noted the same propensity: "the Chinese mind is peculiarly susceptible to crowd psychology and under strong emotion becomes a menacing factor in any tense situation."\textsuperscript{110}

On balance, however, the missionaries wrote of a cheerful, "peace-loving, industrious, patient, [and] resilient people" who exhibited "self-respect and consideration for the feelings of others, family loyalty and neighborliness;" who had more "interest in the arts of peace than [in] the arts of war;" who possessed both "skill of hand and keenness of mind."\textsuperscript{111}

They were a people who faced their foes,

whether human or in the forces of nature, with adaptation and compromise, rather than with analytical inquiry with a view to control and transformation. . . .

\begin{footnotes}
\item[107]Rae, p. 183.
\item[108]Rae, p. 142, dated Sept. 1947.
\item[109]Stuart, p. 79.
\item[110]Huntington, p. 147. Huntington was referring especially to Chinese youth of the "young Republic" whose notions of freedom were manifested in disorder.
\item[111]F. W. Price, \textit{Rural}, pp. 159, 16.
\end{footnotes}
[Their's] is an attitude towards the universe which accepts all life, human, animal, vegetable, as part of a totality, in which the vital process moves on; while danger, disease, disaster, death, are believed to be as normal a part of the universe as health and happiness.\textsuperscript{112}

Huntington drew the Chinese with more fancy. The Chinese have "a sense of the dramatic," she wrote.

It is this 'divine fluid,' this elan, that makes Chinese life the colorful fabric that astonishes and delights the West.\textsuperscript{113}

The foreigner finds it difficult to understand a people at once fiery and phlegmatic; sensitive and practical; romantic and materialistic. Perhaps the key to understanding is the fact that the Oriental is a complex personality.\textsuperscript{114}

Above all, the Chinese, in Ballou's words, were "one of the world's greatest peoples," to Nelson a "wonderful race . . . past finding out."\textsuperscript{115} Ida Mae Pruitt added assurance: even though

old ways have passed into history, the basic character of the people is still there: their independence . . . their sense of fair play, their never-ending diligence, their sense of rhythm and harmony, and their dignity.\textsuperscript{116}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{112}Hume, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{113}Huntington, p. 147.
\item \textsuperscript{114}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{115}Ballou, p. 1; Nelson, \textit{Apostle}, p. 97.
\item \textsuperscript{116}Ida Mae Pruitt, p. xiii
\end{itemize}
Filial Piety

In examining Chinese life the missionary writers saw that "the social order remained practically unchanged," in spite of "China's heartbreaking extremities," of "advancing and retreating armies . . . pestilence, famine and drought." They concluded that the tradition which had contributed to and preserved the very richness of Chinese culture had nurtured also an accepting attitude toward deprivation.117

Filial piety was at the core of Chinese tradition, according to the missionaries. A fundamental of Chinese life over China's long history, it was "the most potent of the forces holding the Chinese people to traditional ways."118 Its basic tenet was faith in a relationship between the living, the dead, "and those who were to be born."119 Younger generations were called to give older generations complete care and respect "both during life and thereafter."120 Elders, "cherished" under the system of filial piety, "were the center of [family] life" and its major decision makers.121 Adherence to filial piety gave the Chinese family its stability and strength.122 The

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117 Hollister, pp. 10, 50; Hume, p. 1; Palmborg, p. 70; Harvey, p. 8; Carlberg, pp. 17-19; Powell, pp. 260-264.
118 Hume, pp. 9-13. Hume wrote of the fragments available of "prehistoric days," of records of the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.) and of "philosophic writing of the Chow dynasty (B.C. 1122-249)" which indicated the long stretch of filial piety.
119 Spencer, The Land, pp. 80-81.
120 Hume, pp. 9-13.
121 Hollister, p. 49. Hollister continues with words of Confucius regarding the family and the "proper functioning of a state."
122 Spencer, The Land, p. 20. See also Harvey, p. 250; Creighton Lacy, p. 148, "no other nation has ever built so firmly on 'the sanctity and solidarity of the family.'"
pervasive concern for family left little room for other community concern, missionaries noted.123

Missionaries testified to the reach of filial piety into all of family life. Even one's given name placed demands upon one's behavior in terms of filiality. The eldest male member of the family chose, after much consideration, one-half of the given name of a new child. He might choose "virtue," or "wise," or "beautiful." Whatever the name, it was given to all members of a particular generation, and it was meant to function as a guide, inspiration or even command.124 One was required forever to exert all effort to perform according to the expectations implied in his (her) name. Holkeboer quoted Jin-gi's mother who reminded her son:

"remember the name [your father] gave you, 'Jin,' meaning charity or benevolence; and 'gi,' meaning righteousness. Those are the qualities for which he stood, and for which he dreamed his son would one day stand."125

Missionaries' descriptions of the implementation of filial piety in the Chinese family, based on ideas so fundamentally different from those of the West, captured the attention of their readers. One of its most shocking elements involved its "expression" in "vicarious suffering."126 Harvey turned to Chinese literature to offer evidence.

123Poteat, p. 8. See also Hollister, p. 53; Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 6. Pruitt explained the isolation of interest of the Chinese family or clan in terms of its isolated "work" which was done "as much . . . as possible within its own gates."
124R.T. Bryan, p. 81.
125Holkeboer, p. 18.
126Rawlinson, p. 179.
There could be found the well-known tale of a pious young woman who cooked a piece of her own thigh muscle into a dainty dish for her aged sick father that he might be restored to health.\textsuperscript{127} Hamaker wrote, not of literature and myth, but of actual missionary medical experience. A girl was brought to the hospital, she wrote, because she "had bitten a large piece of flesh from her own arm to make 'curative soup' for her father."\textsuperscript{128} This familiar story was repeated by the missionaries.\textsuperscript{129} The idea of self-mutilation, no matter how noble the purpose, had shocked the missionary, and he meant to grab his audience with it.

Missionaries noted the various applications of vicarious suffering and the related notion of vicarious responsibility. The person responsible for an action in any situation depended upon place in the family hierarchy. While responsibilities and relationships were very clear to all Chinese,\textsuperscript{130} to western minds the rankings were a maze.\textsuperscript{131} Anna S. Pruitt attempted to explain in both of her books.

It is comparatively easy to learn a word for brother, but one word is not enough. An older brother is one thing and a younger is quite another. A father's older

\textsuperscript{127}Harvey, p. 249.
\textsuperscript{128}Hamaker, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{129}Fearn, p.33. While Fearn had only one case of a daughter biting her own flesh to make soup to save her father, she wrote that "such stories are often related in Chinese ethical works."
\textsuperscript{130}Clayton, p. 210. "to the filial child no sacrifice for father or mother is too great." Clayton gives the example of "women from respectable families" who "were selling themselves to the Japanese." There was no other way, "families had to be fed; parents had to be cared for."
\textsuperscript{131}Poteat, p.4. "A Chinese family is a much larger affair than the small group of father, mother, and children. . . . It may include several hundred persons."
brother is one kind of an uncle, but his younger brother is a different variety entirely. Neither must be confused with a mother's brothers, who in turn, are altogether different from the three varieties of uncle-in-law.132

A small child must learn the correct title and number of each individual. . . . Where we generalize with the one term "cousin," they differentiate according to generation and age into brothers and sisters; and into uncles and aunts, each of five different varieties. The grandparents are so numerous as to require numbering.

Ni-ni, a father's mother, must never be confounded [confused] with lao-niang, a mother's mother.133

It was extremely important for individual family members to be well versed in the very specific manners, acts of respect, and duties each relationship required so that "living generations [might] enjoy the blessing and protection" of their ancestral spirits.134 Not to act filial, in strict accordance with li displeased the spirits, caused disharmony and threatened family and clan stability. Indeed, unfiliality was "the lowest vice."135

Adherence to filial piety, so crucial to the operation and maintenance of "many families under one roof," assured that stability which so impressed the missionary authors. Missionaries noted that certain Chinese families traced "their ancestry back more than a

132Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p.23.
133Anna S. Pruitt, Up, pp.14-15. See also: Poteat, p.4
134Hume, p. 13. Hume quoted The Classic of Filial Piety, Hsiao Ching which gave details of the type of service and degrees of affection each relationship required.
135li=the rites of propriety; Poteat, p. 4.
Dr. H. H. Kung, for instance, could "trace his ancestry directly back to Confucius...a period of seventy-five generations and over two thousand years."\textsuperscript{136} It was not only the lineage of the famous that missionaries cited. Anna Pruitt, for instance, wrote that a mason, being "but a projection of the family line," could "truthfully say, 'I have been making bricks for 300 years.'"\textsuperscript{137}

Tena Holkeboer noted that the large family arrangement made "for sociability as well as for strong family ties."\textsuperscript{138} Missionaries cited Confucius on the subject. "'From the loving example of one family a whole state becomes loving, and from its courtesies, the whole state becomes courteous.'"\textsuperscript{139} Courtesy, under the conditions of Chinese family life, required its own skill. Hu Shih, one of China's most forward looking "modern" men, turned to the sages, when asked to comment on large family successful living.

When an emperor of the T'ang asked Chang Kung-i by what principle his family had managed to live together for nine generations without separation or division, the grand old man...wrote a hundred times the word "forbearance."\textsuperscript{140}

Holkeboer published a sad account of a family which failed the test of forbearance under filialty. Jin-gi's mother told him:

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\textsuperscript{136}Poteat, p.7. Kung was a Chinese Christian leader, married to one of the Soong sisters and Minister of Finance in the Nationalist government.
\textsuperscript{137}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Up}, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{138}Holkeboer, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{139}Hollister, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{140}\textit{Ibid.} See also Frank J. Rawlinson, \textit{Naturalization}, p. 46. Rawlinson elaborates on the value of forbearance. One who forbears is "the most valuable personality;" is one who "can express [himself] most fully through and with other personalities."
"Your father's brothers were jealous of [him] and in time life in the ancestral home became unbearable to us both. . . . Your father was determined to break away from tradition and build a home of his own. True, it grieved his parents, but was it not better than the grief caused by constant quarreling and bickering?"\textsuperscript{141}

The consequence for Jin-gi's mother of her husband's decision to leave the ancestral home was abandonment by both her husband's wealthy family and her own. The missionaries saw that "permanent removal from the home of one's father [was] a disgrace for the living" and caused real-life problems beyond concern for offending the dead.\textsuperscript{142} After becoming a widow, Jin-gi's mother spent the remainder of her life in "extreme poverty," often homeless, hungry and cold.\textsuperscript{143} Unfilial behavior would not be tolerated; it upset the whole social structure.\textsuperscript{144}

Responsible filial behavior required the production of a next generation. Nothing was sadder, Hollister wrote, than the cry "'I have no grandchild'."\textsuperscript{145}The "terror of neglect and eternal homelessness" was as much a fear for the after-life as for life in the present. The obsession, the drive for progeny caused Harvey to claim that, because of dependence upon heirs for "ancestral worship,"

\begin{footnotes}
\item[141] Holkeboer, pp. 18-19.
\item[142] Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Up}, p.135.
\item[143] Holkeboer, p.25.
\item[144] Cressy, p. 55. Cressy expressed the realities of the village in similar terms: "The personality of the village overshadows the psychology of its individual members."
\item[145] Hollister, p. 31.
\end{footnotes}
"the rearing of children" in China was "a religious act of the first rank." 146

Children were of importance, missionaries explained, not for themselves, but for the attention they could provide elders. For this reason, children were treated differently in China. Something as simple as a birthday celebration stimulated conversation on the subject between missionary Burke and his young friend Lok. Stopping by during Burke's 30th birthday festivities, Lok was surprised that a 30th birthday induced celebration. "In China very little attention is paid to any birthdays earlier than the fiftieth," he said.147

Readers were made aware that parents in China had absolute right and authority over their children, in fact the right to decide if they should live or die. When Dr. Fearn expressed indignation over the action of a Chinese mother who was angrily banging her child's head against a wall, Fearn was told that it was not of her concern because the child whose head the mother was banging belonged to her--"it is her child."148 Holton pictured several children as victims of greedy or unfeeling adults, usually fathers.149 Such examples indicated insensitivity and harshness--still missionary Charles A. Powell assured his American readers that "the same fatherly

146Harvey, p. 5.
147Burke, p. 179.
148Fearn, pp. 50-51.
149Holton, pp. 80, 107.
feeling[s]" they felt were also "hidden under [the] yellow skin" of the Chinese father.150

Powell and other missionaries elaborated on the traditions which underlay the shocking behavior of Chinese parents and attempted to develop understanding among their readers for the unfortunate natural and cultural environment which produced behavior that Westerners would see as aberrant. Filial piety, according to the missionaries, often required submergence of "natural" feelings, for instance, the undervaluing of little girls. Because only male children were "eligible for carrying on [the] ancestral worship," only male children were important.151 Male descendants alone had "a permanent place in the family history, the children of a daughter [were] not grandchildren, but only 'outside born.'"152

Chinese Women

A Chinese woman was the victim of filial piety. In the image of China created by the missionaries, her life was sketched in minute detail. To Mary Brewster Hollister, Chinese women represented an example of China's higher art of life. They exhibited a "kindly grace and courtesy that [made even] the simplest village woman a

150Powell, p. 334 See also Fearn, p. 72. "Unsurpassed examples of the love of parents for their children and of children for their parents may be found everywhere in China."
151Harvey, p. 5.
152Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p.24. See also Palmborg, p.18.
gentlewoman of high degree." Readers learned of the life and the world out of which that gentlewoman came. They read of unwanted babes, young girls, brides, wives, and exalted mothers-in-law.

The missionaries' interest in the Chinese woman began early. In 1835, Medhurst and Stevens, of that small handful of earliest American Protestant missionaries, commented on "the miserable, squalid, and sallow aspect of all" Chinese women; they confessed to "an indelible feeling of compassion for their helpless lot." "Not one female have we seen who could read," they wrote. "Even in wealthy homes," Gordon Poteat confirmed much later, "girls could only snatch at . . . learning by listening outside the door while their brothers were being taught." The "widely influential" Confucian ethic was primarily responsible for this situation, missionaries noted, because Confucius taught that "the lack of learning in a woman is . . . a virtue."

Before discussing the Chinese woman in his 1927 book, medical Lee S. Huizenga established his authority on the subject.

In . . . years of contact with Chinese women, professionally, at home and on the street, I have seen them sick and well. I have seen them dead and alive. I have seen them dressed and naked. They have prayed to me for help. I have heard them scold till they were white in the face. . . . I have heard their heart throbs and have felt their pulse beat.

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153 Hollister, p. 18.
155 Poteat, p. 65.
156 Ibid.
157 Huizenga, p. 54.
These women, Huizenga explained, were not raised for their intellect but for "their looks." They concentrated on their potential for beauty in order to enhance their "marriage possibilities."\(^{158}\) They took "their looks" seriously. "No woman went abroad, except the old, without first whitening her face and putting red on her cheeks."\(^{159}\) Contrary to the early observations of Medhurst and Stevens, later missionaries saw not just the sorry aspects of Chinese women, but also their "poise and dignity" and above all their charm.\(^{160}\) Cornelia Spencer said that:

North or south the Chinese girl has charm. It lies in her heavy blue-black hair, her fine-grained olive skin, her shining black eyes and her well-shaped hands--the most beautiful hands, probably, of all the world.\(^{161}\)

Huizenga, enraptured, wrote of:

Young girls [with] beautiful, long and thick black braids hanging down their back. They spend much time combing and dressing their hair. They wash and oil [it]; they tie beautifully varied colored strings about [it]; they powder their sweet faces and when they grow older shave their foreheads--all to be pretty. And pretty they are!\(^{162}\)

To the lovely creatures just described fell the "fearful burden," imposed on all "the women of China," of producing the maximum number of male children.\(^{163}\) According to many missionary writers,

\(^{158}\)Ibid., p. 57.
\(^{159}\)Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 124. See also Huizenga, p. 54; Anna S. Pruitt, Day p. 8, "genteel women could take the air" only in their courtyards.
\(^{160}\)Hollister, p. 52.
\(^{161}\)Spencer, The Land, p.15.
\(^{162}\)Huizenga, p 84.
\(^{163}\)Harvey, p. 250.
Chinese women carried out their filial obligations without the support and benefit of full, "intimate" lives with their husbands, whose major obligations were to their own mothers. Kwok Ying Fung's book dedication to his mother, provided an example of a young husband's primary concern.

I close my eyes and see a slight figure trudging down a road. With little food and only a daughter-in-law to attend her, she walks five days. Her journey is long and hazardous. At night she creeps from enemy-occupied territory... She has suffered widowhood and hunger without a son to lean upon.

In this piece, which so touchingly describes Kwok's solicitude for his mother, no mention is made of concern for his wife who is also engaged in the journey "long and hazardous."

The benefits of the filial system fell to the man. Girls learned early their place in the family. Holton gave many examples, including that of Hei Ting whose major responsibility was to tend her little brother. Although her father usually spoke to her harshly, he only grew truly "cross... when she let her little brother cry,--and after all that was a serious offense." Women were subject to "complete obedience" to parents, brothers, husbands and "when widowed," to their sons. The taunts of a little boy, directed toward a girl "so very tiny and sweet," expressed the value of women

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164 Huizenga, p. 59. The Chinese woman "lives with women, tells all her secrets to women, walks with women, talks with women, lives in women's quarters."
165 Fritz Henle (ed.), China, Foreword, as quoted in F.W. Price, Twilight, p. 46.
166 Burke, p. 180. See also Anna S. Pruitt, Up, pp. 40, 46. "A man's chief duty to his family is to raise sons to worship [the] ancestral shades."
167 Holton, 84-85.
168 Poteat, p. 8.
succinctly: "'What's the good of a girl . . . except to cook rice or sew coats?""169 Girls were valued only if their numbers were not excessive, and if their presence could be managed financially, according to the missionaries.170

Pruitt offered graphic evidence of the elevated value of males in Chinese society by sketching the contrast in treatment of mothers who gave birth to boys, and that given mothers who gave birth to girls.

When a boy is born, notice is posted on the gate for all the village to share the good news and send felicitation in the form of eggs for the mother of a son to consume, that she may nourish the child and speedily regain her own strength. The work of the nurse in a family that can afford that luxury is mainly the preparation of eggs for the patient, poached, five to a meal, and as many as fourteen meals in the twenty-four hours. . . . The birth of a girl is not of sufficient importance to call even for announcement or congratulations.171

From his medical experience Huizenga reported:

If the little girls come without bringing brothers they are very unwelcome. Not a few of such little ones have never been washed of their blood and left to die. . . . Over and over little girls have been offered us as we attended their mothers.172

Because of their anger and frustration at the birth of a girl, parents and grandparents often would not speak to Dr. Huizenga as he took his leave after the delivery. He told his readers of the likely

169Holton, pp. 129, 133.
170Fearn, p. 34.
171Anna S. Pruitt, Up, pp. 40-41. Spencer, The Land, p. 104. Spencer wrote of the nourishing quality of eggs. "One of the best gifts to bring a sick person is ten fresh eggs or a nice hen to make soup of."
172Huizenga p.55; See also Brockman, p. 45.
fate of poor unwanted girls if they lived—they would be rented out or sold for slavery or "evil purposes."\textsuperscript{173}

Crossett related several similar stories, all "true." Her heart broke, she said, because she and her husband did not have the facilities to establish an orphanage "to take care of all these pathetic children." Her husband did bring home one little creature he found under a straw mat by a lakeside:

I untied the filthy rags in which she was wrapped only to find that nothing had been done for her from the time she was born. There she was in her unclean state, crawling with maggots. Her eyes, nose, ears, mouth—every aperture in her miserable scrawny little body was full of writhing maggots. . . . Getting her cleaned up took several days as she was too weak to stand much of it at a time.\textsuperscript{174}

Ida Mae Pruitt asked her brother's amah how many girls she had had. When the amah replied she had had six, Ida Mae asked her "in surprise, 'Where are they'"

Dead, I killed them all. I choked them to death with my own hands. When each child was born I said to the midwife, "What is it?" and if she said "A Boy" I took it into my arms and nursed it. If she said it was a girl, I held out my hands but I would not look at it. If I had looked at it I would have loved it and could not have done what I had to do. I choked the life out of it. How could we feed so many mouths?\textsuperscript{175}

\textsuperscript{173}Huizenga p.56. See also Lee, p. 40; Burke, p. 221; Rawlinson, \textit{Naturalization}, p. 80. "There are many distressing features connected with commercialized vice in China, the chief probably being that its source of supply is girls sold in infancy or early youth."

\textsuperscript{174}Crossett, pp. 40-46. Crossett nursed the babe to "fat health" but her little mind did not develop normally and she died while yet a child.

\textsuperscript{175}Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 85. See also Spencer, \textit{Buck}, p. 61.
Missionaries accounts are filled with stories of girl babies being killed, forsaken to die in doorways, on the side of the road, in trees, in shrines, left to be eaten by animals and birds.176

In their images of Chinese girls and women, scenes of betrothals and marriage were drawn. With gentle poetry Betty Stam described an aspect of Chinese betrothal as contemplated by a youth:

How can I choose? I am wild for the Plum Flower, 
She who would brighten the years of my age; 
When I have seen her--but twice in my life time-- Always her laughing eyes spoke of her heart-- 
Jasmine, beloved, once have I seen you; 
Often your brother has pictured your grace, 
Till I adored you, Oh Midnight and Moonlight, 
Fragrance of Sandalwood, Flower of Jade!

Here from my gown have I drawn out their letters, 
Answering love poems I painted on silk: 
Fragrance of Plum Flower declares that she loves me, 
Jasmine confesses in exquisite verse-- 
It is not possible I can determine 
Which of the maidens is dearer to me-- 
It is no matter--when I was an infant, 
My Great-Honored Father betrothed me to both.177

176Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, pp. 133, 146. Dead babies were placed by the side of the road at night. "By morning there would be only a few rags or bits of matting to show where the dogs had feasted." Missionaries told also of orphanges where babies were "sorrowfully" left. See Powell, p.334; Huizenga pp.104-106; Anna S. Pruitt, *Day*, p. 43. Among all the books read only Fearn, p. 34, denied that "Chinese kill[ed] girl babies." To be dealt with below in Chapter IV, several missionaries adopted or supported little ones that came to them.

Within a general cultural framework, the strategies and details surrounding betrothals and marriage depended on local custom as well as the economic and social status of the families involved. Because in China marriage was "as much a matter for the parents as for the prospective bride and groom--if not more so," "the head of the family" controlled "marriage arrangements." Most matches were made "through a middle man" at the time "tender stamens begin to unfold."

Missionaries told of both successful and unsuccessful arrangements made by go-betweens. Some missionaries were willing to consider that the practice could lead to stable marriage while others were less sanguine. Rosa Palmborg wrote of a young woman whose arranged marriage had left her a slave to her "profligate" husband's family. "What a pernicious custom!" she cried. "Here is this beautiful girl put into a hell . . . by her own mother." who was probably "deceived by the go-between."

Missionaries also drew happy scenes of marriages planned and described various rituals which announced engagement. Irene Forsythe described one in colorful detail for her readers. "Although there would be no wedding for a number of years:"

Mrs. Fan and a friend steamed large two-pound loaves of the whitest of white bread, forty of them. They

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178 Poteat, p. 4. See also Hokeboer, p. 53.
180 Palmborg, p. 76. See also Holton, pp 19-28. In her story titled "The Wedding Slipper" Holton makes reference to women being used as pawns to secure family survival.
were to go to the Wang family with the silk cloth, ... the silver bracelets, the rings, and the money gift. These engagement gifts, together with the announcement agreement written in black ink on red paper, would all be packed into boxes. A man would carry them, swinging from the ends of the carrying pole on his shoulders, to the Wang family home. Thus would the engagement be announced.

The red envelope was put carefully on top. The Wangs would sign ... and return the contract in the boxes—the contract [was] almost as binding as the wedding itself.¹⁸²

While Forsythe's account was pleasantly picturesque, Dr. Fearn's rendition of the realities for the "poorer classes" was less rosy. "It was the custom" for them:

to send the bride-to-be to the groom's family as soon as she was old enough to help with the work, in the fields or in the house. . . . Human nature being what is, it often turned out that she . . . saved her in-laws the cost of an elaborate wedding; fond as the Chinese are of weddings . . . [because] only virgins in China rate weddings.¹⁸³

Because of early marriage, the period of youth in the rural areas was "very short."¹⁸⁴ From their own experience, Pruitt, Holkeboer and others discussed this phenomenon, which adversely

¹⁸³Fearn, p. 148. See also Huizenga p. 56; Anna S. Pruitt, Day, pp. 66, 9. Pruitt discusses the subject of chastity. "The bamboo is the emblem of chastity and its gracefully waving foliage warns against intrusion."
¹⁸⁴F. W. Price, Rural, p. 208. See also: Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 46. Pruitt suggests that these very early marriages produce "numerous but weak progeny."
affected missionary efforts, in both schools and churches.¹⁸⁵ School routines were frequently interrupted as boys were called home for their weddings. Chinese Christian congregations suffered controversy from several angles because of early marriage arrangements. Pruitt told of one such "experience that threatened to disrupt [her] church." It had to do with

the broken . . . engagement of a school boy . . . . The middle men, who were prominent in the church, and had acted in all good faith, felt that we should expel the offending boy from school, and the church should excommunicate him and his parents. [Because of the broken engagement] the girl's mother would likely commit suicide and her death would be laid at our door.¹⁸⁶

Missionaries witnessed many brides going to their weddings "weeping" because they knew that they were leaving behind "all who love them."¹⁸⁷ They were being carried off in their red chairs to the "strange clan houses of their betrothed" where life would be "practical slavery."¹⁸⁸ Missionaries "saw many wedding processions going up or down [the] road," accompanied by "little" groups "of

¹⁸⁵Goddard, pp. 101-102. For Goddard the very early marriages affected his effort to train and employ nurses for his hospital. "Practically all girls were betrothed at an early age and would be married in their teens, so the training hospital, in order to maintain a nursing staff, signed a contract with the parents of each pupil nurse stating that she would remain five years, of which three years constituted . . . training."
¹⁸⁶Anna S. Pruitt, Day, pp. 107-108. See also Holkeboer, pp. 52, 78-79, for other examples of the church's impotence regarding early marriage tradition.
¹⁸⁷Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 53. See also Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 34; Huizenga, p. 57.
¹⁸⁸Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 97. See also Anna S. Pruitt, Day, pp. 33-36; Idem, Up, p. 53; Hollister, p. 49; Huizenga, p. 57, "Marriage days are frequently days of tears for the bride."
musicians and those carrying banners."\textsuperscript{189} The bride carried with her all the clothing she would need for her lifetime as well as specified furnishings.\textsuperscript{190}

Authors gave details of the weddings which would be of interest to women readers.

It takes many hours to prepare an Oriental bride. . . . A twisted string is run over the bride's face removing the fine hairs making the surface smooth for the application of the whiting and rouge . . . . With tweezers the long hairs above the forehead are pulled out to give the heightened brow that distinguishes a married woman.\textsuperscript{191}

Perhaps never having seen each other before the ceremony, the bride and the groom together worshiped "the ancestral tablets of the groom's family."\textsuperscript{192} Edwin Harvey explained that the spirits of ancestors were very concerned with "durable sex unions" because the resultant children would insure their eternal care.\textsuperscript{193} In this regard, it was assumed that mothers had given their daughters "detailed knowledge about sexual relations . . . on the eve of their marriages."\textsuperscript{194}

\textsuperscript{189}Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{190}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, p. 37. Pruitt gave a picture of what was required of the bride. She: "brought with her stacks of bedding and chests full of clothing. A girl is expected to take to her husband's home all the garments she will need as long as she lives, wadded clothing for winter, lined for spring and fall, and thin gauze or fine linen for summer; bright red for the years before she is thirty, dark blue for later life, and light blue for her old age. All are cut by the same pattern, but trimmed differently."
\textsuperscript{192}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, pp. 33-36.
\textsuperscript{193}Harvey, p. 249.
\textsuperscript{194}Hume, Chapter I, Lectures 1 and 2.
Congratulations were "offered, not to the bride, nor primarily to the groom, but to the [groom's] parents." Neighbors flocked in to comment on the bride's "beauty, her pock-marks, the size of her feet," and her trousseau.\textsuperscript{195} For the feasting, which was a major part of the celebration, the men and women were separated.\textsuperscript{196}

After the ceremony the bride no longer belonged to nor was a member of her own family. She became "the property" of the groom's family, ready to engage in the major purposes of her marriage and her life—to care for the elders of her husband's family and to produce large numbers of male children for the essential ancestral worship.\textsuperscript{197}

Missionaries addressed the practice of concubinage in China.\textsuperscript{198} Rawlinson explained that it was justified in Chinese terms by the "embedded" drive for male children necessary for ancestor worship.\textsuperscript{199} Shocking to Americans, it was a practice available to the young as well as to established households. Hollister quoted the "Chinese dean of a provincial (government) middle school, who [had] made a survey of the

\textsuperscript{195}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, pp. 33-36.
\textsuperscript{196}Ibid. Regarding the attire of men guests at the wedding: "Each of the men wore a ceremonial or 'wedding garment.' This differed from ordinary wear, not in material or texture, only in the cut. It opened down the front instead of at the side. . . . No one thought of appearing without the \textit{wai-tao} or outside envelope." Fabrics worn by guests were from patched cotton to lovely satins.
\textsuperscript{197}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Up}, p. 42; Harvey, p. 249.
\textsuperscript{198}J. C. Arlington, "Family Laws of the Chinese" \textit{China Review}, Vol. XXV, p. 87, as quoted in Rawlinson, p. 65. "The practice of concubinage has resulted in the recognition in law of thirteen kinds of mothers in China." See also Huizenga, p.57.
\textsuperscript{199}Rawlinson, \textit{Naturalization}, p. 59.
. . . five hundred students in the school," over two-thirds of whom were married.

One phrase constantly heard among students is "When shall we take another?" Recently many have discarded their three-inch, golden-lily-footed wives and chosen others on the basis of mutual love.  

Missionaries, with some discomfort, sensed at times, the possibility of their own involvement in the Chinese practice of concubinage. They saw that many of the boys who had received a western education at their hands, outgrew their girl brides not so privileged. The missionary Anna S. Pruitt expressed special concern for the temptations faced by her former students who had acquired skills, during their mission school education, which enabled them to be successful in the western enclaves of port cities. With their new means they could take a "small wife." "The new wives, bought at the ports," Pruitt wrote, "were of a decidedly different type from the 'real wives' left at home. They were more sophisticated, often better educated, and more attractive."

It is clear that dealing with concubinage caused dilemma within the small Chinese Christian community whenever it collided with the demands of the new religion. Palmborg, in her folksy style, told of such a situation within her own church. A young man who desired to

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201 Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 62. "Mother was happy that she was able to increase the earning power of these boys who came to her school."
202 Anna S. Pruitt, *Day*, p. 112.
become a Christian was under the pressure of filial piety to take a concubine.

His own mother is dead, and one of the former concubines . . . has been elevated to the position of wife, and he calls her "second mother." She has no son and is afraid she will not inherit a large share of the property. She has a very pretty slave girl, whom she wants "Little Plum" to take as a concubine, as his wife has not child. . . . Her idea is that if he had a son by this maid, it would belong to her and she would have an equal right in the inheritance. Queer, isn't it?204

Concubinage represented one of the major challenges to the missionaries, deeply rooted as it was in filial piety with its demand for male off-spring.205. Yet, "Thou shalt not commit adultery" was one of the foundations of the system for which the missionaries sought acceptance. Missionaries were convinced that the consequences of concubinage, for both practical and religious reasons were dire, for both the young men of their concern as well as for the women whom they deemed to be betrayed or misused. How to convince the Chinese that there was a better way? Divorce was not a solution to be considered because, according to the middle school principal quoted above, it would isolate and be exceedingly unkind to the handicapped "lily-footed" wives or to any other woman who by marriage had been removed from the protection of her own family.206

204Palmborg, p. 48. See also J. R. Graham, p. 28 for another account of a new Christian's dilemma regarding concubinage.
205In terms of filial piety, concubinage was the system which assured the male heirs necessary for care of elders and ancestors.
206Hollister, pp. 58-59. "There are at present millions of small-footed wives who are unable to take care of themselves. To cut them off suddenly by divorce will leave them destitute and starving."
The life's path for a Chinese woman, who entered the world as an unwanted baby, who developed into a charming girl, who married and no longer belonged to her own family, who was destined to be a slave to her mother-in-law, finally led to the pinnacle of mother-in-law status. She finally had daughters'-in-law of her own. All of this was predictable if life took its intended course. If nature's cruel turns intervened, such as widowhood or the absence of a male heir, the appropriate unfortunate consequences were borne as one's fate or destiny.

As for the mother-in-law, her position was virtually supreme. She was the object of her son's cherishing. Her daughter-in-law was totally subject to her bidding. She was served by her daughter-in-law in the morning before all others, often with especially prepared "tasty dishes." In her "august" presence the daughter-in-law did not even sit.

To be a slave is always to be diminished, and that was the role of the daughter-in-law—from the poor girl who was sent to serve the family of her betrothed when yet a child, to the more fortunate younger woman whose situation of subservience and obligation to her husband's family did not begin until after the marriage ceremony. According to the missionaries, she could be put upon and overworked. She could

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207Huizenga, pp. 55, 60.
208Crossett, p. 80. See also: Gardner/Chambers, pp. 84, 87. Young widows who did not remarry were considered most virtuous. The Chinese attitude toward the remarriage of a widower was different. "They have no feelings about haste in re-marriage" of a widower.
209Forsythe, pp. 64-65.
210Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 50.
211Ibid. p. 66.
be emotionally as well as physically abused.\textsuperscript{212} The mother-in-law was "usually very exacting of her daughter-in-law and [was] apt to be . . . cruel."\textsuperscript{213} Missionaries wrote of more than a few daughters-in-law whose "tormented" lives caused them to take the "death road."\textsuperscript{214}

Even in the later days, as missionaries prepared young women for careers in education or nursing, the custom of daughters-in-law, serving mothers-in-law remained strong:

For example, a teacher in one of the mission schools had been well educated by missionaries and was earning a good salary. Her own mother with younger children were [sic] in great want, but she could not help them. Her husband had left for work in Manchukuo soon after marriage. She said, "Were I to meet him on the street, I should not know him." His people were not in want, but her earnings belonged to them as truly as though they came from a son.\textsuperscript{215}

Even E-ling, Palmborg's adopted daughter, who had grown up at the mission station and had traveled and studied in America--was subject to the Chinese way in marriage. Her mother wrote that E-ling was "not happy" when she was left alone to live with her husband's parents while he studied in America because "his parents . . . have the old Chinese feeling that the child of a son is theirs to rule."\textsuperscript{216}

\textsuperscript{212}Hamaker, p. 48. The author's amah never wanted to go home because "her mother-in-law would beat her."
\textsuperscript{213}Huizenga, p. 59 See also Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{214}Fearn, p. 32. See also Burke, p.116: "Old Chinese law gave wives only two grounds for divorce--long continued desertion and leperosy." By taking the "death road" the young wife achieved revenge insuring disgrace for the husband's family.
\textsuperscript{215}Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 42. See also Palmborg, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{216}Palmborg, p. 164.
For Chinese women, the missionaries' struggle to lessen day to
day pain included efforts to remove the thralldom of bound feet.
Missionaries saw bound feet to be an ultimate exhibit of male
dominance and imposed female dependence or impotence.

The practice varied in different regions, according to the
missionaries. "In North China [it] was universal. Even beggar women
had the pointed . . . Golden Lilies." Any "girl with unbound feet was
ashamed to appear on the streets of her native village."\(^{217}\) On the
other hand, in Kiangsu, the area of Huizenga's work, bound feet were
a mark of distinction which did not encumber farm girls, servants or
boat people.\(^{218}\)

Foot-binding was actually a maiming carried out to enhance the
marriage potential of young girls by producing the three-inch tiny
feet so admired by men.\(^{219}\) Missionaries described the maiming
process in great detail, the strenuous binding with rags, ever tighter,
until the once healthy feet of women were left crippled.\(^{220}\) Powell
exhibited x-rays of the broken bones and the ghastly deformities
which caused pain to the victims for the remainder of their days.\(^{221}\)
Missionaries told of the dread with which young girls faced the
painful process. Hei Ting looked at her mother's feet and

\(^{217}\)Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 42.
\(^{218}\)Huizenga, p. 88
\(^{219}\)Hollister, pp. 58-59. "Foot binding for the girls has not yet been abolished,
and the brides-to-be are still led to believe that the three-inch 'golden lily' is a
special charm." See also Ayscough, p. 20.
\(^{220}\)Huizenga, pp. 56. 87-88; Powell, Chapt; XXX; Palmborg, p. 41.
\(^{221}\)Eberle, p. 113. An example: The Dr. operated on the stump leg of a woman
whose "feet had fallen off due to infection from foot-binding."
"shuddered; this was the last year her own would be allowed to grow freely."\textsuperscript{222}

The "golden lilies" of the Chinese woman, beautifully covered with their hand-embroidered silk slippers, produced a mincing hobbling movement considered to be sensuous by Chinese men.\textsuperscript{223} By American missionaries the "golden lilies" were considered to be stumps "like clogs of wood" which caused nothing but great pain, which inhibited movement, imposed dependence, and ruined lives.\textsuperscript{224}

Missionaries discussed the work that women could do in traditional China, given the great handicaps of little learning and hobbled feet. According to Huizenga a Chinese woman could "not walk without becoming weary very soon. She cannot climb, she can do but little work."\textsuperscript{225} With "no wish to exalt the cruel practice" of foot binding, Anna S. Pruitt recognized that at least in her northern province of Shantung, it kept women from becoming "beasts of burden."\textsuperscript{226}

\textsuperscript{222}Holton, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{223}Hollister, pp. 58-59.
\textsuperscript{224}Holton, p. 84; Hamaker, p. 88; Holkeboer, pp. 14, 35, 64; Forsythe, p. 26. Missionaries were firmly committed to unbind the feet of Chinese women. That also presented problems. The unbinding of feet could be as painful as the binding both physically and emotionally, missionaries knew. Should girls with bound feet be required to unbind them in order to enter a missionary school? While missionaries wanted to discourage footbinding, they did not want to discourage girls (or the family decision maker) from seeking admission to their schools.
\textsuperscript{225}Huizenga, p. 88.
\textsuperscript{226}Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 88.
Missionaries wrote of the difference between the work-life of a wealthy woman and that of her impoverished counterpart. Pruitt wrote that actually "the lot of a woman of wealth is . . . less enviable" than that of the poor. The work of the wealthy woman was done by slaves and daughters-in-law, leaving little for her to do "but sit in luxury on her kong and eat," to occasionally play "mah jong and other gambling games." Even the maintenance of long fingernails required long hours of soaking nails in "weak tea." "As the years of inactivity pass, she grows heavier in body and less able to balance herself on her tiny feet. She is more and more kong-bound."227 And even in her leisure hours she could not seek escape in reading since, according to the missionaries, few could read.

It was of the less fortunate that the missionaries wrote most. They wrote of women who for centuries wove the fabric, made the clothes, cooked, tended the pigs and chickens, and served the elders.228 Wives of shop owners helped their husbands in their shops.229 Farmers' wives, though "small footed, often helped in the fields in addition to performing household tasks."230 Missionaries wrote of women who sold their own milk, not only as wet nurses to children, but "to old and feeble men."231

227Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, pp.35-36. Italics author's. The kong is the surface above the heating unit used for a bed.
228Hollister, p. 49. See also Anna S. Pruitt, *Day*, p.105 for description of home laundry routine.
229Powell, p. 327.
230Ayscough, p. 39. See also Huizenga p. 59. Note that some authors wrote that those with bound feet did not work in the fields.
231Hollister, p. 129; Huizenga, p. 105.
They wrote of young women and girls who "dipped their parboiled, shriveled hands into scalding water to collect strands of silk" in the silk making process.232 And they wrote that although "data indicate that illicit relations between the sexes are becoming something of a problem in rural communities . . . few village women make a business of prostitution."233

Missionary authors clearly indicated that the fierceness and strength, which at times Chinese women were seen to display, came out of their lives of frustration.234 The insufferable circumstances which produced the Chinese women of strength or viciousness, which produced the victims of "the death road," produced also the gentle women of "kindly grace and courtesy."235

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232 Clayton, p. 45.
234 Fearn, pp. 34-35; Ayscough, p. 61.
235 Above, p. 78.
Day-to-Day.

Death, Graves, Funerals:

The writers' portrayed Chinese day-to-day life as both dark and light, exotic and incomprehensible, enchanting and tragic. With so much to tell, missionaries maintained the interest of their American readers. They even discussed with them the Chinese way with death. Because Chinese belief in ghosts and spirits caused deep-seated social problems, missionaries gave attention to the subject.236

Wherever missionaries cast their eyes upon uninhabited space, they saw the burial mounds which were integral to the landscape.237 They found burial sites pleasant places in which to have picnics or in which to simply rest while taking walks. Anna S. Pruitt assured her readers that such familiarity and use was not considered disrespectful by the Chinese nor was disrespect intended by the missionaries. It was simply that around those mounds trees were apt to have grown offering shade to the picniers as well as to the spirits whose resting place was there. The small stone tables which fronted each mound, there for the offering of food to the ancestors, served also as handy benches.238

236Harvey, p.14; See also Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 97. "Always" in China "the living and the dead were close to each other," neither setting the other free."
237Powell, p. 53; Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 97; Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 46; Alexander, p. 106; Burke, p. 27; Holkeboer, p. 55.
238Anna S. Pruitt, Up, pp. 13, 26.
The western notion of a cemetery actually did not relate to China's burial places. Western readers needed another picture which was drawn in the precise language of the missionaries. China was "pimpled" with mounds which were actually graves; the landscape looked as if it had been invaded by "gophers."\textsuperscript{239} Wherever one could see, little "hillocks" covered earthly remains.\textsuperscript{240} There were no "public cemeteries" because "each family [had] its own burial ground" with graves mounded high or low according to the means of the family.\textsuperscript{241}

The dead were buried at whatever time and in whatever spot the geomancer's divining considered most auspicious, missionaries wrote.\textsuperscript{242} Feng shui, the magic of wind and water, was the final arbiter; it determined the most comfortable final resting place.\textsuperscript{243} No Chinese dared to ignore feng shui or the dead would be eternally restless and the living would suffer the consequences.

The "extreme solicitude for graves" was not temporary.\textsuperscript{244} For generations, male members of the family and clan returned to their ancestral homes on special days to tend to the welfare of the ancestral spirits buried there. After their own death they returned again "literally" to sleep with their fathers.\textsuperscript{245} Women did the

\textsuperscript{239}Ibid., p. 46; Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{240}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Up}, p. 133.
\textsuperscript{241}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 42, 46; Powell, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{242}Burke, p. 60. At times there was a lengthy period between death and burial as determined by feng shui.
\textsuperscript{243}Palmborg, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{244}Harvey, p. 82. See Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, p. 43, for explanation regarding the burial of children, those unbetrothed etc.
\textsuperscript{245}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, p. 14.
necessary chores in the caring for ancestors, but only men could carry out the ritual which called forth the propitious spirits.246

Irene Forsythe gave her readers a particularly detailed account of the annual Spring Festival. The women "prepared trays full of food, sacrificial papers, incense, and wine" which were placed on a table "before the scroll on the . . . wall that bore the ancestors' names."

The men, carefully dressed, [went] to the graves with great solemnity to invite [the ancestors] calling loud and clear, "Grandmother, Grandfather, come home!" They walked home decorously, supposedly escorting the spirits to the family shrine.

Cheng's mother . . . prepared at this time of year a little dough lamp holding a wee bit of oil, which was to be lit and placed on top of the tall grave mound. This was supposed to draw off all the worms that had entered since the last New Year. . . .

Place[d] . . . respectfully on the grave[s] . . . hundreds of tiny points of light glimmered in the graveyards as far as the eye could see.247

This solemn, beautiful spectacle the women observed from a distance and so did the missionaries.

All aspects of Chinese death required careful planning, including the acquisition of coffins. Authors described the construction of coffins and the pride with which they were owned. For children to provide their elders with a coffin was a most filial act;

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246 Forsythe, p. 17.
247 Ibid., pp.17-19.
no gift was more appreciated. It would be stored under beds or even in full view. Chinese elders also were comforted when their burial clothes were ready. The more luxurious those clothes, the more comfort elders derived; one returned, after all, in his next life with the clothes he took to his grave in the previous life.248

Authors outlined minutely the preparation of the coffin and the body for burial. Some missionaries went to their graves prepared in the Chinese manner. Mrs. Robert Bryan, for example, was placed in a huge coffin made from

the heart-sections of mulberry wood logs, and lacquered outside in Chinese red. It stood four feet high, eight feet long and two and one-half feet across. Into its deep interior they dropped, . . . first a layer of charcoal, and than a three-inch layer of lime, repeating this process until the coffin was half full.249

Bodies, garbed in fine satin, would be surrounded by "small packages of lime . . . made to fit the shape of the body and packed snugly about it until it was entirely covered."250

Missionaries attempted to produce a multi-dimensional sensual re-creation for their readers of the wailing funeral processions which marched past their quarters. The spirits of the deceased needed to be accompanied to the burial site with as much fanfare as the family could manage.

Funerals, small ragged ones, or mammoth ones streamed by . . . Some coffins were so big and heavy

248 For information regarding details outlined in this paragraph see: Palmborg, p. 230; Forsythe, p. 70; Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 114; *Idem. Up*, pp. 47, 97; Eberle, p. 144; J. R. Graham, p. 56.

249 F.C. Bryan, p. 142.

250 Powell, p. 158. See also Palmborg, p. 58.
that eight or ten bearers were needed. . . . One like that would belong to a wealthy family and would be heralded by a band. Musicians were dressed in rented costumes, sometimes very costly and lavish, worn with little attention to size, over their own tatterdemalion garments showing beneath, and exposing open fronts of scrawny beggars.\textsuperscript{251}

Each funeral cortege, whether poor or splendid, contained replicas of elements the spirit would need in its spirit abode: stacks of paper money, paper horses, huge creations of paper homes furnished in great detail, paper telephones, or for the very rich, paper cars--all to be burned to spirit form for the use of the dead ancestors.\textsuperscript{252}

Such filial piety was expressed at all levels of society. Edwin Harvey claimed that the "regal mausoleum" with its "magnificent approaches" built by the Kuomintang at "enormous" expense to house the "body and soul" of Sun Yat-sen symbolized the hope that he would continue to bestow blessings upon the nation.\textsuperscript{253} For generations, spirits of the poor as well as those of the noble used up scarce resources because the welfare of the living, the Chinese believed, depended upon the favor of those dead who were pleased.

One writer estimated that 13\% of China's areable land was not available for cultivation because of the haphazard placement of graves.\textsuperscript{254} Missionaries also pointed to the public health issues involved in Chinese burial practices since scanty burial and careless

\textsuperscript{251}Hamaker, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{252}Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 97; Powell, p. 201; Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, p. 120; \textit{Idem, Up}, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{253}Harvey, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{254}Burke, p. 27.
placement often produced undesirable stench as well as polluted water supplies.255

Superstition

Missionaries learned about the omens or superstitious fears which directed a large portion of Chinese everyday life. Superstition had been a major hindrance to the missionaries in China, both in terms of their own lives and their work. Feng shui had often determined where and how they could build their homes, hospitals, schools, and churches since no shadows could fall upon graves.256

Superstitious belief and practice was rooted in the Chinese concept of soul, Anna Pruitt explained. "Each adult individual is commonly said to have three souls and seven half souls. These half souls are dissipated, one by one" under the stresses of life, she wrote. At death the three joined souls separated to fulfill distinct functions. One went to the temple for judgement, one took up residence in the wooden tablet at home where it was "worshiped at stated times during the year."257

The third soul should stay with the body and be buried with it. Lest it stray away from the corpse, in Hwanghsien a live chicken is fastened to the coffin to

255Powell, p.159.
256Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 14. See also: Oss, p. 25. Oss reveals a variety of building projects held up because of feng shui's concern for "the unseen powers;" Spencer, Made In, p. 128, "Some of the most bitter incidents between Westerners and Chinese have been related to this question of disturbing the 'wind and water' of a place, the Westerner disregarding what to him seems pure superstition."
257Anna S. Pruitt, Up, pp. 46-47.
lure the soul along on its way to the grave. There the fowl is killed and its blood, its life, is hastily interred.\textsuperscript{258}

According to medical missionary Edward Hicks Hume, "Calling for the return of the soul is something that may be witnessed everywhere in China."\textsuperscript{259} Hume gave his readers a picture of the ritual performed by a frightened mother attempting to treat her baby in convulsion:

finding that her first attempt to coax the infant back to consciousness is in vain, [she] hastens up to the roof of the house, waves a bamboo pole to which is fastened a garment of the sick child, and calls aloud, many times over, "My child so-and-so, come back, return home." Meanwhile another member of the family beats a gong loudly, to get the attention of the missing soul. After a time, it is expected that the absent spirit will return and recognize the garment and quietly slip back into it. The garment, with the expected spirit, is taken back to the sufferer, and placed upon him or at the side of his bed. If he does not recover speedily, evidently the soul has not yet returned, and the mother hastens back to the roof to repeat the ceremony.\textsuperscript{260}

Hume, who spent his years in Changsha, noted that "In some parts of China the ceremony of recalling the soul is much more elaborate."\textsuperscript{261}

Given this information regarding the Chinese fear of souls escaping, readers learned that what appeared to be frantic activity

\textsuperscript{258}Ibid. See also Fearn, p. 30. Fearn whose work was in Soochow and Shanghai wrote of a soul's 6 parts and of the use of chickens at graveside.
\textsuperscript{259}Hume, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{260}Ibid., pp. 21-22.
\textsuperscript{261}Ibid. See also Fearn, p. 37.
during times of crisis was likely to be prescribed ceremony. A soul lost was a soul uncared for, unattended, one apt to cause trouble.

Souls escaped at the crucial time of death and at other times of physical or emotional crisis. Any illness might trigger their getting loose. A fainting spell might herald an escaped spirit. Indeed, the world which contained evil as well as wandering spirits was a fearful place for the Chinese, missionaries wrote. The spirit walls erected before the entrance to public buildings and homes, as well as the crooked streets ubiquitous in China, could be explained in terms of barriers to ward off malign or impetuous spirits which traveled in straight lines only.

And there was more. Cressy quoted Little Yang: "We Chinese are more afraid of vampires than almost anything else." Vampires were thought to be ancestors or relatives whose bodies would "suddenly rise up in hideous form and unwithstandable strength" to "pounce upon the living . . . and suck their blood, or take their lives in some horrible way." One account concerned the exaggerated terror of an old man who was in the room at the time another died. The old one was paralyzed, cowering in a corner, not daring to move, fearing that any movement on his part might call out the vampires which had invaded the lifeless body. A young missionary was called

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262 Harvey, p. 5. Even Chinese nurses trained by the missionaries were "generally averse to wakening a sleeper lest his absent soul should later be unable to locate its usual dwelling place and become 'lost.'" See "Chinese Medicine," below.
263 Burke, pp. 113-115.
264 Harvey, p. 32. See also Cressy, p. 98.
265 Cressy, p.106.
three times during the night by the relatives of the catatonic old man
who sought repeated assurance that walking across the death room,
out the door, would not release unmanageable malevolent forces.\textsuperscript{266}

In addition to the ghosts, spirits and vampires which needed to
be propitiated or hidden from, the Chinese had to remember various
gods, the kitchen god, for instance, or the god of fire, all of whom
required special attention.\textsuperscript{267} The Chinese had to consider the mood
and response of the dragons that lived beneath streets and hills.\textsuperscript{268}
There were omens also to be heeded. A sneeze was one omen, the
twitching of an eye, another. An owl portended bad luck, a magpie
meant good luck.\textsuperscript{269} And one needed to avoid stepping on a shadow
for fear of harming the soul which was a "part of [its] substance."\textsuperscript{270}
According to the missionaries, these superstitions were not limited to
the uneducated peasants, the upper classes took care not to violate
them as well.\textsuperscript{271}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{266}Ibid., p.103.
\textsuperscript{267}Forsythe, p. 22; Palmborg, p. 69. Palmborg told of a woman's house being
burned and of her ostricisam by the Chinese. No one would help for fear of the
fire god. "I told them I was not afraid of him and had her carried to our place."
\textsuperscript{268}Spencer, \textit{Buck}, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{269}Harvey, p. 197.
\textsuperscript{270}Hume, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{271}Harvey, p. 197. See also Powell, p. 267.
\end{footnotes}
Chinese Medicine

The medical missionaries pointed to the relationship between superstition and medicine in China. They illustrated the depths of medical deprivation.

According to Harvey, "Chinese doctors attribute[d] all types of physical ailments to spiritual causes." That led "the ordinary Chinese," he wrote, to shamanism, "exorcism, charms, and magic" in his effort to "regain the favor of the displeased ghosts" responsible for his illness. Hume discussed Chinese belief in the "double" soul with its "antagonistic" good and evil elements, not in terms of superstition, but in terms of the Chinese drive to balance opposite forces--requisite to good health. To the Chinese, "health and disease are related to the universe as a whole," Hume explained. Not only was the individual aware of his soul as a ground of conflicting forces seeking balance, but his knowledge of its "inevitable linkage" with "deeper" relationships--the spirits of mountains and rivers--brought him "into touch with the infinity of the universe."

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272Harvey, p. 67. Harvey conceded that Chinese doctors "seem also aware of natural causes for disease."
273Harvey, p. 179. See Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 103. During the bubonic plague of 1911 a magistrate in Laichow ordered "each person to wear a horse's bone tied in a red rag; women to wear it on the right side and men on the left. They were also instructed to throw black beans into the wells at night, when no one was looking." Holton, p. 37. Parents spent much money to secure the services of a priest to cure their sick child. The priest "sang his loudest chants; he burned whole piles of idol paper; he lit the most fragrant incense."
274Hume, pp. 5, 16. Hume discussed "the cosmological ideas" of yin I and Yang I as forces related to achieving balance.
275Ibid., p. 6.
American readers would be surprised by Hume's further efforts to make Chinese medicine clear:

Everything that has material form is provided with a spiritual counterpart. Each of the five elements is described as having a parent, a child, an enemy, a friend. Water has metal for a parent, wood for a child, earth for an enemy, fire for a friend. Imagine the complexities of the task confronting the physician and the pharmacist of China, as they evolve a diagnosis or compound a prescription and have to bear in mind all these intricate relationships!276

In spite of Hume's occasional references to the exotic, he attempted to deemphasize the superstitious aspect of Chinese medicine as he explained to his audience its worthy goal: the achieving of balance and harmony. Acupuncture aided in "removing the excess of Yin or Yang;" plants and animals' organs supplied "deficiencies or eliminate[d] excesses."277 Hume noted the Confucian teaching concerning the sacredness of the body which was the basis for Chinese aversion to surgery.

Other authors were very specific about the actual health situation.278 Balance aside, cosmic notions aside, history aside, if the Chinese were to achieve personal or public health, a no-nonsense approach was essential. According to Dr. Goddard, who granted that

276 Ibid., p. 19.
277 Ibid., pp. 47, 55, 121. Hume wrote of Chinese belief in the "life-conferring qualities" of jade and gold "on account of their mystic relation" to heaven and of the peach as an "agent of longevity." See also Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p 80.
278 Price, Rural, p. 64. Price wrote of "the high rate of infant mortality; frequent deaths of mothers in childbirth; the prevalence of such infectious diseases as typhoid, trachoma and skin troubles, tuberculosis, malaria, and leprosy; . . . large number of physically handicapped persons—blind, crippled, deaf and dumb, etc."
the Chinese "pharmacopoeia" had "some remedies of value," Chinese medicine was nevertheless no more than a mixture of "ignorance and superstition." At the turn of the century, China had no surgeons, nor even doctors "capable of setting a broken bone," Anna Pruitt wrote. Drugstores "dealt largely in dried spiders, scorpions, and the precious bones of pre-historic animals, labeled as genuine dragon bones."280

Through specific cases reported by a variety of missionaries, the tragic medical situation of ordinary Chinese became known to Americans. Since it was not unusual for missionary doctors to be called in as a last resort, their patients often gave evidence of having already suffered barbaric methods of treatment. One may indeed wonder if macabre details sketched for readers were intended to hold them in dark fascination.

The recounting of obstetric cases certainly induced horror among women readers. Palmborg's book, published in 1943, held this diary entry: "I have had some terrible experiences lately. . . . [one] most peculiar." Called in as a last resort long after labor had begun, she found upon her arrival that "the baby's head had been born a whole day" before "and was already decomposing."281

Powell wrote of his reluctance to respond to a childbirth call because he was aware that "Chinese midwives had been working on

279 Goddard, F. W. p. 96. Others also referred to the "very good" Chinese pharmacopoeia. See also Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 46; Heeren, p. 203; Powell, p. 303.
280 Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 80.
the case . . . and . . . the family had come to me [only] when
desperate." He did respond—and he recorded:

If she had been brought to me at first, I could have
delivered her with no danger, but the midwives had
attempted to do this with their crude methods. Small
curved sharp claws attached to a chain had been
fastened to the body of the fetus and an attempt made
to drag it forth. When this failed they had used long
sharp pointed shears with which to operate and dis­
member the body; but they had failed in all their
efforts, and after five days of this horrible treatment
had brought her to me. . . . She had received no
anesthetic during all the manipulations of the
midwives."282

Chinese midwives represented the worst in Chinese medicine.
Palmborg wrote that a "dirty" mid-wife treated the swelling of a
new-born by needling "it three hundred times to let the evil spirits
out. . . . What crimes are done in ignorance!"283

In spite of Hume's effort to explain Chinese medicine in
positive terms, he also pointed to ignorance surrounding childbirth.

Especially perilous is it at this time to drive a nail into
a wall, as it might nail down the earth-spirit that
resides in it, and cause the child to be born with a limb
stiff or lame, or blind of one eye, or it might paralyze
the bowels of a child already born."

The father of a boy with a harelip reported that his
wife, when pregnant with this child, had thoughtlessly
made a scissure in an old coat of his while repairing it.

Since spirits in the earth may help or hinder
childbirth, every possible influence must be exerted to

282Powell, pp. 127-128.
283Palmborg, p. 75.
aid the mother. . . . Locks, doors, windows, lockers, drawers and every conceivable closed box are thrown open. This, it is believed, helps to dilate the birth passage and facilitate the delivery of the child.284

Readers would have found equally strange other medical treatments noted by Powell. For bites caused by mad dogs:

Among the patients brought to me was a boy who had been bitten by a mad dog. Native doctors had taken prompt action and instituted treatment according to their custom, which consisted of killing the dog, cooking his brains, and making the boy eat them.285

For a gaping abdominal wound:

The Chinese doctor's treatment had consisted of mixing the ashes of burned paper together with hens' feathers and Chinese tung-oil and wrapping . . . this mixture in dirty cloths. There was a large gaping, ragged wound in the abdomen, and the abdominal contents were protruding, but were held in check by a mass of this mixture of feathers, ashes, and oil.

For dysentery:

[An important citizen] was taken seriously ill with bloody dysentery . . . a Chinese doctor . . . was called in. His treatment was to cover the large end of a druggist's pestal with melted candle-wax and insert it into the rectum to stop the hemorrhage.286

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284Hume, pp. 32-33.
285Powell, p. 63.
286Ibid., pp. 198, 311. See also p. 330. Additional remedies cited by Powell: "Tigers' blood on a piece of cloth was considered a preventive for smallpox. Tigers meat was a prophylactic for infections and made men brave. . . . The urine of a small child was sought for those suffering from traumatism."
Would the doctor then be able to remove the druggist's pestal which had traveled upward, adhered to and infected the intestines? Dr. Powell outlined his medical tales in breathtaking style.

Powell was not alone in the graphic description of medical cases. His reporting on the botched efforts of the native doctors, wounds caused by the gouging of water buffalo, suicide cases (Mother-in-law problems), patients attacked by wolves, scabby heads,287 and fire-cracker burns were echoed by others. Cysts and tumors,288 burns,289 eye disease,290 skin disease and "horn-rip cases,"291 flukes,292 smallpox,293 leprosy,294 cholera, diphtheria,295

287 Ibid., pp. 151-156, 51, 130, 118, 173.
288 Goddard, p. 96. "the extreme case was of a poor woman with an ovarian cyst" which weighed 140 pounds "more than the patient itself." See also Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 81.
289 Palmborg, p. 128, Powell, p. 185.
290 Poteat, p. 86; Palmborg, p. 90; Powell, p. 63; Burke, p. 112; Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 81. Pruitt wrote, "he did not remove the tumor from the woman, but he removed the woman from the tumor."
291 Fearn, p. 146.
292 Poteat, p. 89. "To the Christian hospital [Shaohsing] patients were brought whose bodies were puffy as a toad's. Some times their eyes were swollen shut and arms and legs were made sodden and useless by a fluid that invaded all the tissues." Poteat refers to the work of Dr. Frank A. Goddard and Dr. Claude Barlow in this field. "The doctors took three thousand and twenty-one of these worms, . . . from one little girl, whose life was despaired of when she entered the hospital." etc. See also Powell p. 132.
293 Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 47. Of the year 1929, Pruitt wrote that small pox had "left its marks in the faces of all the older generation." See also Hamaker, p. 107; Powell, pp. 28, 52; Fearn, p. 41.
294 Huizenga, p. 151; Eberle, p. 121.
295 Fearn, pp. 42-43. The Chinese treatment for cholera: chew copper coins. Fearn described the cholera season as "a season of horror . . . not uncommon in China." The Chinese treatment for diphtheria, Fearn wrote: "For centuries the Chinese have had a queer but effective cure for diphtheria." They insert a turtle's head "in the patients mouth where it sucks the diphtheritic membrane. This ancient method of tracheotomy was sometimes as successful as our more modern and hygienic way."
tuberculosis, malaria— all received detailed attention as endemic health problems ripe for the missionaries' concern.

Readers would not wonder that infant mortality was so high. Jin-gi's mother told a missionary, "We had several children, but somehow they all died at birth or soon after." The average Chinese home was unhealthy. It sheltered animals and lacked, Hollister wrote, fresh air and sunshine as well as "sanitary facilities." In addition, the storage "of all human excreta for use as fertilizer [bred] flies, and contaminate[d] water supplies."298

[Women] would squat along the banks of the canal with their baskets of soiled clothes, . . . scrubbing while they chatted with a neighbor on the right who was washing rice, and one on the left who was washing the containers of the night-soil, all clubbily using the same water within easy conversational distance of each other.299

Canal water, contaminated in every conceivable manner, continued to be a source of drinking water even through periods of epidemic.300

Contamination festered in the "easily clogged" drainage systems, intentionally crooked to ward off evil spirits.301 No agencies or laws dealt with sanitation or public health.302 During the death

296 Holkeboer, pp. 35, 47. See also Powell, p. 173; Burke, p. 112.
297 Holkeboer, p. 18.
298 Hollister, p. 119.
299 Fearn, p. 129; Powell, pp. 37, 288. Powell wrote of the "menace" of artificial ponds as disease breeding places and of the "parasitical infections so prevalent in shallow waters."
300 Ibid., p. 44.
301 Hollister, p. 120.
302 Powell, p. 28.
harvest of plague time, the dead simply piled up in the streets; no one disposed of the bodies, missionaries wrote.  

Hume, having spent so many years among the Chinese, was not comfortable with projecting a merely negative picture of Chinese medicine. He wrote of the Chinese discovery of anesthetics "1700 years ago," and gave lists of "China's eminent medical men," stories about whom were recorded "in the dynastic records and in the historical romances . . . known throughout the land." He wrote of the "permanent value" of the 12,600 known medical books held in Chinese libraries. He referred to the "truly illustrious examplars" who "through the centures" had "evolved practical procedures of real value for both diagnosis and treatment." He told of his "many visits to patients in company with proficient Chinese physicians of the old school" who had shown him their "almost uncanny . . . recognition of organic conditions through pulse observations alone." He quoted a Chinese proverb: "The superior doctor serves the nation."

303Ibid., Eberle, p. 120. Powell described a 1915 epidemic in Nanking. Eberle a 1903 epidemic in the same city. Their books were published in the 1930s. Actually in rural areas the scene was not that different in the 30s. One may question whether readers made adjustments for time differential or if they simply conjured up "China scene."
304Hume, pp. 104, 111. See Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 81. Belief in the sacredness of the body mitigated against the acceptance of surgery. Pruitt registered her frustration and concern for her students whose elders forbid necessary surgery and thus endangered the life of her pupils.
305Hume, p.130.
306Ibid., 176.
307Ibid., p. 175. Hume stressed several times the Chinese success in diagnosis through pulse readings. See also Powell, p. 330.
308Hume, p. 59.
The Streets

With depth and color several missionary writers brought the streets of China to life. They intended to enchant their readers with the high spirits, bustle and gaiety, the bright and creative aspects of Chinese life which the streets provided. At the same time, the unnerving poverty was not neglected in the portrait they drew. 309

Readers could walk through one of China's streets with the missionary Fletcher Brockman. He pressed "past the crowd, . . . such a crowd!"

Coolies carrying bales of paper and tea, wheelbarrows crowded with passengers, jinrickshas jolting over the uneven flagstones, sedan chairs, for which way must be made because an important person within lent authority to the insolent bearers, members of the literati walking leisurely in the midst of the common rush, modern students from the near-by government colleges with books and pens, beggars repellent with filth and disease, cooks hastening on with chickens and vegetables under their arms--what a medley of high and low, an impression of infinite numbers! 310

Dressed in "the universal blue attire," crowds went about their everyday lives. 311 Processions, sometimes a mile long, were a common sight as they wove through the streets with their hired musicians. Both funerals and weddings, splendid or rag-tag, were celebrated with street

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310 Walter N. Lacy, p. 231 Chapt XII note 6. See also Eberle, p. 141.
311 Cressy, p. xi. See also Hamaker, p. 64; Palmborg, p. 41, regarding upper class women who were not to be seen on the streets.
fanfare. The brides' chairs were always "gorgeous;" the funerals, with their varnished coffins in proud display, were always noisy. Firecrackers as well as music accompanied "every occasion--sad, joyful, or ceremonious."313

Here a stretcher "carried on a long bamboo pole" might move through the streets, "sway[ing] gently [to] the rhythm of the bearers' stride."314 There, "the most clever sleight-of hand artists in the world, and child contortionists, gave exhibitions on vacant lots and street corners."315 Vendors, beating their gongs and calling their wares, squatted on the sidewalks with their displays. Food was available at portable stands and candy makers spun their sugar toys. Everywhere water sellers went by with their tanks of water carried on wheelbarrows.316 Shops were always open. To Cornelia Spencer it seemed that "every kind of thing was going on along the street."317

While on the streets of Peking in the early 1920s, Powell was charmed by a type of music in the air, "a sort of whistling sound" he had never heard before. The sound, he discovered, was transmitted by pigeons who had been outfitted with small bamboo tubes attached to their wings. "As the pigeons flew," the delightful soft sounds unique to China's streets "drifted through the air."318

312Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 97; Hamaker, p. 127.
313Spencer, Made In, pp. 163-164. "For firecrackers serve three purposes; they honor the immortals, they disperse evil spirits, and they delight every Chinese crowd."
314Powell, p. 311. Powell described the stretchers as Chinese beds turned upside down.
315Clayton, p. 46.
316Powell, p. 229.
317Spencer, The Land, p. 95.
318Powell, p. 228.
Daniel Nelson in a backward glance to his boyhood, wrote of a day he and his brothers spent in the city where

They loved to watch the blacksmith pound out on his anvil plows, swords, knives, hoes, and a variety of other implements. The brassmaker, hammering away, produced exquisite water pipes, teakettles, wash basins, candle stick holders, and small trinkets. The jeweler was melting silver dollars to make dragon rings, earrings, bracelets and all types of hair ornaments which the elite women of China wear. Here a haberdasher was screaming his wares. Women were buying bolts of cloth. . . . It was fun to visit the weaver at his big hand loom and watch the shuttle go back and forth. The candy man carrying his shop with him caught the eyes of all the boys and girls. . . . Yonder some boys were flying bamboo kites which showed the most intricate workmanship. Two old scholars came carrying their canaries and quails in elaborate bird cages.\textsuperscript{319}

Some in the crowds, were not pleasantly picturesque. China's streets were defiled by beggars who "annoyed foreigners with their persistent cries."\textsuperscript{320} Even the passengers anchored on river steamers were not free of them. As the boats pulled up along shore, beggars' bags attached to extremely long bamboo poles were pressed upon passengers standing at the rail.\textsuperscript{321}

Huizenga, who decided one day to go out on the street and take a count, concluded that "China is a land of beggars," many of whom were

\textsuperscript{319}Nelson, \textit{Apostle}, pp.10-11. See also Spencer, \textit{The Land}, pp. 91-95. Spencer added to Nelson's list the potter, the florist, the bean curd maker. Powell, pp. 327, 228. Powell mentioned basketmakers, ropemakers and other craftsmen as well as bird fanciers on the streets. Holton, p. 109 described colorfully "the man who made candy toys" and the children who eagerly crowded around him.

\textsuperscript{320}Powell, p. 332.

\textsuperscript{321}Powell, p. 332.
"professionals." Many of the beggars were lepers or other unfortunates who were left to suffer and die on the streets. He offered his readers a Chinese horror version of *Oliver Twist* with tales of children abused, often intentionally mutilated, and exploited by adults in pursuit of beggar's rewards.

Recreation

Recreation in China received mixed treatment from the missionary authors. In the midst of deprivation, increased by the "inveterate" Chinese gambling and use of opium, there was a creativity and a light-heartedness which the missionaries appreciated. Missionaries dallied in Chinese tea houses, enjoyed elements of Chinese festivals, marveled at or abhored Chinese theatre.

Missionaries noted that the Chinese had several means for lightening the reality of every day "toil and sorrow." Everyone understood tea as a symbol of "courtesy." Business men took advantage of its soothing potential while they discussed their deals;

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322 Huizenga, p. 117. Nelson, *Journey*, p. 134. Nelson noticed that there were "very few beggars" in war-time Chungking.
323 Ibid., p. 152; Eberle, p. 86.
324 Huizenga, p. 120.
326 Clayton, p. 41; Powell, p. 327.
327 Hollister, p. 49.
it was offered as a sign of "affection and honor for the elders;" it sponsored "heart to heart chatter between two women;" it provided "solace" to old men.328

As for tea houses, according to Cornelia Spencer "there was no livelier place in town."329 It was there that bowls "clatter[ed]" amid "laughter and hearty conversation."330 James Graham made his readers visualize the "noisy and loqacious attendant who greet[ed] new-comers familiarly."331

Over his shoulder is slung a cotton rag that was probably white in the Tang Dynasty. . . . At a jaunty angle on the top of his head, rests the conventional small hat, battered and shiny with grease and surmounted by a frayed cloth button, which peeps through its insulation of red silk thread. He places a pot with a thin sprinkling of tea leaves over the bottom, and a cup in front of each of the patrons, then swaggers over to the stove in the corner from which he takes a kettle with an amazingly long spout. With his left hand he grasps the tea pot, tilts it over and thumbs aside the cover. . . . Then, from a distance of not less than two feet, he propels a stream of boiling water squarely into the aperture in the top of the pot."332

After telling his readers that the village tea house served the same social purpose as the soda fountain on America's Main Streets, Graham noted that the conversations of the Chinese tea drinkers differed from the conversations of Americans at their soda fountains.

328Spencer, Made In, p. 66.
329Spencer, The Land, p. 103.
330Spencer, Made In, p. 66.
332Ibid. See also Eberle, p. 143.
The wise men of the East are vastly more leisurely and less hurried, . . . their materialism is freely interspersed with philosophical observations and platitudes, . . . clothed with a degree of sanctimoniousness by a multitude of proverbial and classical quotations.333

The missionaries' pages also brought to life the color and excitement of Chinese festivals. The processions which featured undulating paper tigers and dragons with "green rolling eyes," had "nothing to do with idol worship," Palmborg explained, but were rather "a sort of extravagant expression of the love of the beautiful."334 The lantern lights "of wonderful design [which] illuminate[d] the streets," and those which "floated on the river to guide the spirits of the drowned," "the stilt walkers in fantastic dress" performing their "unbelievable antics on tall stilts," the "monkey shows and conjurors," the romping children--all were drawn in three dimensions.335

There were festivals for the family dead and for the "hungry dead" who had no relatives to tend to their needs.336 Readers learned of festivals with exotic names--The Lantern Festival; The Tomb Festival "called Ching Ming;" The Moon Feast, with its

333J. R. Graham, p. 15.
334Palmborg, p. 101; Spencer, pp. 238-239.
335Anna S. Pruitt, Up, pp. 118-119. See also Crossett, p. 103; Spencer, Made In, pp. 238-239.
336Spencer, Made In, p. 232. "Such spirits suffer from hunger and thirst . . . if uncared for, they begin to interfere maliciously with human affairs."
"kowtowing humbly" to the moon; the "Queen of Night;" and the national Festival of the Double Ten.337

Several authors described the fifteen day New Year's festival, with its gay activities and exotic foods. The practice of calling on superiors, of paying all debts or going into hiding, of making plans for the whole year, of not mentioning death, of returning from far-away places to join family in celebration--all related to the belief that marking the New Year's holiday influenced "for good or ill . . . the whole [coming] year."338

Pruitt added another dimension for her readers. They could relate to the Moon Feast, she wrote, because it came

just when the Lord's people in Palestine dwelt in booths, and in the light of the harvest moon observed the Feast of Tabernacles. It partakes in a measure of the gladness of that time. It is a season for giving of gifts, remembering the poor, and rejoicing with feasting."339

Chinese recreation also included scenes of both adults and children flying spectacular kites of creative design, scenes of women enjoying times of conviviality at water's edge doing the family laundry, scenes of old men carrying their pet birds and having fellowship with each other on the streets and in the parks. Clayton even mentioned, without further comment, the "sing-song houses

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337Palmborg, p. 103. See also Anna S. Pruitt, Day, pp. 118-119; Pruitt, Up, p. 121; Stuart, p. 229. Stuart describes Ching ming as "somewhat in the spirit of our Easter."
338Powell, pp. 121-122; Crossett, p. 103; Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 92; Idem, Up, p. 135.
339Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 121.
[which provided] recreation for the more wealthy classes" in the list of recreational possibilities.340

Missionaries described plays of the "Punch and Judy" type which were performed either on the streets for all to see or at private parties.341 Spencer's account of plays which were available in the theaters of China's larger cities clearly made the point that "the Chinese idea of a play . . . is not quite like ours:"

Refreshments . . . are peddled through the building throughout the performance. To the Westerner it is an unbelievable sight to see patrons eating sweetments, cracking watermelon seeds by the million, or drinking tea from cups refilled continuously by waiters. From time to time the playgoers refresh themselves by a thorough wiping of the face and hands on the small Turkish towels slung dexterously across several aisles to those who indicate that they wish them. Conversation is not banned and often a lively argument may go on at the very time the actors are performing."342

Equally as strange to American readers was the Chinese bath house. There the Chinese would entertain, serving their friends tidbits of food while bathing and visiting. To medical missionary Powell the bath houses were not simply quaint, they were odious, both those with the pools which served "the lower classes" as well as those with private tubs which served the more wealthy.

Fresh water was run in each morning and kept hot during the day, but none was added and before night the supply became very dirty. Patients with skin

340Clayton, p. 46. Sing-song girls were often courtesans.
341Ibid.
342Spencer, Made In, p. 169.
diseases were permitted to bathe freely with others, and no one appeared to have any fears of contagion or to mind the visible contamination of the water.

The individual tubs were more inviting although they, too, could be used by anyone who could pay for them and were liable to contamination, with no attempt at cleaning after use.343

Several writers drew their readers attention to the Chinese propensity for gambling "in evidence at every turn, in shops, homes, on vacant lots, in empty doorways, and at country crosspaths."344 Clayton wrote of the funeral procession he had witnessed, that "among the paper objects to be burned . . . for the use of the departed" in the afterlife, was "a poker hand of four aces and a king."345

The issue of alcohol in recreational activity was not of major concern to the missionaries. They had observed that among the Chinese, "liquor drinking [was] mainly, though by no means exclusively, ceremonial."346 Pruitt concluded that the "evil" of alcohol was of little significance when compared to the deleterious effect of opium which "inflicted" a tragedy "so far" worse "that few of the Christians [took] any stand against wine drinking."347

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343Powell, p. 179.
344Clayton, p. 46.
345Ibid. Clayton also describes the gambling which surrounded cricket fights. See also Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 119; Up, p. 6; J. R. Graham, pp. 48, 51.
346Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 80. See also J. R. Graham, pp. 48, 51.
347Anna S. Pruitt, Day, pp. 102-103. Pruitt further educated her readers on the subject of Chinese alcohol. "In early days the juice of the grape was not known in China. All their liquor is made from grain." Yellow wine" which was "made from glutinous millet and served hot" was "not very strong." "Another potent liquor sometimes served is almost pure alcohol."
Food, Fuel, Houses and Gardens

The aroma of exotic cuisine wafted from the missionaries' pages. Mary Hollister wrote that "Chinese cookery has long been an art! Words fail to describe the deliciousness of a Chinese meal!"\(^{348}\)

Gordon Poteat concluded that eating was "the great Chinese . . . sport!"\(^{349}\) Every festival stressed feasting.\(^{350}\) Missionaries pictured how the Chinese ate at home and the abundant selling of food on the streets.\(^{351}\)

Accounts noted the "happy blending of flavors" and the uniqueness of Chinese regional fare.\(^{352}\) Readers learned that all Chinese did not eat rice. Rice was the staple of South and Central China where *congee*, a thick rice gruel mixed with seeds, nuts, or bits of vegetables, made up the common meal for the poor who rarely had meat or fish.\(^{353}\) The South also favored "*tsung-tze,*" the boiled three cornered leaves wrapped around rice.\(^{354}\) In the North various grains and vegetables were used to prepare "roasted sweet-potatoes, round cakes, bean curds and a variety of noodles."\(^{355}\) Steamed dumplings, "balls of dough filled with chopped meats," were a favorite of the Northern regions.\(^{356}\) Class distinctions were discernible in the tea

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\(^{348}\)Hollister, p. 183. See also Spencer, *The Land*, p. 104.

\(^{349}\)Poteat, p. 25.

\(^{350}\)Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 120; Crossett, p. 103.

\(^{351}\)F. C. Bryan, p. 73. Bryan's description: bird's nest soup, "all thick and savory, "bamboo sprouts floating in fish-roe gravy," etc.

\(^{352}\)Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 10.

\(^{353}\)Holkeboer, p. 16; Poteat, p. 24. See also Powell, p. 310.

\(^{354}\)Crossett, p. 103.

\(^{355}\)Powell, 229. See also Anna S. Pruitt, *Day*, p. 19.

\(^{356}\)Ibid., pp. 229, 160. See Anna S. Pruitt, *Day*, pp. 10, 16-17 for further details on northern food.
served, missionaries noted. "'Dragon Well'" tea warmed the wealthy
while the poor in rural areas made due with "willow-leaf home-
brew."\textsuperscript{357}

Missionaries saw that families seldom ate together.\textsuperscript{358} On the other
hand, the frequent feasts abounded in a togetherness that often
challenged foreigners.\textsuperscript{359} At feasts everyone's chopsticks moved from
the common bowl to an individual's mouth and then back into the
common bowl. A host, in a burst of hospitality, might remove his
chopsticks from his own mouth and dip them into the common bowl to
retrieve a morsel for his guest's plate before pursuing his own repast.\textsuperscript{360}

The feast itself was prepared by cooks who were "as highly
skilled as any in the world." "At a Chinese feast," Poteat wrote, "one
may taste literally dozens of delicacies before the two hour banquet
is concluded."\textsuperscript{361} An "orthodox feast," according to Anna Pruitt,

begins with nuts, candies, fruit, and melon seeds
picturesquely arranged on the polished table with a view
to artistic grouping of colors. . . . Everything is cut into
labial capacity before it is brought on, so chopsticks and
porcelain spoons are all the implements one needs for
helping one's self from the bowls in the center of the
table. Care must be observed that all present start at the
same time to dip in. After these eight bowls come four
dishes of delicious sweets, rich pastry filled with pork,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[357] J. R. Graham, p. 37.
\item[358] Hamaker, p. 89. Each would fill his rice bowl and eat outside in the
courtyard or any place of convenience.
\item[359] Palmborg, p. 37.
\item[360] Burke, p. 183.
\item[361] Poteat, p. 24. See Powell, p. 192. Powell gave a detailed description of
another sort of feast afforded him with great hospitality in the village home
of Feng Yu-xiang's brother. The food there "was prepared in the home by
servants who had no training as cooks." Powell could "hardly eat a sufficient
amount to avoid offending the host" because of "greasy dirt." An interesting
description of the circumstances of one of Feng's family.
\end{footnotes}
sugar, and sesame seeds. . . . Then follow eight larger bowls of meats, and last of all, plain boiled rice in individual bowls with one large dish of soup called "Soup of regret."\textsuperscript{362}

Powell, whose title \textit{Bound Feet} belied the scope of his interest, could not resist his detailed account of a two hour banquet as well as that of "a first-class feast such as the magistrate always gave." The magistrates feast "would last for hours and have as many as one hundred dishes of different kinds."\textsuperscript{363} Such descriptions caught the attention of American readers who, during the period under review, were much less familiar than they were to become with Chinese cooking.

The Chinese needed fuel for their cooking, for their hot water and tea, for the comfort of warmth. The missionaries described the problem of scarce fuel.

The land had long since been denuded of trees for firewood by the time of the American missionaries' arrival.\textsuperscript{364} All tillable land was farmed except around cemeteries where trees were protected for the sake of the spirits. The "well-to-do" bought the branches and cones of pine trees which had been planted on steep hillsides for fuel. According to Pruitt, the poor had "only grass and roots gathered from roadsides and cemeteries." And then, nudging her readers: "If only the autumn

\textsuperscript{362}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{363}Powell, pp. 79-81.
\textsuperscript{364}Spencer, \textit{Buck}, p. 85.
leaves that litter the streets of American cities could be baled and sent to North China" for fuel.³⁶⁵

Powell did not limit the use of grass to the poor alone. He bought dried grass "in large quantities" for the hospital's cooking stoves as well as for the efficient heating plant he had designed.³⁶⁶ As for his home, when he returned from his arduous, on-foot medical itinerating, "there was no warm steam-heated home to enter for the heating problem was an impossible one, due to the expense of fuel."³⁶⁷

Because of the cost, the Chinese heated neither their homes nor their public buildings.³⁶⁸ When the weather grew cold they simply "keep to their beds every day as long as possible to keep warm" and they put on layers of clothing.³⁶⁹ Some of Huizenga's patients had to "open up no less than ten different suits before [he] could get to their skin" for examination.³⁷⁰ During the war years in Chengtu Stephen Goddard wrote his family that usually "only the living room was heated at all and that only to 56 degrees." For this reason he and others also "resorted to . . . the long padded gown."³⁷¹

Readers learned that it was the fuel situation which determined the shape of the Chinese cauldrons used for cooking. They were like

³⁶⁶Powell, p. 246. See also Powell 287 regarding the danger of fire "where grass was used as a fuel and fed into the stoves in small handfuls by children." He described the pathethic case of a little boy brought into the hospital with burns caused thereby.
³⁶⁷Ibid., p. 245.
³⁶⁸Huntington, p. 79.
³⁷¹Goddard, p. 141.
"old-fashioned wooden chopping-bowls made a little more conical so that the flame underneath, striking the apex of the cone, [would] radiate all around and heat . . . with a minimum of fuel."\(^{372}\) Individual households could not "afford to build" fires simply for hot water or tea—hence the hot water shops to be found on the streets of China's cities and villages where water, boiled in large drums, could be purchased.\(^{373}\)

Missionary writers describing Chinese homes wrote of exotic gardens to be seen in courtyards and of filth to be found inside hovels. They wrote of the handicap that superstition imposed on housing.

Huntington spoke of "The better Chinese houses . . . in the Yangtze Valley" which were "made of hollow brick an inch thick, the interstices of the walls being filled with dirt."\(^{374}\) Spencer's readers learned that since the "farms are much more prosperous [in the South] than in the North," houses there were "sometimes constructed of brick and tile [and] shaded by trees."\(^{375}\) "Chinese homes like Chinese garments are all made after one pattern," Anna Pruitt wrote. In the North where "winters [were] severe and fuel scarce," all the houses faced south to take advantage of the sunshine.

The ordinary home is a loaf divided into five or three slices, each with a large window on the south, a small one on the north, and none at each end. The middle slice is a hall and there are the brick ranges holding the built-in-kettles where all the cooking is done.

\(^{372}\)Powell, p. 322.
\(^{373}\)Powell, pp. 55-56.
\(^{374}\)Huntington, p. 79.
\(^{375}\)Spencer, *The Land*, p. 12. Spencer added that around those more prosperous southern farms, "Chickens and pigs roam at will, and there is the bustle and chatter of busy people."
The same fire that cooks the food furnishes furnace heat for the sitting room and bedroom of the family. The smoke and heat which do not escape into the kitchen pass through winding flues under the elevated kong which fills the south end of each room. This broad, level platform, about as high as a table, is the children's nursery by day as well as sewing room and parlor for the women, who sit cross-legged on its agreeably warm surface. At night it is the spacious bed for the family.376

Many of the northern houses were made of adobe brick and had "a way of melting in a prolonged rainy season." As a guest in the adobe home of well-to-do Chinese, Pruitt experienced "the falling of [water soaked] walls" which, she claimed, "added interest" to her visit.377

The Pruitts had more spacious quarters than many other missionaries because they had had the good fortune to acquire a "haunted" compound that had been abandoned by a wealthy Chinese family fearing its unfriendly ghosts. Ida Mae Pruitt, their daughter, short-term second-generation missionary, long-time China resident and social worker, described their Chinese home. She pictured how the space was used both by the previous Chinese owners and by her own family; the Hall of Ancestor Worship, for instance, became the church.378

Forsythe wrote of the "more than enough to eat" homes:

Their two-paneled gates shone with lacquer and were richly decorated with the beautiful Chinese poems that were printed on them in gold paint. These pretentious gateways had tiled, curved roofs, and on sunny days . . .

376 Anna S. Pruitt, Day, pp. 40-41.
377 Ibid., p. 102.
378 Ida Mae Pruitt, Foreword. Other missionary families also had the good fortune to acquire a haunted house: Hamaker, p. 152.
several oxen and mules were tied outside the big street gate.\textsuperscript{379}

The north wing of Cheng's mother's home, which formed the wall against the street, was "six rooms in length," Forsythe wrote, while "the wing running south had four rooms." In between, "trees and flowers" graced a "large, sunny courtyard."\textsuperscript{380}

Missionaries did not ignore gardens in their description of Chinese life. Powell found "rare and beautiful flowers" behind the high walls of the courtyards in Chao Hsien.\textsuperscript{381} Hamaker gave interpretation to the Chinese garden's exotic themes: "cherry trees meant spring, lotus meant summer, chrysanthemums for fall and heavenly bamboo for winter. . . . Pine meant long life--old crooked ones were best--rocks meant immortality."\textsuperscript{382} Burke lacked appreciation for the exotic nature of Chinese gardens, especially the rocks which Chinese gardeners considered so important and lovely; he simply found them "grotesque."\textsuperscript{383}

In contrast to the comfortable possibilities of the Pruitts' Chinese compound and the color and beauty of the homes of the more well-to-do described by Forsythe, several authors pictured humbler dwellings, the "hovels" and one roomed houses where all family activity and sometime "cottage industry" took place.\textsuperscript{384} Fearn was direct. The houses of her patients in Soochow, mostly "poor people," were filthy.

\textsuperscript{379}Forsythe, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{380}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{381}Powell, p. 327. Powell goes into detail regarding grafting of trees, etc..
\textsuperscript{382}Hamaker, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{383}Burke, p. 175.
\textsuperscript{384}Hamaker, p. 89. Hamaker describes the one room houses with looms which took up a majority of space and around which family members slept. See also Holton, pp. 77, 79; Hokeboer, p. 15; Cressy, p. 39.
"floorless" and "windowless." They were "barracks with no provision for heating, or they were nothing but straw mats hung on bamboo poles, with a pile of straw in the corner for the sick."385

Missionaries noted the lack of privacy in Chinese housing. Dividing walls were thin. "Neighbors knew one another's business and could almost guess one another's thoughts."386 In the poorer homes, there was little privacy possible among family members. There beds, made of small rough-hewn boards, served "as many as four people." "Two would . . . [lie] with their heads at one end of the bed and the other two with their heads at the other end."387

Powell described houses along the Yangtze. They were small oblong structures with mud floors, mud walls about six feet high at the eaves, and thatched roofs over a framework of bamboo poles covered with matting.

The dirt floor was of clay, full of holes, and wet from the water and waste tea constantly thrown on it.

Because of the superstition and fear of evil spirits and the dangers of robbers, such homes have no windows larger than a few square inches. Ventilation is not desired and glass is too expensive for the poor.

All the animals belonging to the family were brought into the house at night and had free access during the day.388

Powell's vivid description came from direct experience. Weary of body during one of his medical journeys, he had stopped at just such a

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385Feam, p. 55. Feam stressed filth again and again. Holton, pp. 77, 79, contrasts the cleanliness of mission schools and/or hospitals with the "hovels" in which the children of the street lived.
386Forsythe, p. 15.
387Powell, pp. 246-247. See also Burke, p. 157.
388Powell, pp. 321-322.
"house or hut" for a meal. There a Yangtze boatman's wife "helped in the support of the home during the day by furnishing meals to travelers." Much of Powell's meal, upon its presentation with a flourish, fell first upon the filthy table--the resting place for cats and hens by night--before it reached his plate.389

Economy

The missionaries sketched the economics of every-day Chinese life. They grimly noted the great gap between the rich and the poor.390 Readers were told that "millions" of Chinese "lie down every night not knowing where their food for the following day is coming from."391 An "estimated . . . thirty million . . . undernourished from birth[,] . . . are destined to die without ever knowing the sensation of a full stomach."392

Missionaries described what they saw at first hand: the natural disasters which "[swept] the land," the famines and floods during which the people died "in swarms."393 Some writers pointed to China's poor agricultural conditions; others to the social customs

389Ibid. See also Cressy, p. 16, regarding the problem of finding accommodations in the interior of China, in either the cities or rural areas.  
390Huizenga, pp. 117-119.  
391Ibid., pp.27-31.  
392Harvey, p. 3. See also Chinese Recorder (n.d.), as quoted in Carlberg, pp. 20-21: "Economic destitution is appallingly widespread. Famine stalks';" Spencer, The Land, p. 105. Spencer, who so often wrote of the glories of Chinese life and cooking, in this instance wrote that "Thousands never saw meat from one year's end to another and never knew the taste, even of really good tea."  
393Harvey, p. 252; Lee, p. 40; Anna S. Pruitt, Up, pp. 141, 143; Carlberg, p. 29.
directly related to filial piety; others, the ceaseless plundering of "bandits" and war-lords.394

The past winter gave us an opportunity to see the ex-bandit in all his brutal callousness. Outside of the city walls were hundreds of tiny mat tents housing shivering and starving men, women and children, the victims of famine and misgovernment. Nevertheless in his dance hall the Tupan gave banquets and held balls that suggested the times and scenes of Louis XIV at Versailles. Fine cut glass goblets and glasses for all kinds of liquors, $40,000 worth of heavy silver Sheffield cutlery and expensive British made dinner sets adorned the little banquet tables. The finest foreign upholstered furniture, graceful bronze statuettes, well selected European pictures, life-size paintings of Chang Tsung-ch' and his ex-bandit chief, Chang Tso-lin, expensive wall paper and costly foreign draperies gave an air of grace and beauty. While thousands of his subjects froze and starved, the Tupan with his score and a half of concubines was kept comfortably warm by a foreign heating plant costing $50,000.395

The missionaries continued to draw their pictures of China's "nightmares." Virginia Huntington's description of natural disasters was typical of other writers. Of a 1929 famine she wrote:

Two and a half million people died of starvation in Shensi Province alone, while there were five million waiting for rescue. The only resources of the starving were the sale of the timbers of their homes, leaving them defenseless against the inclement weather; the

394 Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 141; Carlberg, pp. 20-21; Powell, pp. 261-263.
395 *China Weekly Review*, June 23, 1928, pp. 129-130, as quoted in Heeren, pp. 159-160. Herren himself attended one of these "most elaborate . . . feasts of Belthazzar." Chang Tso-lin was the War-Lord governor of Shantung.
sale of daughters for brothels of the cities; and in very exceptional cases, cannibalism was resorted to.396

The 1932 famine in Sian was "even more desperate."397 Huntington noted the heroes and pictured the horrors and the losses of the 1931 Yangzite Valley flood which "directly affect[ed] fifty million people, in an area including forty-two thousand square miles."398 China's "superabundance of mouths" appallingly became first victims in times of disaster.399

Even free of nature's whims, China was unable to feed its vast population. According to Poteat, "the farmers of China carry upon their backs the heaviest burdens of the nation and receive but little in return."400 The farms were small compared to American farm size, and although, according to the missionaries, "every particle of ground" was planted, modern advancements in agriculture had not been accepted by conservative farmers, nor encouraged by political or governmental land policy--inhibiting further production possibilities.401

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396 Huntington, p. 131. See also Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 67. Pruitt wrote that "famine in the west sent droves of young women to Hwanghsien for sale."
397 Huntington, p. 136.
398 Ibid., pp. 220-223. See also Carlberg, p. 22.
399 Harvey, p. 252.
400 Poteat, p. 22. See also F. W. Price, Rural, p. 154; Huizenga, pp. 41-50.
The custom of overspending on weddings and funerals, which developed out of filial piety, pushed families deeper into life-long poverty.402 Price wrote:

"In Suining, Ku., a careful observer estimated that 25 percent of the borrowing was for economic and 75 percent for social purposes (weddings, funerals, gambling)."403

Readers, seeing through the missionaries' eyes, became acquainted with children who sold dumplings, steamed potatoes, or embroidered slippers on the street in order to bring home bits of income to their families.404 They saw the "thousands of Chinese workingmen" who carried things "all day" for each day of their entire lives. Readers could see laborers in the countryside or on city streets pushing wheelbarrows; they saw them pull boats and they saw them load and unload freight "day after day."405 The scenes presented were full of hustle and activity. All over China "the servant class" was "doing something or seeking to do something," expending energy, for very low wages.406

Most of those who hauled for a living, depended on volume to pay for their rented by-the-day, conveyance equipment.407 Therefore, in spite of the back-breaking drudgery of their lives the

402 Hollister, p. 11. See also R.T. Bryan, p. 108; Harvey, pp. 2, 32, 43, 46, 201.
405 Huizenga, pp. 27-29.
introduction of mechanization caused severe unrest among laborers whose barest livelihood depended on the old way of moving people and goods. Laborers understood clearly, Powell wrote, that mechanization could only lead to their own unemployment.408

Missionary writings provided examples of the contrast between traditional and modern modes of production developing in China. For instance, readers could learn both of the hand looms which produced silk fabric in small dirt-floored homes, and the "dozens of great factories with modern equipment [which] produced the richest of silks and the finest of brocades" in the cities.409 Some missionaries were involved in the establishment or promotion of cooperatives which fell somewhere between the enterprise of an individual struggling on his own and the large-scale capitalist ventures of foreigners and Chinese.

These cooperatives came out of their personal experience with everyday "patient and hard-working" Chinese. Lucy C. Lee's story is typical. Struck by the "terrible poverty of the masses," she wondered how she "could ease" it to some "small degree." Then

One day a neighbor and church member, who was sewing for one of our American ladies, collapsed and the doctors found that she was dying of slow starvation. I had known her well in church. She had never complained or asked for help.410

From that time on Lee had monograms put on everything she owned in order to give her "church member" a bare income. That

408Powell, p. 73.
409Clayton, p. 46.
410Lee, p. 42.
was the beginning of the cross-stitch cooperative which Lee developed. Other needy women became involved and worked to fill orders which Lee solicited from people at home in America. Profits were shared, and the venture thrived. "I was not the only person attempting to meet this situation. In a number of mission stations throughout China [such] small industries had been started," Lee wrote.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 42-51. See also Palmborg, p. 116, 181.}

Creighton Lacy saw something larger than the small groups gathered together in cooperatives by missionaries. He told his readers about Indusco, a large scale cooperative operating in China, and described it as a "vivid demonstration [of] practical . . . socialism" that was full of possibilities.\footnote{Creighton Lacy, p. 114.}

Several authors wrote of Chinese laborers migrating because "conditions at home were 'unbearable.'" Professor Herren wrote that in "the first two decades of the twentieth century a migratory movement developed in Shantung and to some extent in Hopei and Honan." "In 1927," he wrote, "1,159,747 Chinese are reported to have entered Manchuria" in search of employment.\footnote{Heeren, p. 181. Heeren described the participants and supplied charts detailing migration to and from Manchuria.} To escape from famine, flood, drought, starvation, banditry, war lords, and excessive taxation, many "endured the indescribable hardships of the journey of one thousand miles." Men left wives, children and parents in order to eke out wages elsewhere. They left their "ancestral gods, temples, and tombs" in the hope that to the north in "Manchukuo, a
vast field centering in the city of Harbin on the Sungari River" they might acquire a future for themselves and their families.414

After decades of civil war, war-lord exploitation, and banditry, the full-scale war imposed by the Japanese intensified the day-to-day economic hardships of the Chinese. All hope of economic reconstruction was routed.415 In the very early months of the war 85% of China's industrial facilities were seized or destroyed and "fifty million people [had been] left homeless."416 Refugees flocked into "hundreds if not thousands of places" in search of relief.417 Ballou was not alone in conveying the notion that it was the Christian churches which provided "most of the relief work" for refugees.418

Accounts abound with details of the unrelenting war-time inflation.419

The Japanese . . . cut off supplies from every direction, and what does come through from the surrounding districts is so heavily taxed by them that prices are soaring all the time; rice has mostly been taken by them and sent to Japan, and the price is several times what it used to be, and is rising by leaps and bounds. Suffering amongst the poor was terrible in the winter.420

414Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 135. See also Powell, p. 334; Forsythe, p. 54.
415Hollister, p. 96.
416Creighton Lacy, pp. 112-113.
417Ballou, p. 144.
418Ibid.; Brockman, p. 44
419Walter Lacy, p. 138; F. W. Price, Twilight, p. 64; Nelson, Journey, pp. 102, 104-105, 108, 110, 121.
420Palmborg, p. 271.
Readers learned from the missionaries of class distinctions in China which were closely related to the economy.\(^{421}\) Several authors were impressed by the culture, "worthy of admiration," exhibited by "the comparatively few families of wealth" in China.\(^{422}\) Missionaries explained that in traditional Chinese thought, "class" manifested heaven's determination of social position according to "natural endowments."\(^{423}\) Learning, "the open road to official position . . . to wealth and power," was open to anyone in theory. In practice, with scant exception, it was limited to the leisure class because the written language, which missionaries themselves had learned, required years to master.\(^{424}\)

It was clear that China had "an Aristocracy of Learning."\(^{425}\) To be literate in China was "to gain great distinction."\(^{426}\) According to Ballou, the scholar was at the top of the class structure because of his "contribution to society."\(^{427}\) Rawlinson did not describe scholars in terms of class; he drew them admiringly in terms of their ideal--the uncluttered simple life.\(^{428}\)

\(^{421}\)Huizenga, pp. 19-23.
\(^{422}\)Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 16.
\(^{423}\)Rawlinson, *Naturalization*, p. 21.
\(^{424}\)Poteat, p. 55. Chinese history is replete with examples of the very poor boy who achieves official success through learning. See also Huizenga, p. 20; Spencer, *The Land*, p. 25.
\(^{425}\)Hollister, p. 139.
\(^{426}\)Poteat, p. 16.
\(^{427}\)Ballou, pp. 174, 62.
\(^{428}\)Rawlinson, p. 20.
On the subject of class, as on many other subjects, the missionaries did not always express identical points of view. To some, Chinese scholars were an "arrogant class." They even had a special look about them. When they walked, they let their heads droop between their shoulders as they swayed "elegantly." Ida Mae Pruitt wondered when she was a girl if they "always took time to walk that way."

Readers were told of other avenues to wealth and status in addition to scholarship and official position. Other Chinese also lived "in comfort and luxury in the cities." Of these, many, derived their income either by rental of lands and houses to the farmers who produced on their own property in the country, or by lending money to the small farmers who had a little land but insufficient capital to carry them through the period of waiting for their crops to be harvested.

Interest rates were very high. "It was possible for the rich . . . to earn anywhere from thirty-five to sixty cents on each dollar invested, during favorable seasons." Yet Cressy was not without sympathy for the money lenders because "money-lending is a precarious proposition in China," he wrote. "The creditor takes a long chance of never seeing his money again."

The pawn-broker, as a major lender, was a significant member of Chinese society. "His business . . . had an entirely different status

429Burke, p. 175.
430Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 30.
431Powell, p. 105.
432Ibid.
433Cressy, p. 15. Cressy claimed the normal interest rate to be 20%
from that of" his American counterpart. In Chao Hsien, for instance, he not only served as banker, he also provided storage space for out of season clothing, and safe keeping for precious articles. Powell found him to be a philanthropist as well as a creditor.434

Authors did not hesitate to mention negative aspects they observed in the Chinese upper-class in addition to arrogance and usury. One certain to give pause to American readers during wartime had to do with discrimination in military recruitment.

There are very few rich men's sons in the Chinese army. . . . The sons of influential men in the Chinese Government are most of them in important administrative positions. No wonder there is dissatisfaction among the masses. Why should the poor lads fight the battles for the rich men's sons who dress in silks and satins while the soldier at the front has neither decent clothes nor the wherewithal to fill his belly?435

On that lower end of the social scale, readers became aware of a ubiquitous servant class. According to Huizenga, "every class of Chinese has servants."436 Several writers agreed with Rawlinson that servants in China, unlike those at home in America, "have much freedom" and the "democracy of intercourse between them and their employers . . . would jar many aristocratically-minded Western households."437 Below servants were those at the very bottom of the class scale--those looked down upon by all other Chinese: "chair-
bearers and barbers." Yet even for those at the very bottom, the heaven bestowed "natural endowments" allowed for class mobility—as intended in the ideal Chinese social structure.

The missionary, Irene Forsythe, shared a first-hand account of upward mobility in her story of Mrs. Fan, the subject of her book. Mrs. Fan being very poor, had gone out each morning early with her basket to plead in "sing-song" fashion, "'Pity me! Please share some of your food with me.'" Gradually the basket filled.

She felt no shame attached to her poverty. Their land was just too little to feed all of the mouths. In this village of North China, as throughout all of the land, the food-money distinction did not divide the people into castes nor touch the inborn conviction of the dignity and worth of the individual. . . . All hearts were equal.

Forsythe's story records the events that slowly changed Mrs Fan's situation. Over her lifetime she had prospered through wise investment. In her old age she was able to build one of the "more than enough to eat homes," of the type from which she had begged food, in her days of poverty. Like a monument to possibilities her house rose in the village.

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438 Cressy, p. 32. See also Palmborg, p. 22.
439 Creighton Lacy, p. 99. Confucius had said that "'With education there is not class.'"
441 Widow Fan's husband had migrated to Manchuria in an effort to alleviate the family's poverty. He sent money home and instructed his wife to buy land. Investment in land was the element that altered the family's economic situation.
When all was finished its tall tiled roofs, high brick walls, and gateway with the curving roof towered over all the other village homes.\textsuperscript{442}

Learning

There was more to be said about learning in China than the elevated class status of the learned. The authors went into minute detail regarding the preparation for the traditional scholarly examinations and the ordeal of the examinations themselves; "the scholars of no other nation could or would endure such an ordeal."\textsuperscript{443} There was agreement among the writers that "No land has ever reverenced education and its scholars as China has through the centuries."\textsuperscript{444} How could this civilization where "respect for pure literateness" was so "awesome" have reached such a state that, among the adult population "only one or two of every ten, [could] read and write?"\textsuperscript{445} Explanation was necessary.

Basic to the problem of Chinese literacy was the difficulty of mastering the written language. It took years, missionaries wrote, years which the poor did not have, to triumph over the thousands of characters--those "complex ideographs [which were] made by

\textsuperscript{442}Forsythe, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{443}Brockman, p. 60; Spencer, \textit{The Land}, p. 25; Powell, p. 332; Burke, p. 63; Eberle, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{444}Hollister, p. 139. See also Spencer, \textit{The Land}, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{445}Harvey, p. 95; Hollister, p. 128, statistic refers to 1930. See also Huizenga, p. 19; Clayton, p. 51; F. W. Price, \textit{Rural}, p. 174; Creighton Lacy, pp. 100-101; Poicat, p. 21.
combining two or more simple symbols." Catherine Bryan confessed that Chinese characters were indeed "very 'slippery' and difficult to fix in one's memory." In contrast to the illiteracy which prevailed, the Chinese had a day-to-day almost spiritual respect for learning and literacy. The characters themselves, even though unrecognized by the illiterate, were worthy of respect. A concrete example:

So influential is [the] awesome respect for pure literateness that voluntary associations called "Lettered Paper Associations," have been formed for the sole purpose of collecting all waste paper lying about the streets and roads. The paper litter is placed in baskets which are nailed up everywhere, bearing the inscription: "Respect Written Character Basket." The papers thus gathered, according to Harvey, would be burned in a furnace and offered up "to the shen or patron spirits of literature."

In spite of illiteracy the bookstores in China were "always crowded." To Creighton Lacy, a people who maintained "their respect for learning and their recognition of its individual and social value" while living under such harsh conditions, were indeed worthy of admiration.

446 Hollister, p. 139; F. C. Bryan p.149.
447 F. C. Bryan, p. 149.
448 Cressy, p. 5.
449 Harvey, p. 95. See also Burke, p. 81. Burke in his early days in China unknowingly offended the Chinese in his town by stepping on paper covered with characters or using it for toilet paper!
450 Harvey, p. 95.
451 F. W. Price, Rural, p. 91.
452 Creighton Lacy, pp. 100-101.
Harvey, along with others, stressed Chinese faith in the efficacy of the classics, primarily the teachings of Chinese philosophers, to mold or improve all men. Burke agreed that even though "the common people may never have read a character in these classics . . . they held as profound a respect for them as did any scholar." To the Chinese, "education and conduct [were] inseparable."

The Chinese have recognized that education is far more than academic study, that learning means something beyond literacy, that wisdom is the application of knowledge to life. That is one reason why the culture of China, the inbred courage and grace, survived through the centuries when the ancient system of formal education had almost disintegrated.

An aspect not overlooked by the writers was the role that folklore and oral tradition played in the learning of the illiterate masses. "Generations of hearers" had learned "notions of justice, virtue, evil and the fear of punishment, and all variety of ideas of social relationships" in that way. The content had been absorbed over millennia into the general culture, for the civilization of the Chinese was not "a veneer . . . newly acquir[ed], but was the result of age-old customs handed down

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453 Harvey, p. 77. See also Spencer, The Land, p. 25. Rawlinson also stressed the ethical content of Chinese learning in Chinese Ethical Ideals.
454 Burke, p. 134. See also Holkeboer, p. 24. In referring to Jin-gi's Mother, Holkeboer wrote, "she herself could not read a single character, and would doubtless be unable to understand the meaning of what he recited, yet she longed to hear him chant from memory the phrases he had been assigned."
455 Creighton Lacy, p. 99.
456 Ibid. See also Brockman, p. 61. Brockman described "the primary characteristic of the required [traditional] learning [as] moral."
457 Harvey, p. 31.
from generation to generation from a time when much of western
civilization was yet unborn."458

Yet in his day-to-day contact with officials, as well as with
ordinary people, Burke was convinced that in fact, "the form" of Chinese
learning had become "the content."459 Others also noted the
"disintegration" of traditional Chinese learning. It had

passed from being primarily an agency for the
development of the moral personality to being an agency
for training and disciplining the intellect. From being a
fairly general preparation for life it passed to being
vocational preparation for the privileged leaders."460

To the missionaries, it was the content and method of Chinese
learning, as well as the lack of opportunity for learning among the poor
and among women, which was of interest.461 The primacy of the
classics endured, and the old Confucian school, "noisy as a boiler factory"
with each student shouting simultaneously his own individual lesson,
remained in evidence.462

There had been governmental effort at educational reform since
1905 when the traditional examination system was set aside.
Missionaries saw that parents sacrificed immeasurably for whatever
schooling their sons could acquire, and yet "Forty million children [were]
without means for education!"463 Creighton Lacy painted a picture of

458Powell, p. 328.
459Burke, p. 178.
460Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 164. See also Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 32.
461Ballou, p. 64. See also: Spencer, The Land, pp. 106-109.
462Poteat, p. 56; Holkeboer, p. 23
463Holkeboer, pp. 22-23, 36; Hollister, p. 128.
China's "vast distances, numerous dialects, tenuous government control, and . . . [its] agrarian population" as well as "other factors" which inhibited the development of "large-scale systematic schooling."\textsuperscript{464}

The situation regarding higher education was put in comparative terms by Creighton Lacy. In the United States, he wrote, one in one hundred and forty-two received a college education, in China only one in "almost" a hundred thousand had that opportunity.\textsuperscript{465}

Another picture, however, was emerging in China. Missionaries wrote of Hu Shih, his "Literary Renaissance," and the bai hwa which sparked it.\textsuperscript{466} They wrote of Jimmy Yen, a former YMCA secretary, and his impressive role in the mass education movement. According to Cornelia Spencer, the mass education movement which began in 1938, "claimed" to have taught 46,000,000 Chinese to read "within two years."\textsuperscript{467}

While educational change gained momentum, first with language reform and then with strong Nationalists (KMT) support in the 20's and 30's, according to missionary writings the difficulty remained of bringing "at once into being a full-fledged modern educational system."\textsuperscript{468} "There were no teachers, no adequate funds, no proper buildings."\textsuperscript{469} Ballou drew for his readers an exotic picture of the new government schools being housed in the village temples. He had often

\textsuperscript{464}Creighton Lacy, pp. 100-101.
\textsuperscript{465}Ibid., p. 107. Note date of publication--1943.
\textsuperscript{466}Ibid., p. 102. See also Poteat, p. 56; Brockman, p. 198. Bai Hwa is the spoken language in contrast to wen li, the classical written language. Hu Shih's "literary renaissance," made bai hwa the acceptable written language as well, making literacy more attainable.
\textsuperscript{467}Spencer, The Land, pp. 106-109.
\textsuperscript{468}Ibid. See also: Holkeboer, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{469}Ballou, p. 63.
entered temple courtyards, he wrote, "where the row of buildings on
the street still housed clay figures—heroic in size, ferocious in aspect . . .
of divinities such as have been worshipped in every village for
generations." These oversaw the children being given the new learning
in the rear classrooms which faced the courtyard.470

More than one missionary publication claimed that the missionary
schools which were bringing western ways of teaching and learning to
China, served as models for the government schools as they became
established.471 The mission schools at first provided curriculum and
teachers to the new government schools. Inevitably, however, "the
student class developed diversely in government and mission schools."
According to Huntington, there was more unrest and revolutionary
activity in the government schools where student bodies "wielded more
political influence than similar groups in the West."472

As the Sino-Japanese war progressed, the Chinese commitment to
education indicated no diminuation. Enrollment actually increased as
the schools packed up and moved west to Free China.473 In this
unusual trek, most students and faculty traveled on foot. Ballou quoted
one who had trudged 1,333 miles with such a group:

"No ground seemed too hard for us to lie on, no food too
course to eat, and no future too dark to be unworthy of
our efforts . . . From these moves we have learned how to

470Ibid. See also F. W. Price, Rural, p. 132 Price gave details of primary
teacher training, salaries, etc.
471Alice H. Gregg, China and Educational Autonomy (Syracuse: Syracuse
472Huntington, pp. 146-149.
473Ballou, p. 171 See also Nelson, Journey, p. 135.
serve, to suffer, to sacrifice, to share and to appreciate. It is to us a new life and a real education."\textsuperscript{474}

During this time of the nation's dire need, missionaries acknowledged that students were not called to serve with their struggling armed forces, for according to the Chinese regard for learning, "'One does not use good iron to make a nail, or a good man to make a soldier.'"\textsuperscript{475}

Trying to explain Chinese ways

The teachings of Confucius "laid down rules of how people should act toward one another."\textsuperscript{476} Those rules led to a very different set of social maneuvers from those practiced in the West. Missionaries tried to clarify Chinese social behavior and practice for their American audience. They elaborated on Chinese manners, regard for face, conflict resolution and justice—all issues which had to do with "how people should act toward one another."\textsuperscript{477}

Missionaries described the "niceties of Chinese behavior," the tranquility, the generosity, the humility, and the reasonableness of the Chinese.\textsuperscript{478} According to Anna Pruitt, in their efforts to please, Chinese often responded to the expectations of others, rather than to

\textsuperscript{474}Ballou, p. 172.
\textsuperscript{475}Spencer, \textit{The Land}, p. 109.
\textsuperscript{476}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{477}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{478}F. C. Bryan, p. 73; Powell, p. 328; Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Up}, p. 6.
their own instincts or honest judgement. Missionaries dealt also with the unpleasant or misunderstood social behaviors of the Chinese, their perceived "deceptiveness," for instance. The missionaries did not report as observers alone, but as those who had had to learn to various degrees Chinese ways of getting along.

There was much to explain; the "delightful courteous form of address," for example, was simply an expression of the virtue of humility. To Powell it appeared that the Chinese use of "polite phrases in greeting never seemed to become so common as to lose the ring of sincerity."

"What is your honorable name?"
"My insignificant name is Wan."
"Where is your honorable palace?"
"My humble little hut is in Chinkiang city."
"May I inquire as to your exhalted age?"
"My few and worthless years are thirty."

Another ritual of humility involved seating arrangements at table. Burke described it as a four or five minute battle "genially, but vigorously" fought "over who should occupy which seats in the effort to be most humble. Powell gave a personal illustration:

To locate the lowest seat was difficult for a foreigner but failure to do so would mean loss of face and

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479 Anna S. Pruitt, *Day*, p. 107. "In polite conversation, one studies carefully what his vis a vis wishes him to say; what answer is desired. He does his best to give what he thinks is wanted, often to the confusion of our confiding minds."

480 Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 5.

481 Ibid., Powell, p. 328.

482 Powell, p. 328.

483 F. C. Bryan, p. 72. See also Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 6.

484 Burke, p. 181. "the seats farthest from the entrance ranking higher." The host and his father "fought their way to the 'lowest' seats."
indicate a lack of understanding of customs. High and low seats were in relation to the crack in the table which was placed in a certain manner before the ancestral tables. Factors varied in different houses so that the relationship was hard to determine. . . . [the lowest seat] once . . . found I was supposed by custom to take it and protest being moved higher up for a reasonable length of time and then yield. After wasting considerable time in this manner all were seated and the feast served.485

An aspect of the Confucian social code which captivated the missionaries was the "delightful generosity of even the poorest Chinese."486 Whether a "guest, stranger, or old acquaintance," one received "the most cordial welcome, [and] sweet tidbits, even if [there was] no money for food for the family."487 Spencer painted yet another of her warm scenes of cordiality, this one centered around two friends having tea. After it was brought in

The tea is allowed to brew and cool awhile, while host and guest talk politely . . . The host lifts his cup and waits until the guest, with much urging, lifts his. The host murmurs, "Ch'ing,"488 . . . and the guest replies, "Thank you--I am not worthy." Each waits for the other. At last the guest, knowing that he must make pretense of sipping before bowls can again be set down, and the conversation proceed, takes a tiny sip, exclaiming over the fragrance of the tea. The host sips also. The guest then asks where such excellent tea could possibly have been bought. It must have been fabulous in price! It is so perfectly cured. Excellent! Excellent! Too good for an old friend.489

485Powell, p. 79.
486Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 6.
487Ibid.
488Ch'ing=please.
489Spencer, Made In, p. 62.
What appeared to be mendacity or superficiality to one American missionary was understood in terms of politeness by another. Pruitt explained to her readers that, "our outspoken direct-to-the point . . . speech" appeared "crude," not only to China's self-possessed elite, but even "to the sophisticated social sense of . . . Chinese schoolboys." It was clear that Chinese preferred "to be more charming and pleasant" than direct, "even though this require[ed] deceptiveness and restraint." With a slightly altered emphasis, Rawlinson spoke of "the lie of exigency" and praised the Chinese "consideration for another's feelings" which prompted it. If such a "social amentiy" were to be employed, Rawlinson preferred its frank use in China to its "submerged use in the West." In China, missionaries pointed out, "politeness constantly manifests itself in ways quite opposite to western codes." A personal question regarding age, for instance, was not disrespectful in China, where age is "exhalted.". No question was out of bounds. One freely asked another what he paid for an item or about his general financial situation. And in terms of manners, most difficult for Westerners were the Chinese habits of spitting randomly in

491 Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 5
492 Rawlinson, Naturalization, pp. 77-78.
493 Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 15.
494 Clayton, p. 224. See also Pruitt, Up, p. 6.
public or nose blowing without handkerchief, neither of which affronted Chinese sensitivities.

Missionaries often counseled foreigners on the importance of knowing Chinese customs and the need to "avoid violating them" in day-to-day as well as in major dealings with the Chinese. As a simple example, well-meaning Americans were cautioned not to refer to a young man in China as "my son." If one, unfamiliar with Chinese customs related to filial piety, were to do so, he would be insulting not only the young man, but "his immediate ancestry," readers were warned.

To understand Chinese ways, it was important to comprehend "face." Maintenance of face was central to successful social intercourse in China, missionaries explained. The Chinese lost "respect for anybody" who did not make major efforts to function according to its rules. Its practice was consistent with the Chinese high regard for harmony; it depended upon "reasonableness," "courtesy and generosity," traits highly valued by the Chinese. The goal of "face" was to spare embarrassment; its implementation usually required "an indirect approach." "Face" was not only

495Burke, p. 48; P. Buck, Fighting Angel, p. 148.
496Clayton, p. 20. See also Palmborg, p. 64. Palmborg gave "a feast to the officials and neighbors according to Chinese custom or they would feel slighted."
498Ballou, p. 44.
499Clayton, p. 21.
500Cressy, p. 92. See also Clayton, p. 176. According to Clayton, "Inconveneince in securing [face] is not a consideration." He gives examples.
difficult in concept for the foreigner, it was also difficult in practice, often requiring him to act contrary to his own habits or values.\textsuperscript{501}

Because of their experiences over the years, the missionaries understood "face," and through interpretation and illustration they attempted to make it understandable to their American readers.

School principal Clayton provided several examples.

A principal never fires a teacher. The proper method, and one that works admirably for all concerned, is for the principal to invite the faculty to a farewell feast. The school pays the bill . . . Nobody is fooled.\textsuperscript{502}

Another: One of Clayton's fellow missionary's who had taken great pride in his garden and the special dahlia bulbs he had brought from Portland, Oregon, found, upon his return from an absence, that his precious dahlias had disappeared; they had "rotted", he was told. Later he discovered his dahlias in the mayor's garden. Knowing Chinese custom he carefully saved the mayor's "face." He slowly surveyed the mayor's garden, complimenting him on its over-all beauty--especially the beauty of his dahlias. In the end, the missionary and the mayor exchanged roots in a most friendly and reasonable conclusion to the episode.\textsuperscript{503}

"Face" in China served many purposes, one of them being social control. Ida Mae Pruitt recalled walking down the street as a girl and seeing "three or four or five men squatting in a tight circle," then

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\textsuperscript{501}Clayton, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{502}Ibid. See also Burke, p. 51. Burke told of the shop-keeper who did not invite the employee he wanted to fire to New Year's festivities; Cressy, p. 96. Cressy wrote of a "feast of reconciliation" where each side gave a feast to the other--one feast splitting cost.
\textsuperscript{503}Clayton, p. 21.
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she would know that "a talk to 'achieve harmony' was going on."\textsuperscript{504} Her Mother wrote that in her school of fifty boys "there were frequent disputes," but she did "not remember a single case of assault . . . with fists." One could more deeply hurt another by causing him to lose face, a feat accomplished with words.\textsuperscript{505}

Organized life on the larger scale was also governed by "the rules laid down," well know to all. In the clan

No culprit went unpunished. No dependent was allowed to starve. No task was too unpleasant to be shared by every member of the group, especially in times of crisis. The same sense of responsibility and cooperation was carried over into village affairs.\textsuperscript{506}

In China, as elsewhere, the built-in social controls were vulnerable to fate as well as to aberrant or dissident forces. Then another system of control, the legal system, took over. To Westerners, Chinese concepts of responsibility and accountability, "law and order," crime and punishment, were entirely alien.\textsuperscript{507} In addition there were weaknesses in the Chinese system where "the application of the laws [was] entirely in the hands of the mandarins." In settling a dispute brought before him, if the mandarin, "as is most

\textsuperscript{504}Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 145. See also Clayton, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{505}Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{506}Creighton Lacy, p. 16. Lacy quotes Lin Yu-tang on the subject of organized life in China. See also F. W. Price, \textit{Rural}, pp. 60-62, on the subject of conflict within villages; Cressy pp 94-95, on the subordination of the individual to the clan; Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 61, on China as "a rich and well developed way of life," not a nation.
\textsuperscript{507}Ballou, p. 67.
usual . . . is out to get what he can . . . the decision will go to the person who offers him the richest gifts." Under such an arbitrary system even "mercantile transactions [were] likely to be in constant jeopardy." Not only was there rampant corruption, as Harvey and others saw it, but punishments imposed could be extremely severe. Chinese justice, which called for punishments such as slicing, strangling, or beheading offended men from the West. Some missionaries, went beyond simple description of what they saw, and tried to explain. They described Chinese justice according to their own experiences with it.

Pruitt shared with her readers the moral dilemma she faced in one case concerning a young boy, who,

in a sudden quarrel with his uncle, a boy of about his own age, . . . had accidentally inflicted upon him a fatal blow. According to Chinese law the crime was not plain murder, but an offense far worse. As the victim was of a higher generation it was parricide, and the punishment was slicing. . . . If only the boy might find refuge with us the Chinese authorities could not touch him.

The boy's mother had gone to the Pruitts for help; "my heart went out to the poor mother." "Many is the time we have longed to save Chinese from the severity or injustice of their own courts, but we could not harbor fugitives from their own laws," she wrote.

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508 Harvey, p. 10.
509 F. W. Price, Rural, p. 135. Several authors gave first hand accounts of past western and missionary interference in Chinese courts. See Powell, p. 22; Eberle, p. 64; Anna S. Pruitt, Up, p. 68; Cressy, pp. 75-76, 111; Clayton, pp. 274-275; Anna S. Pruitt, Day, pp 69-70, 76, 99; Stuart, p. 37.
510 Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 100. Underlining author's.
511 Ibid.
The sequel to this tragedy was thoroughly Oriental. . . . The father of the boy who had unwittingly killed his uncle begged to be allowed to suffer in place of his son. His petition was granted. The life of a parent being more valuable than that of a child, he could redeem his boy.\textsuperscript{512}

Powell gave another example of Chinese justice, one which concerned the punishment of a Chinese boy sentenced to death for the killing of an American.

The boy was tied to stakes in the ground, naked, and the locations on the body where the foreigner had suffered wounds were marked on his body. The executioner was given the knife with which the boy had committed murder and instructed to stab him with it in each of these places, allowing a sufficient length of time to elapse between each wound to prolong his agony and suffering as long as the foreigner had suffered. This was Chinese justice as they conceived of it.\textsuperscript{513}

Several lurid examples were offered to American readers of decapitated heads in baskets on poles for public viewing, of hearts being removed and "consumed by . . . executioners who hoped thus to obtain fresh supply of courage," of mass executions.\textsuperscript{514}

Some missionaries were required to re-evaluate their own hierarchy of values as they became involved in life in China. In her published account Lee gave an example, which she considered bizarre, of her own participation in the Chinese system of justice.

\textsuperscript{512}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 100.
\textsuperscript{513}Powell, p. 187. See also Powell, pp. 106-112 for further discussion on the workings of the Chinese system of justice: bad magistrates, filthy jails, innocents executed, mobs enjoying executions, etc.
\textsuperscript{514}Hamaker, p. 87; Lee, pp. 23, 31; Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Up}, p. 141; Huizenga, p. 153.
Lee had heard of a particularly brutal execution in her city of Anking the day before. Apparently the executioner's sword had become dull from much use, and "in one case it took fifteen whacks to sever a head." Sickened by the account, she realized that unless something was done the barbarous activity would continue. She was also concerned that the news would appear in the American press, giving an unjust "impression of Chinese law." She marched off to see the general who was in charge of what was intended to be a major effort to rid the Yangtze of pirates. She told him of her "love for China," and she declared that she was both "humiliated and grieved" by his activity.

I told him that such an execution was not a matter of justice but was an atrocity which should not be allowed to go on. I said that he must do something about that sword before any further executions took place. He replied that there was nothing that he could do, that no sword sharpener in the city of Anking would touch this sword because of superstition. . . . I suggested that he get a new one. He said that there was no place he could get one this side of Shanghai and that he couldn't take the time to send down and get one. . . . since there were more prisoners on the way and the stockade was filled and he must get it emptied the next day.

Lee learned that on the day after her visit with the general, the executions had been postponed until a new sword could be obtained.

It seemed a small victory on my part, and probably none of the poor brutes who died by that new sword knew that their deaths were made perhaps a little more merciful because of the anger of one American
woman. My friendship with the general and his ladies continued until we left Anking.\textsuperscript{515}
According to the missionaries, the ferment of change was moving, slowly but relentlessly, into the vast, solid, seemingly impenetrable lump of conservatism that was the traditional China they had described.\textsuperscript{516} Not only the disintegration of China's own internal forces, but the Western influences brought by traders, businessmen, military, and diplomatic agents had left their mark upon China. Certainly the onslaught of the pertinacious missionaries, those agents of change who had penetrated "into the very recesses of the country," was causing fissures in the solid mass.\textsuperscript{517}

As the missionaries described day to day life in China, they were aware of change and were often caught up in its "whirlwind" along with the Chinese.\textsuperscript{518} Terms such as "turbulent," "convulsion," "uprooted and bewildered," were used in describing the state of the country and the people.\textsuperscript{519} Greene wrote that "on every side, China was bursting with life and threatened with death at the same time."\textsuperscript{520}

The continual movement of troops from the war-lord period through the civil war of the late 1940s had impoverished the country in

\textsuperscript{516}E. T. Williams, preface, pp. viii-ix.
\textsuperscript{517}Clayton, pp. 90-91.
\textsuperscript{518}Palmborg, Foreword. Mrs. Frank Rawlinson wrote that Palmborg "tried to weave into [the letters] the changes she has seen in China through the years, in the people, the customs, and government, along with her own experiences and thoughts."
\textsuperscript{520}Greene, p. 81, describes Fall 1934.
The emotion of fear which, according to Clayton was dominant during Japanese occupation, impelled the masses to some degree throughout the first half of the 20th century according to the missionary writings. In order for the Chinese to survive during those periods of exploitation and uncertainty, "the continual necessity of violating regulations calloused the conscience" and finally during the Sino-Japanese war "there was a breakdown of all legal and moral restraints." That breakdown was of special concern to the missionaries.

Change, however, was not always reported by the missionaries as negative. They reported as positive change which they supervised. About the rest they were less than sanguine.

Western education and government edicts had made some inroads into superstitious belief and practice. "The old Kitchen God . . . [had] been outlawed." In its efforts to modernize, the government had adopted the solar calendar which had nothing to do with "the heavens above nor the earth beneath." Sinicized Anna Pruitt could echo the

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521 F. W. Price, *Rural*, p. 31. Price reminded his readers that America's own particular vices had also become "more apparent" as a result of the war.
522 Clayton, p. 211. According to Clayton there was "fear of starvation, fear of torture, fear of blackmail, fear of slavery, fear of confiscation, fear for life itself."
523 Clayton, p. 208.
524 F. W. Price, *Rural*, pp 73, 228; In his study of rural life in China in the late 1930s, Price found that "tremendous changes taking place in China are beginning to affect ideas and standards of moral behavior." He wanted to learn "to what extent the 'old morality' [was] weakening [and] what outside influences [were] modifying moral codes." See also Anna S. Pruitt, *Day*, p. 112; Huntington, pp. 103-104.
Chinese response, "What a travesty . . . a month that has no relation to the moon, its mother!"  

Birthdays and market days, feast days and fast days, school days and holidays are thrown into hopeless chaos by an attempt to change the calendar. Modern schools have adopted the solar year and the seven-day week, but to most of China the days are divided into tens instead of sevens.

And so it was with Ching-ming, the Tomb festival; the government had declared that henceforth it would be known as Arbor Day and encouraged the planting of trees, yet "few people" were aware of this change or the new name. Much of the superstition that prompted special festivals was no longer "believed in by intelligent people," who nevertheless, "continue[d] the practices," in order to avoid criticism, the missionaries wrote.

In the family, where traditional life had stood firm according to the rules of Confucius, Hollister wrote in 1932 that "Youth seeks its own choice. The elders seek to maintain their ancient prerogatives. . . . One's heart goes out to both." Missionaries saw the confusion of Chinese young people created by the stimuli of new choices available in China's westernized cities.

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526 Ibid.
527 Ibid., p. 119
528 Palmborg, p. 103. See also Harvey, p. 5; P. F. Price, p. 7. Price wrote, "The modern scholar meets you with a frank avowal of agnosticism. He is generally a material evolutionist. He quotes Darwin, Huxley, Bertrand Russell and John Dewey."
529 Hollister, pp. 57, 53, 65. See also Anna S. Pruitt, *Up*, p. 146.
530 Hollister, p. 207. Hollister wrote that China's youth were "caught between the upper and nether millstones of the old and the new."
The very young attempt to drive this new car of freedom, before they have learned how. The old bridges are inadequate, and new ones have not yet been completed. The result is tragedy for both youth and their elders in this difficult transition time. . . . At present only a comparatively small proportion of the people has been affected, but such a break-up of old customs will have a continuously disorganizing effect on an increasingly large group.531

Harvey saw positive effects. The educated minority which was "advocating direct control and limitation of the number of births" was striking a blow at filial piety.532

The government itself interfered with ancient custom. A revolutionary weakening of the traditional family system was instituted by the Kuomintang in 1930, with its new legal code for Chinese marriage. A woman was no longer to be subject to the "three dependencies;" legally she was no longer merely "daughter, wife, or mother." She was "on paper" equal with men.533 In an effort to encourage families to give up the pernicious custom of over-spending on weddings the government was promoting and underwriting mass weddings of reasonable expense.534

Regarding concubinage, James R. Graham gave his readers evidence of a case successfully handled. A church member, Deacon Lee, who had remained faithful to his wife in spite of her childless condition.

531 Ibid., p. 64. See also Holkeboer, p. 53.
532 Harvey, p. 252.
533 Ayscough, p. 62.
534 Palmborg, p. 244, 1937 example. The government weddings also suggested western influence by providing pink satin gowns instead of the centuries' old traditional red.
had a non-Christian brother who was determined to relieve him of this major filial problem. The concerned brother

purchased an eligible daughter from an impecunious father, paid her travelling expenses for the journey up the Grand Canal . . . and sent her on her way to the ancestral village. Deacon Lee answered a knock on his door and found a strange damsel standing without. When he inquired what her business was, she informed him that she sought one Lee-Hope-to get-Rich, saying that she had come from Nanking at the behest of his brother to become his wife! In token of which she produced documentary evidence, receipts, bills of lading, etcetera."535

Deacon Lee did not yield to temptation, but missionaries recounted Christian failures in that same regard.

Still, change was occurring for women. Prices's study pointed to the "rapidly decreasing" practice of foot-binding which the Christian church had promoted.536 There were other "stirring[s]," perhaps "tiny ripple[s]," but eventually "a great wave of new ideas" would bring the changes "girls wanted" regarding marriage and family arrangements.537

In one community within his survey "where the church [had] successfully penetrated the family system," Price found that "the general social standing of men and women [was] equal."538 According to the missionary authors, one of the major keys to change for Chinese women involved the vocational possibilities, within the fields of education and medicine, made available through Christian auspices.539

536F. W. Price, Rural, p. 61; Stuart, pp. 88.
537Spencer, Buck, p. 79.
538F. W. Price, p. 60.
Dr. Wu Yi-fang, President of GinLing, the Christian college for Women in Nanking, said in 1935 that if the Chinese woman was well trained and qualified she may compete equally with the men for any position from the highest government office down. She is not discriminated against, neither is there a distinction made between the married and unmarried woman. Unlike her American and European sisters she does not have to battle opposition from members of the other sex.540

By 1943, Creighton Lacy declared that "Modern China" had indeed "accepted the equality of sexes with an ease which defies explanation." There were examples of women who had "entirely" organized and managed "whole institutions, from banks to war-relief agencies."541 The strength of the "gentle woman" was being recognized in a context outside the family.

Missionaries continued to highlight for their readers the changes the missionary movement's medicine had brought to China. Western medicine which was first dispensed from a missionary's front porch, then in small clinics, was finally practiced in missionary developed hospitals. Medical training schools produced native doctors and nurses as missionary activity took root. Eventually a world-wide reputation

540Ayscough, p. 99. See also Hollister, p. 61, for comments on the hardship imposed upon the traditional woman who could not compete with her educated counter parts. "Thousands of 'wise wives and good mothers' have been divorced through no mistakes of their own and simply because they live in a changing time and their old education or lack of it, and old habits of life do not satisfy the new desires of their husbands." That same theme is the focus of Pearl Buck's novel, East Wind:West Wind (New York: The Readers' League of America, 1930).
541Creighton Lacy, p. 97. Lacy's purpose was to show China's historic democratic tendencies in an effort to secure American sympathy and support for China during war-time.
emerged for the pride of all—the Peking Union Medical College. Government as well as private schools were looking to the mission medical schools for advice on health matters related to children. There were mission prototypes of public and private health facilities in both cities and rural areas.\textsuperscript{542} The benefits of Western medicine were moving from coastal areas into China's west. The first Western trained Chinese woman doctor in the huge province of "Sze-Chuen" with its "population equal to that of France," was graduated in 1932 from "the only medical college west of Hankow," the missionary West China Union Medical School in Chengtu.\textsuperscript{543}

Missionaries reported on both the missionary and the government sponsored educational innovations which were changing China. They described the influence of Hu Shih's "cultural revolt" upon the government's system of education and noted the shift of focus from total conformity to the past to an acceptance of scientific method and its disciplines.\textsuperscript{544}

Clearly a crucial ingredient in the mix which led to change in China was the introduction of western education by the missionaries. Given the high value the Chinese placed upon literacy and the great obstacles to its attainment through the traditional route, everyday Chinese had been seduced early by the missionaries' offer of education. Although by 1927, the Chinese had taken over the administration of all missionary institutions, signs of western Christian influence were to

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\item \textsuperscript{542}Powell, pp. 335-339; Heeren, p. 57; Goddard, pp. 103, 115; Brockman, p. 149.
\item \textsuperscript{543}Hollister, p. 200.
\item \textsuperscript{544}Huntington, p. 149; Hume, p. 2; Brockman, p. 198.
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seen in curriculum. Mission schools had emphasized both the social and the physical sciences and vocational courses were introduced.545 The introduction of western music, was a lasting contribution. "Many of our schools have choirs and orchestras," Robert Bryan wrote.546 The mission schools' stress on physical education and athletic activity also contributed to the new look in China's educational program.547 Continued to be touted was the "wonderful change" in favor of the school girl."548

Authors claimed that another change should be attributed to missionary educational efforts: commitment to broader social responsibility by Christian school graduates.549 Students and graduates of Christian schools scattered, Lacy wrote,

> to the most remote towns and hamlets to share the advantages of education. In open-air dramatic presentations, in advice to mothers, in group singing, in physical aid for the farmers in the fields."550

With ominous candor, Huntington made plain a related change in the "Christian student class." It had become "eagerly responsive to the idealistic beliefs of Communism and many joined the . . . party in criticizing the Church as the upholder of an unchristian social order."551

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545Stuart, p. 69; Brockman pp. 120-122.
547Stuart, p. 62; Powell, p. 327; Walter Lacy, p. 171; Gregg, p. 190.
548Huizenga, p. 57. See also Palmborg, p. 106; Stuart, p. 88. Stuart's mother in 1874, "helped to start the second girls' school in all China," which the "poorest of the poor" attended.
549Hollister, p. 65. "No youth in the world are taking so desperately to heart the woes and burdens of the reconstruction of their beloved country."
John Leighton Stuart, President of Yenching University, wrote of those students "who went over to the Communists": they told him "with starry-eyed enthusiasm what they were doing for the common people in trying faithfully to live up to [Yenching's] motto" of "Freedom through Truth for Service."\textsuperscript{552} Ida Mae Pruitt wrote that her mother "had no idea that in time some [of her students] or their sons would call her an agent of imperialism."\textsuperscript{553} While many remained loyal to "Christianity as a Way of Life" and "became leaders in reconstruction units all over rural China,"\textsuperscript{554} Huntington's honest assessment of those who had left the fold was clearly prescient of change unplanned by the Americans.

Frank Rawlinson had noted another change: Chinese modern education had shifted from the traditional "moral" emphasis to "vocational preparation for privileged leaders."\textsuperscript{555} Government schools, influenced by "agnostic" Chinese scholars, were offering elements of western education and the promise of a better material life.\textsuperscript{556} The Chinese, who earlier had grasped at mission education confusing the modernization of the West with its religion were "now trying" to modernize on their own terms.\textsuperscript{557}

Readers learned of the modernization which was affecting China's economy. They read of transportation improvements, the new highways, railroads, bus and truck lines--first in the cities, then

\textsuperscript{552}Stuart, p. 75. Yenching University a Christian institution.
\textsuperscript{553}Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{555}Rawlinson, \textit{Naturalization}, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{556}P. F. Price, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{557}Rawlinson, \textit{Naturalization}, p. 13.
extending out farther into the countryside.\textsuperscript{558} The small towns of China were moving closer to the benefits that larger cities could offer. Readers were told of the development of a telegraph system and expanded postal service, and of the increased circulation of "newspapers, magazines and special literature for the masses."\textsuperscript{559}

Readers were reminded that modernization began with the development of the port cities by the Powers. Descriptions were given in detail, for example, of the thorough, efforts of the Germans in Tsingtao: the broad tree-lined streets, the cleaned-up harbor, public health and sanitation regulations imposed.\textsuperscript{560} Readers were also reminded that the modernizing process had created problems, among them the labor unrest noted above.\textsuperscript{561} "Glaring evidence of the great gulf between the upper and lower levels of society stirred the lower classes into discontent."\textsuperscript{562} The coolies were being "rapidly displaced," and "the inevitable violence began." Clayton, along with Powell,

\textsuperscript{558}Clayton, p. 97. See also Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, p. 79; Spencer, \textit{Buck}, p. 76; F. W. Price, \textit{Rural}, p. 66; Powell, p. 288. The new transportation facilities were a "blessing" for those missionaries who had walked over great distances on footpaths to tend to their medical or evangelical tasks. Powell wrote of one such trip: "This trip had been difficult, for I possessed no suitable shoes for hiking and was footsore from the forty miles walked in two days. After waiting three days for my feet to recover, I made another trip [of] . . . sixty miles on foot in two days and holding clinics in every village along the way."

\textsuperscript{559}F. W. Price, \textit{Rural}, pp. 66-67. See also Clayton, p. 91; Stuart, p. 70. Stuart wrote, "Newspapers were coming to be increasingly influential in Chinese life, and the inculcation of high standards of editing and ethics seemed worthwhile at what was almost the inception of a new profession."

\textsuperscript{560}Mohr, \textit{Handbuch fur das Schutzgebiet Kiaustschou} as quoted in Ballou, p. 61; Chambers, p. 32. See also Palmborg, p. 247. Palmborg offers a summary of the growth of a particular recreational area begun by missionaries as a summer retreat which then became a modern community for the Chinese as well.

\textsuperscript{561}Above, p. 136.

\textsuperscript{562}Clayton, p. 91.
described the details of the strikes and riots which resulted, cars tossed into the river, smashed, destroyed. Such activity suggested "the infiltration of communism" which was spreading, among the poor, ideas diametrically contrary to Christian teaching.

Modernization was creeping on. Clayton wrote of the "dozens of great factories" in the cities. Spencer claimed that when Shanghai fell to the Japanese, "one hundred and forty thousand factories, business houses and producing centers were lost." As Free China moved west, "452 factories, including 120,000 tons of machinery, were carried up the Yangtze River or over mountain roads. . . . More than 100,000 skilled workers" trekked as well.

The journey westward to Free China, during the Sino-Japanese conflict, caused great, unanticipated changes, as did the other migrations of which missionaries wrote. According to the missionary, William Fenn, the great move west during the war involved the "advance from a traditionally regional to a national viewpoint. . . . This opening of the interior and the linking of the people is one of the greatest phenomena in all history."

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563 Ibid., p. 97.
564 Ibid., p. 91.
565 Ibid., p. 46.
566 Spencer, Made In, p. 250.
567 Pearl S. Buck, Dragon Seed, as quoted in F. W. Price, Twilight, p. 38.
568 Brockman, p. 125, on the migration of students to Tokyo early in 20th c.; Anna S. Pruitt, on the migration of workers to Manchuria and Manchukuo referred to above, p. 137.
569 Carleton Lacy, The Great Migration and the Church in West China (Shanghai, 1940), p. 1 as quoted in Walter Lacy, p. 133, note 19. See also Ballou, pp. 172-173; Nelson, Apostle, p. 103; Spencer, Made In, p. 250; F. W. Price, Twilight, p. 30; Frank W. Price, Wartime China as seen by Westerners (Chungking: China Publishing Co, 1942).
Clayton concluded that in general, war aside, "the towns and cities where foreign influence was strong, were ripe for change, [while] rural districts were still only half-awake." Price, too, stressed the "apparent" lesser impact of change, either positive or negative, among the rural population of China. In terms of travel, for instance, "within the rural communities travel [had] changed little." In northern China, the slow cart remained the common carrier, in "eastern, central and southern China" the slow boat persisted. Whenever change was discussed its scope always had to be qualified. Only among the educated was birth control practiced. It was only among the educated that superstition was declining. Although statistics were impressive regarding the education of women, "by far the greater number of [them] even today never see the inside of a school." New legal codes were in place, but "very few of the people actually" knew of them.

The route of further change was uncertain. By 1948 Price wrote that China was "in the grip of social forces it does not fully understand, and is enacting a drama whose plot is not clear and whose denouement can not yet be seen."

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570 Clayton, p. 91.
572 Huizenga, p. 57, date of publication 1927.
573 Harvey, p. 10.
574 F. W. Price, Rural, p. 54.
Chapter IV

Bound to China

"There was nothing like it between any other two peoples. The relationship between the Chinese and the missionaries was absolutely unique."1

The following chapter will extract from the missionaries' publications evidence of that special relationship which they claimed developed out of their living with the Chinese. Why did the missionaries love China and the Chinese?2 They did for many reasons, and their reflections and explanations cast a spell upon readers in America.

The authors followed no formula. Each had his or her own stories to tell. Hollister wrote that "the fellowship which East and West . . . [share] . . . goes so deep that it is difficult to express."3 Reference to a special "bond," to Chinese and missionary "hearts and lives . . . bound" together, were not infrequent.4 Again and again authors referred to

2 Varg, Miss. & Chinese, p. 251. According to Varg the missionaries "loved the Chinese and identified with China." See also Arthur Rosenbaum, p. 19. Rosenbaum concluded that the missionaries had "a life-long love affair with the Chinese people."
3 Hollister, p. 213.
4 Huntington, p. 184; Greene, p. 33; Stuart p. 1. Stuart wrote "I am bound to that great country and people by ineluctable ties of the spirit."
"our Chinese" and "my people." China's "people" had laid "hold" on Greene and her husband, the missionary doctor. Greene pictured a special moment:

We talked on for a while, a strange conversation with my meager Chinese. I asked the woman what she thought of foreigners. . . . I told her what I thought . . . that in our outward ways we were different but in our hearts we were the same. She nodded again and again and reached out her hand and touched me. It was a moment I'll never forget.

The missionaries reported numerous day-to-day sharings. For instance, the Burkes stopped when out for a walk to have "tea at the home of a church member." The Pruitts looked forward to communion services or congregational business meetings because of "the mutual love" to be enjoyed at the "simple" meals which followed. At other times, Chinese women neighbors and friends would regularly visit Pruitt, as she performed her household chores. By the hour, as she worked, the women would talk with her, confiding all manner of family and personal concerns.

Palmborg's day-to-day relationship with her Shanghai bus company friends grew as increased favors were exchanged. But it was with the people of Liu-ho that she "identified." In 1927 when the

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7. Ibid. See also Lee, p. 24.
10. Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 129. See also Spencer, Buck, p. 64; Pearl S Buck, The Exile, for similar description of her mother and "the Chinese women who came to talk to her."
11. Palmborg, pp. 184, 177.
war-lord Sung was defeated, she, though protected by the American flag, joined her town folk in cooking a "goodly amount" of rice for the retreating army in an effort to prevent looting.\footnote{Ibid., p. 158.} In 1932 when the Japanese took over Liu-ho, Palmborg found it "a hard strain," to be civil to them. She felt "so badly about the Chinese that [she] could not eat, or sleep."\footnote{Ibid., p. 200. See also Hollister, p. 115: "The woes [of China] . . . lay heavy as the fog on my spirit."}

Price wrote of his "innumerable friends in China who [had] enriched [his] life and strengthened [his] spirit," friends to whom he was so close that he knew "their thoughts and feelings, [their] trials and aspirations."\footnote{F. W. Price, \textit{Twilight}, p. v. See also Cressy, Frontpiece; Gardner/Chambers, pp. 154, 170, 184.} Greene wrote of friendships developed through the social evenings \textit{Hsiang-Ya} faculty and students shared in their home in Changsha.\footnote{Greene, p. 18. \textit{Hsiang-Ya}=Yale-in-China.}

Though we did not know it at the time, we were laying down great friendships in those hours. We were to belong together for keeps. The years have proved it.

And I wonder, if on the countless quiet walks together, of students and faculty, Chinese and American, from a hundred campuses over China there in the 1920s and the 1930s, some of the very foundation stones of world peace may not have been laid down.\footnote{Ibid. See also Greene, pp. 15, 85.}

Lee wanted "to say more" about her "Chinese friends:"
They were very varied. Some . . . were the simplest men and women in the neighborhood . . . and some were high officials, even the governor of the province himself.

During little Edmund's illness and after his death, the kindness we received from our Chinese neighbors and even strangers on the street was unbelievable. The experience of losing a baby was the most common experience of motherhood in China, and I had the sympathy of a city full of other mothers.¹⁷

There were specific "Chinese customs" of friendship which the missionaries enjoyed as special relationships developed. For instance, Palmborg's Chinese friends in Lui-ho gave her "presents of material for wearing apparel" which helped her endure heatless rooms and severe winters.¹⁸ Powell's family received traditional gifts of "silver, furs, and velvets" at the birth of their little girl, the first white child born in Chao Hsien.

According to their customs it was necessary for us to buy hundreds of eggs, boil them red, and give twenty to each family with whom we were intimately acquainted. . . . All those who made presents were invited to feasts. They showed all of the courtesies which they would have for a boy, for they appreciated that to us she was as welcome as a boy.¹⁹

Friendships and ties surrounded second and third generation missionaries as they met younger Chinese. "We were constantly meeting old friends and friends of friends in unexpected places," Frank

¹⁷Lee, p. 36. Regarding Chinese friends see also Oss, p. 241; Hamaker, p. 82.
¹⁸Palmborg, p. 52.
¹⁹Powell, p. 144.
Price wrote. Goddard wrote of his grandfather Dean's "very happy experience" when he baptised--

the fourteen-year-old son of A Tui, the faithful local preacher. "As I led the boy down into the water, . . . I thought of the time more than twenty years ago when I led his father down the same bank--the first Chinese ever baptized in the China Sea."21

Palmborg's readers would learn that she had had a way of developing relationships. Her servants she called companions, children that she supported to various degrees she called proteges.22 And of her relationship with her two girl helpers to whom she was teaching "a little Materia Medica," she wrote "We seem like one family."23

The missionary authors were often questioned about the Chinese capacity for love. Fearn's response was simple: "Do the Chinese love? Do the stars shine?"24 "'Deep calleth unto deep,' in China as in any land."25 Price wrote of the "love" of the Chinese he had experienced.26 And Lee, home in America in 1927, was gratified when she received "a batch of letters through some circuitous route" from women who showed "that they still remembered and loved me."27

20F. W. Price, Twilight, p. 35.
21Goddard, p. 33.
22Palmborg, pp. 225, 267, 272, 231. "I have another protege, a son of the evangelist, whom I am putting through school in Shanghai. He is home too."
23Palmborg, p. 16.
24Fearn, p. 74. See also Hollister, p. 64.
25Hollister, p. 216.
26Price, Twilight, p. v. See also Pruitt, Up, p. 112.
27Lee, p. 51.
Holton wrote about the relationship between Kai-ding whose "stunted little soul" "craved" knowledge, and the church organist, Anne Holway, who taught him to read. For Kai-ding "love and knowledge grew together in boundless supply." He was injured when the church roof caved in and fearing for the life of his "beloved" teacher, he wailed "Oh, and she loved me." In another case, when a young Chinese teacher lay dying, he called for the missionary, his "Shepherdess-Mother." His last words were "She has always loved me." Hollister offered cinematic evidence of the ultimate love of one Chinese for a missionary.

Ask that young American doctor who was marched before a communist firing squad. Just before the rasping order to fire came, a young communist soldier whom he had cared for and healed, flung himself in front of the doctor and made possible his escape.

Nelson simply said, "I love the Chinese." Powell spoke of his love "for the country and its people." The dying words of a woman

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28 Holton, p. 140.
29 Ibid., p. 152.
30 Ibid., p. 151. In contrast to the gentle description of the organist with her "soft hair" and "such deep brown eyes" (Holton p. 141), it is interesting to note the words Holton used to picture Kai-ding's mother: her "voice, sharp and querulous." (Holton p. 146). See also pp. 97-101 for Holton's account of another special relationship between teacher and pupil.
31 Hollister, p. 216, the "shepherdess Mother" was author Hollister's mother. See also Hollister p. 215. There she tells of a sophisticated young Chinese woman, who while in America wrote her "home letter" to China to an American woman whom she addressed as "Dearest Mother."
32 Ibid., p. 217.
33 Nelson, Journey, p. 146. See also Eberle, p. 16 She speaks of Macklin's "yearning love for China's people and his brooding desire for that land."
34 Powell, p. 213. In the memorial service held for William Reginold Wheeler, Flight to Cathay (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), it was said that "his first and last love [was] China."
missionary were "for this people whom I love." Chambers told the Chinese that among them were several whom he regarded as "'brothers and sisters;" he felt as close to them as to his own family "'in the United States.'" 36 And Spencer's mother, pledged to share half of her place in heaven, ("if I have one") with the aged, non-Christian amah of the family, whom she so dearly loved. 37

Missionaries wrote of their special relationships with the young people of China. Several told of shepherding Chinese students to American schools; "building for all eternity!" as one expressed it.38 "No father . . . ever made more careful provision for a son," Yeung Ah-fong said of Chambers who enrolled him first in an American school.39 At another time Chambers "was overwhelmed with a sense of his responsibility" for "twelve Chinese students, three girls and nine boys, sixteen to eighteen years of age" whom he had brought to America. He "kept a fatherly eye on them throughout his stay in the States."40

35Oss, p. 98.
36Chambers, p. 76. See also Bryan, p. 177; Pruitt, Up, p. 158; Ida Mac Pruitt, p. 11; F. C. Bryan, p. 114; Hollister, p. 155; Palmborg, p. 186.
37Spencer, Buck, pp. 61, 75. Of her father, Buck wrote, he "greatly" loved the Chinese, P. Buck, Fighting Angel, p. 128.
38Chambers, p. 131.
39Ibid., p. 74. Yeung completed an M.A. at Columbia. See also p. 96.
40Ibid., p. 132. "Each student," readers were assured, "obtained a college degree" and returned to China. See also Brockman, p. 127 for an account of his recruitment of C. T. Wang to head a crucial YMCA project for Chinese students floundering in Tokyo. Brockman then arranged for Wang to study at Michigan and Yale after two years in Tokyo. Numerous other examples were given of missionaries sponsoring or arranging for Chinese students to study abroad. During an interview with L. Carrington Goodrich, son of missionaries, Columbia University Professor, Goodrich spoke of his parents' sponsoring of Chinese students for study in America. Interview, March, 1973.
There were indeed close relationships. Of her amah Ida Mae Pruitt wrote:

Dada was a most important person in our lives, almost as important as our parents. In some ways, perhaps, more important. She was with us all day, in all parts of the compound. I recognize many of my thoughts and attitudes as hers.41

Authors also reported actual family ties.42 Among the books reviewed, the most detailed story of this nature was Palmborg's thirty-six year account of her relationship with her Chinese daughter. Palmborg acquired her baby girl through adoption when the baby's parents died of typhus. She was named "E-ling, after my sister Elin." Life's journey with E-ling began by train from Shanghai to Woosung, then by wheelbarrow the twenty miles on the Yangtze enbankment, carrying the baby in my arms. . . . Almost every Chinese woman has a nursing baby, and twice she had something to eat when I explained the situation.

41 Ida Mae Pruitt, pp. 69, 64. Ida Mae admitted that she and her brother were "jealous of the school" which took so much of their Mother's time. Their mother "liked the boys" best they thought. See also Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 38 for thoughts on how she picked up on and was sympathetic to the feelings and sentiments of the Chinese around her--often contrary to those held by her parents. On the subject of other amahs see also Caldwell, pp. 19-21.
42 Other adoptions: Palmborg's colleague, Dr. Crandall, adopted at least two Chinese girls. See also Forsythe, pp. 75-80; F.C. Bryan, p. 219, Walter Lacy, p. 231, note 6. Among the primary resource books only one mentioned inter-marriage between the missionaries and Chinese, Huntington p. 231 (marriage of Soo Ngoo Pott to "the President of St. John's, [Soo Ngoo,] herself an educator who had served many years as headmistress of St. Mary's Hall, a woman of singular charm and power."). There were others.
At first "she much prefers the Chinese and does not even yet care to have much to do with me."\footnote{Palmborg, pp. 50-51.} On the next page: "She is a plump, happy little thing and has now become very fond of me."\footnote{Ibid., p. 52.}

My little E-ling is growing fast. . . . I am enclosing a snapshot of her taken by a friend while we were in Shanghai. The sad expression was because she wanted to come to me instead of standing there alone in front of the strange lady.\footnote{Ibid., p. 62. The photograph appeared in the book.}

The next year:

My little girl is a growing pleasure and in a way is a help to me in making friends with the people. Sometimes she goes downtown with me, and as she trots along so happily, holding my hand and lovingly glancing up into my face as she laughs and chatters away, the people realize I am not the ogre that a foreigner is supposed to be.\footnote{Ibid., p. 70.}

Palmborg wrote of her daughter's solicitation toward her. She "would have had pneumonia had E-ling not just then come home for her . . . vacation and taken me energetically in charge, with the best of nursing."\footnote{Ibid., p. 149.} One summer E-ling gave her "screen doors and windows."\footnote{Ibid., pp. 176, 240.}

E-ling considered her mother even as she planned for her own marriage. "My dear girl gave me some lovely silk for a dress, and that when she is saving up for her wedding outfit."\footnote{Ibid., p. 149.} Wedding plans were shared with those at home in the U.S. Palmborg wrote proudly that
when a young man proposed marriage, after obtaining permission from his father, E-ling's response was "'Ask Mother.'"50

Over the years, readers were given full reports on E-ling's children. When little Rosaline said "Grandma, I love you" in English, the folks at home were informed.51

In 1935 as she gazed at those waiting to greet her at the wharf after a four-month furlough, Palmborg thought, "Loved ones behind and loved ones here, how fortunate and blessed I am!"52 But by 1940 her age and China's trauma required her return to the U.S.

My daughter E-ling says that the next time I come to China I must live with her and not try to do anything, but let her take care of me in my old age! It is sweet of her to feel that way, but I am afraid there will be no "next time."53

Relationships between the missionaries and the Chinese were often celebrated with special festivities. For instance, the events surrounding the celebration of Bryan's 80th birthday, which also celebrated his 50th year of "service" to China, were minutely drawn. He was honored by students and former students of the University of Shanghai, as well as others, with feasting and celebration. He responded by providing a "noonday feast" for every teacher, student, and servant in the neighborhood," an assemblage of 600.54

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50Ibid., p. 143.  
51Ibid., p. 225.  
52Ibid., p. 219.  
53Ibid., p. 275.  
54F. C. Bryan, p. 243.
evening the University's music department, "under the direction of the
grandson of the first native pastor of the Old North Gate Church," gave a
concert to honor the old man.\(^{55}\)

When Dr. Macklin left China to attend the Chinese in France during
World War I a feast was given in his honor by city officials who made
"the most laudatory speeches."

To cap the climax, the governor sent an escort of mounted
police to accompany him to the station and these lined up
along the tracks and stood at attention until the train
disappeared.\(^{56}\)

The author's tried to convey why they loved China and the
Chinese.\(^{57}\) In addition to loving China because it "has always been
interesting," the missionaries had, after all, identified and described
some extremely difficult, stubborn and malevolent aspects of Chinese
society.\(^{58}\) Alnah James Johnston asked herself that question about
loving China.

I have often tried to discover the secret of China's spell
upon me. Sometimes I think it is the beauty of the
country, its architecture, its poetry and philosophy. Then
again I am sure it is the gentleness of the people
themselves, their warmth, their delightful sense of

\(^{55}\text{Ibid. p. 245. See also Palmborg pp. 233-234 for her description of her 70th
birthday celebration: "They certainly mean me to keep warm in my old age! I
never had so many nice things before. The little I did have went in that war of
1924." The girls who worked in her cooperative, gave her "a sum of money
which [she] spent for linen to make a nice tablecloth" which she then "gave
them to decorate." She gave her noodle ticket presents to the non-missionary
orphanage down the street in Liu-ho.}\)

\(^{56}\text{Eberle, p. 101; See also Gardner/Chambers, p. 73; Greene, p. 62; Powell, pp.
191-192.}\)

\(^{57}\text{Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 2. Ida Mae Pruitt wrote that her father understood "the
beauty of the Chinese people and their culture," and he "loved" them.}\)

\(^{58}\text{Clayton, p. 169.}\)
humor, their loyalty, their strength of character. Of course it is a blend of all these things, and more.59

Daniel Nelson, born and raised in China, having himself made a commitment to China, spoke from his own history of his love for the Chinese; he had "complete faith" in them. When he returned to China during the war his "heart leaped with joy" as he saw "Chinese faces again." He "was almost tempted to embrace the first man" that he saw.60 As for loving China, "Even the clay of the land is sacred to me," he wrote, "because in it lie buried the bones of my loved ones."61

For Carie Sydenstricker, Chinese "fingers [surrounded] her heart.62 Hollister's love was inbred.

It cannot be that Chinese women are more lovable than others. Perhaps it is only because from babyhood their hands and their hearts have enfolded me, that they seem to respond more intuitively to the least breath of need, to open their hearts at the lightest touch of friendliness.63

According to the missionary authors, China and the Chinese were something of a piece; both the people and "the land" were "so dear."64 China and its people had offered them growth. They loved because

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60 Nelson, Journey, pp. 100-101
61 Ibid., p. 146. His parents, his martyred brother, "other relatives, including a son who died in infancy, lie buried in four different provinces in China." See also Pruitt, Up, p. 23; Pruitt, Day, 109-114; Walter Lacy, p. 47; P. F. Price, Forward; Stuart, p. 88; Lee, p. 32; Goforth, p. 86; Spencer, Buck, pp. 36-37, 41.
62 Spencer, Buck, p. 42.
63 Hollister, p. 10.
64 F. W. Price, Twilight, p. v.
they had become enriched. What Walter Lacy wrote of one missionary, here paraphrased, could have been written for several of the missionary authors: They lived for China and China lived in them.65 "That is where I belong" was the cry of many.66

China was not simply a spot for an exotic spiritual quest--China was the place where roots had been put down, China became home.67 For Betty Stam, who had been born and raised in China as the daughter of Presbyterian missionaries, China was home. Her lament upon being assigned to Africa after completing her studies in the U.S.:

Lord, there are things I do not understand--
The reason why Thou callest me to go to Africa when I love China so--68

For Hollister China was that "great land of my home and my heart."69

Spencer did not romanticize, but her conviction was sure. "Strange," she wrote,

in spite of fantastic maladies and hairbreadth escapes, none who went to China and lived there for a time was fully content to live anywhere else again. Disease, fanatic outbursts, anti-foreign mobs and the lack of all the accustomed ways of living could not kill the desire to be in China.70

65Walter Lacy, p. 68.
66Clayton, p. 169, Burke, p. 376; Stuart, p. 218. Stuart wrote that Yenching was where he "felt [himself] to belong more than anywhere else in the world." See also Isaacs, pp. 129-130.
68Stam, p. 82. She never went to Africa, but received her assignment to China.
69Hollister, p. 115. Here she was brooding over the trouble she had seen "in the capital--political turnover, bloodshed." The troubles "lay heavy as the fog on my spirit."
70Spencer, Made In., p. 196. See also Greene, p. 81 "China with all its problems and promise ... impinged on every waking thought;" Clayton, p. 169; Hamaker, pp. 18, 151, 158; Fearn, p. 87; Caldwell p. 183. "at home in Futsing;" Greene p. 32.
The publications abound with notes of rejoicing over homecomings after furloughs in America.

"O Mother, we're really home now, aren't we? piped little Eliza as the boat came into the Shanghai jetty, and the children spied their beloved Fang Tze-ming waiting to greet them."71

Bryan admitted after his fourth furlough that it had been good to see his "home-folks," but he was even more "overjoyed" to go back to his "China home!"72 When he returned to China after his 5th furlough he exclaimed, "Home, sweet home!" 73 Greene described her homecoming this way:

Happy to be back in China, to hear Chinese spoken . . . to see Chinese faces--coolie faces, ricksha boys' faces, old women with wrinkled faces, so lovely--I go about the street treasuring these Chinese faces as though I were making a portrait album!74

"China pulled upon us both like the moon upon the tides," Greene wrote.75 At home in the U.S. during the Sino-Japanese war years, her

"this city of Changsha feels like my native heath!" Goddard, p 71. The author, himself a 3rd generation missionary, described his father setting "to rights his boyhood home," in China.

71F. C. Bryan, p. 110. Interview (1969) with Bliss Wiant, faculty member of Yenching University. Wiant told me that his children had the same response, they were happily home again when they saw the streets of Peiping--in the 1930s. See also Greene p. 93, "to head--how happily--for the train to Canton, Changsha, home;" Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 131.

72F. C. Bryan, p. 159; Pollock, p. 165.

73F. C. Bryan, p. 219.

74Greene, p. 108; See also Greene, p. 90; Gardner/Chambers, pp. 101, 134, 172; Palmborg., pp. 68, 221, 257-261; Burke, pp. 64, 380-383. Burke claimed Sungkiang as "his city." Towards it he felt "a sort of patriotic pride."

75Greene, p. 58. While home in the U.S. in 1927. Others too revealed the pull of China. See Fearn, p. 4. After Fearn and her husband had resigned from missionary work and returned to the U.S. they realized that their their
husband agonized—and again "as in the past, the need of China won"—over family or any other consideration. He returned "home" to China to danger and war-time medical work.76

Stephen Goddard too had to make the choice. "China was calling."77 "Many factors" tempted him and his wife to accept "the security and amenities of life in America, good business prospects, happy associations with their church and with their reunited family," but in 1939 the tug of China was too strong; they returned to teach at the missionary University of Shanghai.78 It was clear to Goddard:

China is calling me home once more;
   From over a restless sea
       Bamboo glades
   In a misty haze
       Reach out their arms to me.

And I, on the heights of this civilization
   With all its hurry and strain,
       Would like to go back
   And live in the past
   In China, my China again.79

"heart[s] were in China." "So in the face of many splendid opportunities in the United States, Dr. Fearn accepted an invitation" to return to China. Fearn returned to China to serve as business manager of the Associated Protestant Missions in China. He also served in various medical capacities. His wife, also a former missionary doctor, established a private hospital in Shanghai upon their return.

76Greene, p. 161.
77Goddard, p. 131.
78Ibid. China was home to the wife of Steven Goddard as well; her father had also been a China missionary. By the end of 1940 the State Department warned the Goddards to leave China. Stephen remained while his wife and child returned to the States.
79Ibid., p. 88. Second verse omitted. See also F. W. Price, Rural, p. vi.
China was not only home in this life, but for several it was the final resting place. Many returned in retirement to busy lives in the U.S., but there were others, like Steven Goddard, who wished their ties to China to remain unsevered even in death. He chose his spot, the little village at the foot of the mountain, Do-San-O.

The hamlet is quiet and peaceful,
The villages cheerful and kind;
Soothing to troubled spirits,
Restful to harried minds.

And when, being sick and weary,
This world having served with a will,
I then shall want to be taken
To the village at the foot of the hill.⁸⁰

⁸⁰Ibid. p. 46. Do San-O (Da Shan-O)
Chapter V

Take Heed, America!

"Oh, thou unproductive civilization!" 1

In the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, missionary authors were finding God's American children in need of chastisement. They challenged the West to look to the beam in its own eye before criticizing China. 2 According to those missionaries, the example which the West projected, was often as detrimental to their goals as the intransigence of the Chinese themselves. From their China perspective, authors often expressed criticisms of social, diplomatic, economic, and cultural aspects of Western or American life. 3

After their long sojourn in China, a theme of the missionary authors became--humble yourselves. "While the United States is the most active agent in promoting religion and philanthropy throughout the world it fails to curb . . . social evils within its own borders where it has the right of way." 4 P. F. Price put it bluntly: "The giving of our money is only part of the task. We have failed in China . . . in

1 Nelson, p. 139, "Oh, thou unproductive civilization! Oh, thou barren Christianity. The world is filled with sinners. Where are the saints of God?"
2 F. W. Price, Twilight, p. 19, Regarding the "shattering" turmoil in China--"The white man must take his share of blame for what is happening . . . in Asia."
3 Ibid., p. 22 "The aggressive West shook the foundations of old Chinese society and forced cataclysmic adjustment and change upon a cultured, proud people."
4 Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 4. See Varg, Miss. & Chinese, p. 111.
proportion" to our failure "at home."\(^5\) The American system had fostered "unintelligent waste of natural resources, monopolies, concentration of wealth and industrial power, management-labor conflicts, and city slums."\(^6\) Immorality and political hypocrisy were blatantly evident.\(^7\)

America lacked "celestial refinements."\(^8\) It was "pleasure-mad."\(^9\) From it the "trash of the West" had infected China. The "sex-ridden literature" which poured into China in "great stream ... unwholesome, destructive, and materialistic" overcame "the trickle of Christian literature" produced by the missionary press.\(^10\) In contrast to the West's "trash," Rawlinson noted that

Chinese classical literature is remarkably free from anything erotic. Confucius banished the licentious songs of Chang as found in the Book of Odes. Phallicism is almost absent from China. . . . Realistic novels do exist, but obscene literature has always been banned.\(^11\)

American movies, with their "lack of restraint, [their] immodesty, and . . . crude suggestiveness" caused further concern.

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\(^5\)P. F. Price, p. 25.  
\(^6\)F. W. Price, \textit{Twilight}, p. 73.  
\(^7\)Ibid., p. 31: "sexual immorality, divorce, crime, juvenile delinquency, drinking, gambling and profiteering;" p. 87, "We had our 'gilded age' with its stock gamblers, new industrial magnates, robber barons, and gangsters. Today our social, economic, and moral problems are far from being solved. We must admit one-party systems in several states, dirty political machines in many cities, evils of party patronage, millions of tenant and sharecropper families . . . racial injustices, and the unwillingness of many able men to enter public life. China is grappling with her concentration of land, we with our concentration of wealth."

\(^9\)J. R. Graham, p. 92.  
\(^10\)Hollister, p. 150.  
\(^11\)Rawlinson, \textit{Naturalization}, p. 78.
"Is it any wonder," Hollister asked, "that in far Sze-Chuen where American 'movies' are shown, foreign women sometimes have been greeted with the scornful word 'prostitute'?"  

Missionaries knew "something of the lavish ease with which . . . money is spent . . . in America by people . . . who profess to be disciples of . . . Jesus." Ballou's reference to lavish ease underscored the missionaries' contempt for the lack of genuine concern among Americans for the Chinese. Nelson was militant: "If the communists are willing to die for their principles, are we who call ourselves Christians going to live in continued luxury and refinement [while] praying pious petitions?" According to Rawlinson, real Christian caring would oblige Americans to reduce their own standard of living in order to elevate that of China's. "Banditry in China might find some excuse" because of the relentless poverty there; "in 'Christian' America high economic standards reduce this excuse to a greasy rag."

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12Hollister, p. 65. See also F. W. Price, Twilight, p.163. Price was told by a Chinese friend that "Some American movies undo the good that many missionaries accomplish;" Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 80: "For sheer moral depravity I have never found anything in China that equals the conditions described in the Report of the Chicago Vice Commission (1910); Buck, Fighting Angel, pp. 226-228, for her father's description of "heathen" America; Burke p. 12.
13Ballou, p. 198.
14Rea, p. 94. John Leighton Stuart could not "understand why we with all our wealth and power and profession of friendship have watched their suffering and done nothing about it."
15Nelson, Apostle, p. 134. Nelson here is saying that praying "that God will annihilate the Communists" wont solve the problem.
16Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 183.
17Ibid., p. 4. See also Rawlinson, p. 5 regarding corruption in China: "Up till near the beginning of the 19th century the sale of seats and bribery of members in Parliament was customary." Spencer, Made In, p.156, regarding
Several authors referred to the wars in which "so-called Christian nations slaughtered each other." The wars of Christendom were an especial impediment to the bearers of the Word. To the Chinese, World War I "was a melancholy proof of the ineffectiveness of Christianity to solve human problems." "Why did you not settle this problem [of war] before coming to convert China?" thoughtful Chinese asked the missionaries. The missionaries put the same question to their American readers. Rawlinson warned that according to the "Chinese mind" the "seeming failure of Christians, . . . to apply their principles to international relationships . . . militates against their right to lead." Indeed, World War I not only showed the West to be "an idol with clay feet," it showed it to be duplicitous as well, selling out "Shantung, China's 'Sacred Province,'" in the peace treaty.

The subject of extraterritoriality received the critical appraisal of many of the authors who voiced opposition to its continued application. In fact "many" of the "infections" which caused the

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18Palmborg, p. 106. In 1915 Palmborg wrote "it looks as though there might be trouble in China again. There seems to be always that or prospect of it here. It is not so bad as Christian(?) Europe yet, however."

19Huntington, p. 148.

20Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 6. Underline author's. Rawlinson p.166, warns that "China is now testing Christianity and the civilization of which it is a part."

21Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 40. See also Walter Lacy, p. 15.

"dismal decade" of the 1920s in China were found by missionary Ballou "not to be indigenous," but imported "from without."  

The missionaries became increasingly uneasy about America, the Mei Guo (Beautiful Country), which in the early days had filled them with pride. Price asked his readers to ponder "how Christian is our national example?" Nelson was blunt: "The diluted form of Christianity which is so prevalent in America today is too weak to prescribe as a cure for the problems of China or any other country." Some missionaries determined that the influence of their home country was so spiritually unhealthy that it was no longer safe to send students there for higher education. Graham told of the daughter of one of China's most devout Christian pastors who upon "going to America and sitting at the feet of the great professors . . . had been convinced . . . that the Bible was merely Hebrew folk-lore, filled with errors and superstition, . . . of no practical value to . . . intellectual people of the modern age." Her father suffered "pangs of soul . . . when he discovered the destructive effects of her American education."  

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23 Ballou, p. 56. Regarding western involvement with prostitution in port cities, Rawlinson, p. 80; regarding the British and opium in China, Palmborg, pp. 114, 174: "Dr. Fryer, an Englishman, once said to me that he felt that England would have to answer at the bar of Judgment for forcing opium on China when they did not want it." See also Ballou, pp. 37-38; Fearn, pp. 121-123; Poteat, p. 29; Creighton Lacy, p. 25.  
24 Below, p. 213.  
25 F. W. Price, Twilight, p. 163.  
27 J. R. Graham, p. 65.  
28 Ibid., p. 63. See also Buck, Fighting Angel, p. 234. According to Buck's father, to send young people to America would be their "ruin."
Rawlinson suggested that: "The 'Christian' West [had] no solutions to offer to China [regarding] the social snarls of race prejudice, war, narcotic addiction, industrial discontent, or the stabilization of family life." Racial prejudice in America was not overlooked by others, who referred to the humiliation heaped upon China by the exclusionary acts as well as the national and Christian dilemma of the Negro situation in America. Although "The Christian ideal rises above racial distinctions," Rawlinson acknowledged, "the Christian practice" of Americans at home on that issue indicated "a muddled and fearsome mind." He urged missionaries to

keep in mind the *inferiorities* of their own civilization. It is a common and easy error to judge another nation or race by comparing their worst with one's best. This tends toward social and religious vanity.

Criticism of the West and the home country did not exclude the church and Christian practice: "Our own country is imperfect . . . The church organization is imperfect." The "weaknesses" to be found in the Chinese church, as a matter of fact, reflected "largely" its "unfortunate conditioning during the period of its infancy by" those western churches which were "its spiritual parents." In China the

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29 Rawlinson, *Naturalization*, p. 6. Regarding American racial prejudice and disappointment in American character see also Stuart, pp. 69, 138.
30 Burke, p. 39; Chambers, p. 132.
32 Ibid., p. 4, italics author's.
33 Hollister, p. 222.
34 Ballou, p. 186.
church had been too involved in building "propagandic institutions and organizations."35 With brutal candor, Rawlinson charged that Christianity had indeed come to China "clad in a juvenile civilization, . . . honeycombed with the psychology of conquest." He excused the movement from any involvement in economic conquest, but acknowledged its aim of "religious conquest." The Chinese, he cautioned, "object to being conquered by anything or anybody."36

American Christians were muddled. They confused "scientific mastery of habitat"--achieved in America, not yet by China--"with the moral worth of [the] people" who had achieved it.37 Scholarly Chinese were not so muddled; they were apprehensive about "mastery" of any sort, according to Rawlinson, who quoted Professor William Hung of Yenching University on the subject:

"The modern West has developed in its peoples an attitude of aggressive mercilessness towards nature which they attack and conquer at will and which seems to influence even their attitude towards one another. . . . In the world of competition, of promotion, of efficiency and of production and consumption on a large scale, do they sometimes forget the inherent worth and dignity of the other man, patronizing him or exploiting him or using him as a mere part of a machine?"38

35Rawlinson, *Naturalization*, p. 186.
36Ibid., p. 171, underline author's
37Ibid., p. 71.
The church had failed "miserably to live up to" its opportunities in China.\textsuperscript{39} Too many Christians had "been hibernating . . . and [had] never lifted one finger to help solve the problems of the world." Prayer alone would not solve problems unless it was "followed by concerted and concentrated action." Nelson mourned the lack of "the revolutionary leaven of Jesus" among Christians.\textsuperscript{40} Ballou wrote:

It is easy to be sentimental. It is . . . even easier to be condescending. It is dangerously easy to be patronizing. Our Chinese brothers and sisters---are not to be helped by sentimentality or condescension or patronage. We insult them and we degrade ourselves when we offer no more than such spurious substitutes for Christian love."\textsuperscript{41}

After long years in China, missionaries viewed both their home country and China from a different perspective than when they began their venture. Many recognized a dilemma: if Christianity was "not strong enough to influence its own civilization or government," how could it presume to help China?\textsuperscript{42} Thoughtful people were obliged to straighten their own house, or their efforts at straightening the house of others would be in vain.

\textsuperscript{39} Muller, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{40} Nelson, p. 136
\textsuperscript{41} Ballou, p. 196.
\textsuperscript{42} Rawlinson, \textit{Naturalization}, p.172.
Chapter VI

What Should the Role of Christianity be?

"We are going to be lost together or saved together. We shall all be prosperous or all be poor, all have peace or none have peace."\(^1\)

As the missionaries created their picture of China and the day-to-day life of the Chinese, they painted themselves into the midst of it. They evaluated their surroundings and articulated their view of Christianity's role in China. Christianity would save minds, souls, and bodies.

Nelson recommended a demonstration of "aggressive love" as the modus operandi.\(^2\) Christianity would, through love, uplift the Chinese who were the suffering victims of nature, tradition, history, and current internal and external exploitation. With love, organization, education and persistence individual Chinese, Chinese families, Chinese communities and China itself would undergo overhaul and restructuring.

Hollister's conclusion encapsulated the judgement of many: the only "solution" for the traditionally imposed miseries of Chinese life, she wrote, "involve[d] the education and the changing of the habits of

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\(^1\) Brockman, p. 204.  
\(^2\) Nelson, *Apostle*, pp. 136-137. See also Ballou, p. 29.
a whole nation."³ It was clear that the missionaries must assume that "task," "staggering in magnitude."⁴

According to the missionary writers, the Chinese would learn by Christian example and Christian teaching to value their daughters; women would gain a sense of their own worth.⁵ Women would be freed from unhealthy and inhibiting customs; the same opportunity for education that was available to Chinese males would be made available to women. Children, "so many of them pinched and sad, with faces a century old," would have a new place in the family; they would be valued for themselves, not for the benefits they could bestow upon elders and ancestors.⁶ The Chinese would be taught that it was "not scientific to call children into the world in order that they . . . minister to those no longer in it."⁷

Under Christian tutelage not only would the status of individuals be elevated, but the community outside the family would be enriched by concerned participants, good men who would make a difference in China.⁸ The role of Christianity was to produce "devoted leaders" who would "encourage the masses to realize their economic, intellectual, political and spiritual rights."⁹ The missionary

³Hollister, pp. 119, 121; Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 24.
⁴Hollister, pp. 119, 121. See also Carlberg, p. 192; Rabe p. 52, regarding John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s "deep interest in foreign missions and his "desire to participate in a historic reshaping of society." Ian., p. 70.
⁵Ida Mae Pruitt, p. 4; Scovel, p. 35; Hollister, p. 19.
⁶Holton, p. vi.
⁷Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 68.
⁸Hollister, p. 65; Creighton Lacy, p. 148; Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 26; Spencer, The Land, p. 82; Ballou, p. 187; Greene, p. 16; J. R. Graham, p. 96; Goddard, p. 108; Chambers, p. 106; Poteat, p. 69.
⁹Price, Rural, pp. 236-237.
authors offered examples of Chinese Christian communities where people "as a whole" lived "at levels above the impoverished life" which surrounded them.¹⁰

To change the habits of a whole nation required a major educational effort. It was the function of Christianity to extinguish the ghosts and superstition which filled the Chinese mind.¹¹ Education was imperative to overcome the demands of filial piety and feng shui which, according to the missionaries, ruled Chinese life. Christian education would teach the Chinese that "God meant men to master their world," not to "crawl through it" in fear of ancestors and malevolent ghosts and spirits. It was Christianity's function to convince the Chinese that "religion and science [could] move forward together to achieve an "ethical mastery of the material universe."¹² To free the Chinese from the thralldom of superstition, and to develop all their potential, Christian higher education stressed the physical sciences and "unhampered inquiry," as well as the social sciences.¹³

The Christian emissaries from the west concerned themselves with the problems of China's endemic poverty, in both rural and urban areas. China's ill-fed and ill-housed, those who never knew "the sensation of a full stomach," were a heart-rending reality faced daily by those whose memories were of a place where more than

¹⁰Ibid., p. 197.
¹¹Harvey, pp. 4, 231; Burke, p. 15.
¹²Rawlinson, pp. 142, 135.
¹³Stuart, pp. 69, 75.
enough food and fuel were at hand.\textsuperscript{14} It was, after all, the economics of scarcity as well as tradition which induced the killing of girl babies.\textsuperscript{15} Missionaries understood that the Chinese found it better to snuff out new life, then to reduce further the subsistence of those already struggling on earth. Christianity's role mandated concern for the poor.

Missionaries identified the causes of rural poverty and outlined the requirements for overcoming such poverty. Christian missionaries in China assumed the responsibility for making major, structural needs known—the need for better communication and transportation facilities, better health facilities, and better education in the rural areas.\textsuperscript{16}

Christian colleges developed departments of Agriculture and prototype agricultural cooperatives.\textsuperscript{17} Some authors saw a larger promise for China's economy in both small and large scale cooperatives. Others called for a total restructuring of China's economic life to be impelled by a social conscience.\textsuperscript{18}

Time was required for Christianity to change the habits of a whole nation. Time was required to gain control over the catastrophic elements which caused misery. In the meantime it was the function of Christianity to give aid and succor to the victims of China's

\textsuperscript{14}Harvey, p. 3; Hamaker, p. 29; Huizenga, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{15}Above, pp. 83-84.
\textsuperscript{17}Ballou, p. 2; Hollister, p. 108; Walter Lacy, pp. 173-175; Huntington, p. 218; Poteat, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{18}Rawlinson, \textit{Naturalization}, pp 13, 183; Walter Lacy, pp. 111-121; F. W. Price, \textit{Twilight}, p. 162; Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Day}, p. 138; Greene, p. 16.
sorrows—the curse of opium, the poverty, recurring floods, droughts, and incessant wars. If as Christ intended, all were to live in "healthy comfort," concern for the health of individuals as well as public health was an obligation of the medical missionaries. Relieving day-to-day pain and healing were central to the Christian role in China. The missionary authors portrayed a large hands-on role for Christianity in the midst of the major tragedies of China.

As the veteran Christian missionaries planned for implementing Christianity's role in changing China, many became convinced that changes, to become viable, must be grafted onto Chinese roots. Their words praised much in Chinese culture and tradition: its strength of family, its broad and inclusive philosophic underpinnings, its respect for learning, its system of accommodation of opposites, the high value it placed on balance and harmony. It was the role of Christianity to save all that was good in Chinese life.

China was to be saved from the inside and from the outside. The long-term missionaries had become so sinicized that saving China, meant much more than saving souls, although their language proclaimed such a goal. When bare survival was the sole motivation

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21 Rawlinson, *Naturalization*, pp. vi-vii, 2, 13, 20, 23, 46, 52, 97; F.W. Price, *Rural*, pp. 45, 93, 157, 216; Warren H. Stuart, *The Use of Material from China's Spiritual Inheritance in the Christian Education of Chinese Youth*, as cited in F. W. Price, *Rural*, p. 45; Harvey, p. 231; Spencer, *The Land*, pp. 20, 82; Gregg, pp. 190, 197; Hollister, p. 212; Creighton Lacy, p. 131; Brockman, pp. 203, 162-166. Brockman wrote that it was Christianity's function to "skillfully graft Christianity upon all that is noblest in China's inheritance."
for the Chinese in their day-to-day living, there was not time to contemplate the soul. China had to be made comfortable before the gospel could take root; China had to be saved from life-threatening, material deprivation. Modernization was the key: modern education; modern medicine; modern production facilities, both industrial and agricultural; modern transportation and communication facilities.

The Christian blueprint for a new China included not only saving the pure essence of the good in Chinese culture and making China comfortable through modernization; it included also a revolutionary element, a change in China from "core to circumference." According to one author, the "revolutionary leaven of Jesus" was to accomplish such change. It was not only imperative for China but for the world, that China, with one-quarter of the world's population, be a member of a world-wide Christian body, a body which would offer an alternative to the scrambling greed of individual nations.

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22 Carlberg, p. 5.
23 Above, p. 195.
24 Brockman, pp. 203-204; Huntington, p. 238; Hollister, p. 222; Stuart, pp. 72-73; Gregg, pp. 197, 203; F. W. Price, Rural, p. 157, 167; Idem, Twilight, p.102; Nelson, Apostle, p. 136; Lee, p. 18; Goddard, p. 92; Rawlinson, Naturalization, p. 11; Poteat, p. 168; Walter Lacy, p. 257. See also Varg, Miss. & Chinese, pp. 152-153.
When Robert Edward Chambers was asked where all of the missionary effort and commitment would lead, he replied with a simple verse.

"And what shall be the fashion of that building when you have finished?:

"That, I cannot tell."25

The missionaries were committed. Bringing new ways to China, however, according to their Christian mandate, did not equate with making the Chinese Christian. Their dilemma.

"Fearless unhampered inquiry" and the acquisition of science, widely touted characteristics of Christian education, did not of themselves, lead to Christianity.26 Unhampered inquiry and science led to the promise of freedom, of a new, fuller, more promising material life. The modernization which would relieve certain of life's pains, which would sanitize and provide some comfort, did not necessarily further a spiritual quest, but rather might well lead to a quest for more that modernization could offer. Wiping out the native, indigenous ghosts and spirits through science did not have to lead easily to the acceptance of a foreign deity or rule by another unseen hand.

25Chambers, p. 137; Walter Lacy, p. 15.
26Above, p. 198.
There was less urgent need for the missionary educators. They were not at odds with Hu Shih, a staunch non-Christian, nor his cultural renaissance which they viewed as liberating. The mass education movement under Jimmy Yen, former YMCA secretary in whom they took pride, was uplifting millions and served as a model for certain mission stations.\textsuperscript{27} In addition, the government itself was committed to education and its schools were meeting needs formerly only met by the missionaries. Christians had lost their nearly exclusive hold on western education in China. Even their "Go to the People" slogan which inspired students in Christian schools, was a whisper compared to the popularly raucous "Serve the people" of their rivals in the race for China's salvation.

It has often been noted that the relationship between Western learning and Christianity was not clear to the Chinese, both having been introduced to China simultaneously by the missionaries. From the missionaries' writings, it can be seen that the missionaries themselves did not separate the two aspects. To the missionary educators, Western education was not complete without the element of Christianity. The Chinese, however, soon became aware that the Christian element was not essential to their needs. Their needs and goals could be accomplished, perhaps with more dispatch, without the element of Christianity. The process that the missionaries had begun, had outstripped the missionaries themselves. China would have its modernization without them.

\textsuperscript{27}Alexander, p. 78; Ballou, p. 84; Creighton Lacy, p. 102; Poteat, pp. 72-73, 76; Anna S. Pruitt, \textit{Up}, p. 4.
Many of the graduates of Christian schools had opted for the success and material prosperity for which their western education had prepared them. Some had never committed to Christianity, others had fallen away. John Leighton Stuart, among other missionary authors, wrote of his students who had left the fold for communism, finding there a more effective route to community service. The pride of the missionaries, Wu Yi-fang, mentioned by several of the missionary authors, she who had been the president of Ginling Christian College for Women, past chairman of the National Christian Council, delegate to world-wide missionary conferences, became an enthusiastic supporter of the communist regime. She was one of many.28

As the missionaries continued to work and learn they saw that their bits and pieces of rescuing were not going to save China. They had many examples to cheer them, of lives turned around, of communities in relative material, physical, and spiritual good health, but they were failing in the task of changing China, and of saving it.29 Something more grand was essential. Terms such as total restructuring, socialism, religious revolution, modernization and Christianity became confused.30 The road to China's salvation was confused for both the Chinese and the missionaries.

29 Stuart, p. 4; Clayton p. 11.
30 Rawlinson, Naturalization, pp. 5, 183; Spencer, Buck, p. 88.
The missionaries' goals had been to uplift the daily life of China and to make, stoutly Christian, that huge population crucial to world brotherhood. In their efforts to implement their goals over years of toil and sacrifice, the missionaries' dilemmas grew. The West's vaunted claims to morality and justice were negated by blatant example. How could America's exclusionary laws relate to brotherhood? How could extraterritoriality which gave them privileged status and which by the 1920s most missionaries had rejected, relate to justice?31 The flags of the Western nations, arrogantly unfurled on the gun boats which cruised freely up and down China's inland rivers and in her port cities, were bold evidence of the imperialism which exploited and insulted China and the Chinese. How closely could the missionaries tie themselves to those flags without destroying the creditability of their Gospel? There had been, after all, times when those flag-bearing gun boats had saved their lives.

What were the missionaries to make of Chinese Christians in high places whose activities were extremely disappointing?32 How long could the missionaries endure the deprivations imposed by the

31 Varg, Miss. & Chinese, p. 135. Varg says that "In 1905 they spoke out against the Chinese exclusion policy." Palmborg, pp. 121-122, related her personal problems with the exclusionary laws as they applied to her daughter E-ling. Various denominational groups over the first two decades of the 19th century took a stand against extraterritoriality. See Ballou, pp. 60, 87; Chambers, p. 32; Anna S. Pruitt, Day, p. 117; Brockman, p. 30; Huntington, p. 156.
32 Anna S. Pruitt, pp. 6-7. How could a "government headed by Christian men like H. H. Kung and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek . . . be anti-Christian in many departments and places, encouraging Communists in some provinces and waging war against them in others; destroying opium and executing its hopeless addicts in the ports, while in more distant prefectures the rulers compel the cultivation of the poppy for the sake of increased revenue."
rapacious Japanese (1937-1945) and the turmoil of the Civil War (1946-1949) which followed? They wrote of the desperate suffering of the Chinese— a portion of which some shared.\textsuperscript{33} While all around them their works, both material and spiritual were crumbling,\textsuperscript{34} how long could they sing of "one great fellowship of love, throughout the whole wide earth" or "use me, Lord, use even me"?\textsuperscript{35} Could they continue to work in China, ever more reluctant to hear their basic message? How long would an increasingly disinterested America support them?

Christianity did not save China from the Japanese, in spite of crying appeals from the missionaries on the scene. Christianity had not saved China from the Communists. Christianity had not been able to save for China what was best in her culture and civilization.\textsuperscript{36} Christianity had not saved China for the world-wide church. After all of the years, lives given, money spent, monuments built, achievements to point to, China was still overwhelmed by misery.

By 1950, when China had fallen to the Communists, less than 1,000,000 of China's 400,000,000, could be counted as Protestant Christians. While the Christians had envisioned building world bridges of the Christian variety, the Chinese vision had been one of building a nation.\textsuperscript{37} Modernization and nationalism developed

\textsuperscript{33}Clayton, Chapters I, XIII-XX; Caldwell, p. 185; F.W. Price, \textit{Twilight}, pp. 24-25.
\textsuperscript{34}F. W. Price, \textit{Twilight}, pp. 50, 107.
\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Miss. Hymnal}, #10, #3.
\textsuperscript{36}Creighton Lacy, p. 131. Lacy wrote "Those who know and love China hope she will follow Laotze and his Middle Way."
\textsuperscript{37}F. W. Price, \textit{Rural}, p. 167; Lutz, p. 512.
together in China—not modernization and the world-view of Christianity.\textsuperscript{38}

The missionaries' goals had been cosmic, beyond the realization of a handful of mere mortals. They had begged for faith in the power of the Almighty to change China and the world, but they had confused the time of mortals with eternal time.\textsuperscript{39} If only given one generation of peace, some thought, if only--then they could do it.\textsuperscript{40} During the final years that Christianity attempted to play a role in China, a constant gnawing question plagued those there "working the purpose out." To stay or to leave? Then the time was up. The missionaries were not to be seen in the images of China after 1950. It was finished.

\textsuperscript{38}Rawlinson, \emph{Naturalization}, p. 200, regarding the world view of Christianity: "In one sense the Christian world movement is the synthesis of East and West. It is a western effort to practise the ideal of brotherhood as set up by one of the East."
\textsuperscript{39}Brockman, p. 29; See above, p. 19, note, 21.
\textsuperscript{40}Poteat, p. 149.
Appendix
MISSIONARY AUTHORS

Analysis of Primary source: Missionary authors.

Authors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>count</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Geographic Origin of 64:

1. Born in the U.S.
   a. The North 13
   b. The South 11
   c. The Mid-west 15
   d. The South-west 3
   e. The West 1

2. Born in China 141

3. Born in other countries 72

B. Gender of subjects

1. male 42
2. female 28

C. Denominations represented

1. Baptist
   a. Northern & American 6
   b. South (SBC) 10
   c. Seventh-Day 1

2. China Inland Mission (CIM) 2

---

0 See appendix for biography and specifics on each author.
1 Three, Buck, Stam and J.R. Graham were actually born in U.S. on parents' furlough, but returned to China as new-borns and were raised there.
2 Hawaii (Gulick of Missionary parents), India (Hume of 2nd generation missionary parents), Holland (Huizenga), Canada (Macklin), Sweden (Palmborg), Russia (Schereschewsky), England (Harvey, Rawlinson)
3 4 authors were counted twice because they represented two denominations over their long service in China, for example, Poteat (Baptist, North and South), Rawlinson (SBC and ABCFM), Stuart (Presby. N. and S.) and Ida Mae Pruitt (SBC and YM)
3. Christian Reformed Church 1
4. Congregational (ABCFM) 6
5. Disciples of Christ (Christian Church) 2
6. Episcopal (ACM) 7
7. Friends 1
8. Lutheran
   a. Augustine 1
   b. Evangelical 1
   c. Norwegian 1
9. Methodist
   a. North 5
   b. South 4
10. National Holiness Society 14
11. Presbyterian
    a. North 8
    b. South 8
    c. Reformed 1
12. Reformed Church in America 1
13. Seventh Day Adventist 1
14. Yale Mission 4
15. YMCA 1

D. Roles in China (65 of 70) 5
1. Church 26
2. Medicine
   a. M.D. 9
   b. R.N. 2
3. Education 35
4. Other
   a. Publisher 3

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4 Boynton lists as SCM (South Chili Mission)
5 Many missionaries played dual roles in China such as, church worker and educator. When possible a missionary’s major role was counted. In an occasional instance a missionary’s work could not be limited to one category alone as in the case of F.W. Price whose interests led him into teaching, church concerns, and rural reconstruction work. In the above breakdown, 9 who had been counted as church workers were also counted as educators.
b. Editor 1
b. Developer of Cooperative 2
c. Rural Reconstruction 1
d. Urban Youth 1
e. Museum curator 1
f. Collector for museums 3

E. Education
1. Bachelor degrees only 18
2. Bachelor plus Graduate degree 46
3. Registered Nurse 2
4. Normal School 2

---

6In the college graduate category, several missionaries held more than one Bachelor’s degree, for instance the B.A. and the B.D. Only one was counted for the above summary. The same can be said for the graduate degree category. While several missionaries held two or three graduate degrees, only one per missionary was counted for the above summary.
Introduction to Biography

What follows is scattered biographical material on the primary source authors of this survey. As John K. Fairbank has written, the record on the missionaries and their activity is "imperfectly known" and indeed that has been the case in this effort to gather data.0

The length of the material on each author has nothing to do with his or her importance, success, or lack of it. The uneveness and lack of uniformity of detail, the blank spaces, reflect simply the unorganized state and difficulty of acquiring much missionary material.

Abbreviations used for identifying denominations of authors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baptist:</th>
<th>SBC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern Baptist Convention</td>
<td>NB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern &amp; American Baptist Convention</td>
<td>SDB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Day Baptist</td>
<td>CBM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Inland Mission</td>
<td>CRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Reformed Church</td>
<td>ABCFM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>ACM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples of Christ (Christian Church)</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>ACM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>LuA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>LuE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td>LuN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
<td>MN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Holiness Society</td>
<td>NHS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>PN</td>
</tr>
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<td>North(USA)</td>
<td>PS</td>
</tr>
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<td>South(US)</td>
<td>PR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>RCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformed Church in America</td>
<td>SDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yale Mission</td>
<td>YMCA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alexander, Mary C. *SEEDTIME AND HARVEST*. 1933

SBC

Born: Texas ("inland town")
Years a missionary: 36 (1920-1956)
Education: Baylor University, B.S. (major in piano); University of Texas, M.A.; Graduate work at Columbia University.

China location and role: Education
   Canton: Pooi To Girls Middle School (1920-1938), Principal, 12 years.
   Shanghai: Secretary of China Woman's Missionary Union, editor WMU literature, leader of Baptist Young Peoples Missionary organization 1938-1942.
   Hong Kong: 1952-1956.

Additional notes:
   1. Hobby: Chinese art and art symbols.
   2. Interned by Japanese 1942.

Other Books: *Charles Arthur Hayes of China*
               *A Handbook of Chinese Symbols* (co-author)

Anderson, P.H. *HE KNOWETH NOT HOW*. 1936

SBC-ordained.

Born: Kentucky
Years a missionary: 17 (1907-1926; 1930-1938).
Education: Baylor University, Bachelor of Philosophy, 1905; Louisville Seminary, Master of Theology, 1907; Furman University, D.D., 1923.

China location and role: Church and Education.
   Canton (Tungshan): Graves Theological Seminary, Professor and president; evangelistic worker.

Additional notes:
   Anderson was the 10th of 13 children, his father was a minister and four brothers were in the ministry.

Ballou, Earle H. *DANGEROUS OPPORTUNITY*: 1940

ABCFM-ordained

Born: Vermont
Years a missionary: 34 (1916-1950)

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1The book titles printed in capital letters belong to the bibliography; those in italics identify other books the author has written—by no means an inclusive list.

China location and role: Church and Education.
Shantung: Tientsin: 1917-1930 - "Country evangelistic and junior middle school work."
1931-1939 - Secretary of the Council of the North China Kung Li Hui. During this later period he also served as regional secretary for North China of the National Christian Council in which "capacity had a wide variety of responsibilities in the China Christian Educational Association, the China International Famine Relief Commission, and other national bodies."
1938-1939 - Delegate to International Missionary Conference at Madras.

reviewed: Book Review Digest (BRD), September, 1940, p.47

Brockman, Fletcher Sims. I DISCOVER THE ORIENT. 1935
YMCA
Born: Virginia.
Years a missionary: 17 (1898-1915)
Education: Community had "almost no educational facilities."
He was taught by a sister and his mother who were both college graduates; Vanderbilt University, B.A.

China location & roles: Develop programs for urban young people
Shanghai
Nanking

Additional note:
Raised in Georgia on cotton plantation twenty-five miles from Atlanta.


Bryan, F. Catherine. HIS GOLDEN CYCLE. 1938.
SBC
Years a missionary: 43 (1908-1951).
Education: Hollins College, B.A., 1908; Atlanta Normal School, B.S., 1916; Columbia University, M.A., 1923.

China location and roles: Education
Yangchow: Assistant headmistress of Baptist Girls school.
Shanghai: Principal of Baptist High School.
Professor, University of Shanghai
Bryan, Robert Thomas. CHRISTIANITY'S CREATIONS. 1927
SBC-ordained.
Born: North Carolina. Boyhood spent on a farm.
Years a missionary: 57 (1886-1943).
China location and roles: Church
"A preacher and teacher, he was also a translator and an able student of the Chinese language, for which he prepared books for study." (denominational biographical sketch)
Chinkiang: Pastor and evangelist.
Yangchow: Pastor and evangelist.
Shanghai: Founded Ming Jang Boys' School. Pastor of Old North Gate and The Cantonese Baptist Church, (other churches) etc. First President of Shanghai College (later University of Shanghai).
Additional notes:
Returned on the Gripsholm, 1943.

Buck, Pearl S. FIGHTING ANGEL 1936
PS
Born: China (U.S. parents furlough) Second generation.
Years a missionary. 15 (1918-1934)
Education: Shanghai, Randolph Macon, B.A., 1914; Cornell University, M.A., 1926.
China location and role: Education
Chinkiang: Childhood home
Shantung: Rural area.
Nanking: University, taught English Literature.
Additional notes:
1. Pulitzer Prize, 1931; Nobel Prize for Literature, 1938; author of 85 novels.
2. The Good Earth translated into 30 languages.

Burke, James C. MY FATHER IN CHINA. 1942
subject: William. Burke
MS-ordained
Born: Georgia
Years a missionary: 55 (1887-1942?)
Education: Emory College (Emory University), B.A., 1883; Vanderbilt University. Seminary, 1884--85
China location and roles: Church
Sungkiang: Founded orphanage, church, schools, bands, active in the community, etc.
Additional notes: Father a minister.
Author: son of William Burke.


Caldwell, John C. Caldwell. CHINA COAST FAMILY. 1953.
subject: Harry R. Caldwell
MN
Born: Ohio
Years a missionary: 49 (1900-1949)
Education: Grant University, B.A., 1898; M.A., 1903.
China location and role: Church & education.
Fukien, Futsing, Yenping:
  For "forty years" he traveled through the "backwoods of China" He established 60 centers some of which grew into churches, schools and clinics. He promoted adult education in the rural areas.
Additional notes:
  He was a collector of native specimens and a tiger hunter. His large butterfly collection and a Blue Tiger specimen are held in the Museum of Natural History in New York. (from Methodist archives, Madison, New Jersey)
Author: son of Harry R. Caldwell

Carlberg, Gustav. CHINA IN REVIVAL. 1936
LuA-ordained.
Born: Muchakinock, Iowa
Years a missionary: 12 (1914-1926)
Education: B.A.; B.D.; Columbia University, M.A.
China location and roles: Church
Hupeh: President, of Lutheran Theological Seminary
Kikungshan, Honan:
Additional note:
died 1926 in China.

Chambers, Mrs Christine with R.C. Gardner. BUILDER OF DREAMS. 1939
SBC
Born: Coleman, Texas
Years a missionary: 27 (1913-1940)
Education: country schools, Simmons College (Hardin-Simmons University), B.A. (top student honors), 1911; Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky (the first woman to take the Greek New Testament course); University of Michigan, M.A. in English Literature, 1939 (furlough). She also completed business courses and a two month practical nursing course.

China location and roles: Education.
Canton: Teacher, Pooi To Girls' Middle School; 1917, Secretary of the South China Mission; Assistant, China Baptist Publication Society.
Shanghai: 1918 Assistant, China Baptist Publication Society.
1932-1940 teacher of English at University of Shanghai

Additional notes:
1. Second of eight children.
2. Third missionary wife of R. E. Chambers. (see below)
3. 1940-1950 Served as advisor to International students at the University of Michigan.

Clayton, Ed. Hyers. HEAVEN BELOW.
NB (AmBap)
Born: Asbury Park, New Jersey.
Years a missionary: 30 (1912-1942)
Education: Red Bank Public Schools, The Peddie School, Colgate University, B.S., 1910, M.S., 1911, D.D. (honorary) 1939; Columbia University, M.A., 1925

China location and roles: Education.
Hanyang: Taught school
Huchow, Chekiang: "to build up a prep. school."
Hangchow: Principal of Wayland Academy 1923-1942

Additional notes:
1. Deputation: After returning on the Gripsholm in 1942 "he traveled on extensive speaking trips, averaging twenty-five addresses each month."
2. Family: A daughter was serving in Nanking as a Methodist missionary in the 1940s.

reviewed: BRD, 1944, p. 143
Other Publications: "His articles have appeared in the Yale Review, American Magazine, and many other publications." (NB obituary.)

Cressy, Earl Herbert. YELLOW RIVERS: ADVENTURES IN A CHINESE PARISH, 1932.
NB-ordained.
Born: Illinois
Years a missionary: 36 (1910-1946)
Education: Public School, Hastings, MN; University of Minnesota B.A.,
1907; Rochester Seminary (Colgate Divinity), B.D. 1910;
"attended" or "studied" at University of Chicago,
Columbia University, and Union Seminary (N.Y.); Redlands
University, L.L.D., 1939
China location and roles: Education.
Central China:
Kinhwa: Principal, Kinhwa Boys' School 1912-1916.
Shanghai: Executive Secretary of the Council of Higher
Education (coordinated the educational efforts of
mission boards 13 colleges, universities, 250
Christian high schools).
Board of Directors of the University of Shanghai.
"interested in evangelistic work".
Additional notes:
1. Father a minister
2. Honored by the Chinese government, 1946.
4. Hobbies: Chinese art, culture, "considered one of the most
knowledgeable westerners" (American Baptist obituary).
Other Books: DAUGHTER OF CONFUCIUS.
UNDERSTANDING CHINA.
reviewed: BRD. April, 1958.

Crossett, Margaret E. HARVEST AT THE FRONT. 1946
CIM
Born:
Years a missionary . (1929-1946?)
Education:
China location and role: Church
Hwokiu, Honan: evangelism.
Chengyangkwan, Anhwei: evangelism.

Eberle, Edith. MACKLIN OF NANKING. 1936
subject: Dr. Wm. E. Macklin.
CC
Born: Canada
Years a missionary: 41 (1886-1927)
Education: M.D.
China location and role: Medicine and Church
Nanking: Founded hospital, served medical needs from
itinerating physician to the development of a modern hospital.

Additional notes:
1. "The members of The First Christian Church, Frankfort, Kentucky . . . for thirty-five years considered Dr. William E. Macklin their personal representative in China and sustained his work with warm affection and loyal support."

Fearn, Anne Walter. MY DAYS OF STRENGTH: 1939
MS
Born: Mississippi
Years a missionary: 7 (1893-1900) remained in China until 1938.
Education: Women's Medical College of Pa, M.D., 1893.
China location and role: Medicine
Soochow: M.D. Women's hospital (MS), established first coed medical school in China (men and women separated by a curtain hung down the center of the classroom). Remained in Soochow in private practice 7 yrs after her resignation as a missionary.
Shanghai: Private practice,
Volunteer Clinician, Margaret Williamson hospital
Established private sanitarium
International hostess

Additional notes:
1. Fearn's father was an attorney. She was raised as a southern aristocrat, sometimes suffering the poverty of post-bellum south, yet a debutante whose coming out party was held in the Governor's mansion.
2. In China, met and married MS missionary John B. Fearn, M.D.
3. She did not remain a missionary, pursuing instead private practice. Her former missionary connections and her marriage to Fearn, an active medical missionary, kept her in touch with missionaries and missionary activity.
4. At various times, assisted in missionary hospitals while following her many other medical, social, and community activities in Shanghai.
5. Book contains running commentary on missionaries and other westerners in China.

reviewed: BRD, 1939, p. 308.
Ford, Eddy Lucius. THE HISTORY OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CHINA. 1938

MN
- Born: Wisconsin
- Years a missionary: 22 (1906-1928)
- Education: Lawrence College, B.A.; Northwestern University, M.S., 1914; Ph.D., 1938.
- China location and role: Education.
- Foochow:
- Additional note:
  The book is author's published doctoral dissertation.

Forsythe, Irene. CHENG'S MOTHER. 1948

PN
- Born: Enterprise, Oregon. Father a businessman.
- Years a missionary: 24 (1926-1950)
- Education: Muskingum College, B.S., 1919; Moody Bible Institute, 1924.
- China location and role: Church
  - Tsingtao, Shantung:
    - 1926 began as "an evangelist in rural districts, pioneering in many villages"
    - "leader in youth work among students in Tsingtao."
    - "set... sections of the Bible to ancient Chinese tunes."
- Additional notes:
  1. Forsythe's father a businessman.
  2. As the adopted daughter of Cheng's mother, she was helped "uniquely to gain an intimate knowledge of Chinese life and customs."


Goddard, Francis Wayland. CALLED TO CATHAY. 1948

NB (AmB)
- Years a missionary: 35 (1903-1938)
- Education: At age eleven sent home to study. Colgate Academy, 1893; Colgate University, A.B. cum laude, 1897; Hartford Theological Seminary, 1897-98; Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, M.D., 1901 (specializing in diseases of the eye and skin), Harvard University, M.A. 1918. Furloughs of 1910, 1917, 1923, 1929 "given to further study and intensive training along special medical lines."
  (denominational biographical sketch)
China location and roles: Medicine and Church.

Shaohsing, East China: Founder of hospital and nurses training school
Did "research relating to the morphology of Fasciolopsis buski . . . parasite of man in Shaohsing."
There was no evangelist in Shaohsing when he arrived there--"he took charge of that work"
teaching and organizing church choirs.
He had a particular interest in developing congregational singing.

Shanghai: A member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Shanghai

Additional notes:
1. From 1835 to 1945 "four generations in one unbroken line William Dean and Josiah Goddard and their families and descendants gave 411 years of missionary service to the Chinese." (Front page)
2. Josiah Goddard (missionary, 16 years, died, age 40, buried in China), Josiah Ripley Goddard (missionary, 45 years, buried in China, married, daughter of Missionary William. Dean); Francis W. Goddard (author); Steven Goddard (son of author).
3. Forward by Margaret Landon author of Anna and the King of Siam.

Graham, David Crockett. RELIGION IN SZECHUAN PROVINCE, CHINA 1928
NB-ordained

Born: Green Forest, Arkansas.
Years a missionary: 37 (1911-1948)
Education: Whitman College, B.A., 1908, D.Sc., 1931; Rochester Theological Seminary, B.D., 1916;
University of Chicago, M.A., 1919, Ph.D, 1927; Cogate University, D.D.

China location and roles: Education and Church

Suifu (Ipin): 1911-1930 Pastor of church plus 14 outstations.
Red Cross work "during civil wars."

Chengtu: 1932-1939 West China Union University.
Treasurer of China Blind Welfare Association and the China's Children Fund Incorporated.
Pastor of Chengtu Baptist Church.
Museum curator.
Journal of China Border Research, editor.

Additional notes: from denominational biographical sketch.
1. At age four family moved to state of Washington.
2. "His father being poor, he earned his own livelihood while securing his education."
3. "Between the years 1920 and 1940 he was the official
collector of natural history specimens for the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., collecting nearly four hundred thousands specimens varying from birds, pandas, bears and other mammals to fish, snakes and all kinds of insects. Nearly two hundred and fifty were named for him. "Sent two live pandas to Bronx Zoo.

4. Some of his research as a biologist and anthropologist was made possible by a Guggenheim fellowship."

5. Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society, 1929.

6. He and his wife sent out as missionaries of the First Baptist Church, Fairport, New York.

Other Publications: "Many articles on Chinese archaeology (making six scientific excavations), and on Chinese porcelain and pottery." He contributed articles to journals on the tribal peoples of West China and on the Ch'uan Miao, the Ch'lang[?] and the Lolos.

Graham, James R. Jr. INCENSE-BEARERS OF HAN. 1941
PS
Born: South Carolina (parents furlough) Second generation.
Years a missionary: 30 (1921-1951?)
Education: Shanghai American School, Hampden-Sidney College, Va., B.A., 1918.
China location and roles: Education
Lower Yangtze Valley, Chinkiang, "my own town"
Additional note:
Father long-term China missionary.

Graybill, Henry Blair. THE NEW CHINA: A CIVICS READER FOR MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDENTS. 1925

Born:
Years a missionary: 17 (1903-1920)
Education: M.A.
China location and role: Education.
Canton: Principal of the Middle School, Canton Christian College.

Greene, Ruth Altman. HSIANG-YA JOURNAL. 1980
YM
Born: Ohio
Years a missionary: 14 (1923-1927, 1931-1941)
Education: Wellesley College, B. A., 1918.
China Location and role: Education
Changsha: Taught English at Hsiang-Ya.
Westward trek during war

Gregg, Alice H. CHINA AND EDUCATIONAL AUTONOMY. 1946
ACM
Born: South
Years a missionary: 22 (1916-1938?)
Education: Columbia Teachers' College, B.S., M.A., Ph.D.
China location and roles: Education
   Anking: St. Agnes School for girls.
   Shanghai
   Wuhu

Gulick Addison. EVOLUTIONIST AND MISSIONARY JOHN THOMAS GULICK.1932
subject: John T.
ABCFM-ordained
Born: Hawaii
Years a missionary: 24 (1864-1888)
Education: Williams College 1859; Union Seminary 1859-1861;
   "later years", Oberlin.
China location and role: Church
   Kalgan (Chang-kia K'ou): First Protestant missionary in
   China without protection of consuls. 1864 (p. 206)
   evangelist, dispenser of medicine, naturalist.

Additional notes:
1. The words in the book are primarily those of the missionary,
   J.T. Gulick. As a naturalist and "evolutionist" his
   descriptions of his journey to, and his environment in,
   what was then a remote area are noteworthy.
2. He corresponded with scientists in the U.S. and England.
3. There is record of a meeting and correspondence with Darwin.
4. Son of ABCFM missionary to Hawaii. Referred to other
   missionary children of Hawaii as cousins (p.141). Mother
   Puritan New England ancestry, father New Netherlands 1653.
   Five brothers and a sister became missionaries: Japan,
   Micronesia, etc.

author: Son of John T.


Hamaker, Ray Parker. FOREIGN DEVILS. 1969
MS
Born: Midwest.
Years a missionary: author spent her growing up years in China as the
child of a missionary. China was her home in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
China location: Soochow, Natziang, "Soongsong" (spelled Sungkiang in Burke; "a short houseboat trip from Shanghai")

Harvey, Edwin D. THE MIND OF CHINA. 1933.
YM
Born: England
Years a missionary: 16 (1911-1927)
Education: Yale, B.A., 1907; M.A., 1909; B.D., 1910; Ph.D., 1924.
China location and role: Education.
   Changsha: Professor of Sociology, Yale-in-China.
Additional note:
   Upon return to U.S., Professor of Sociology, Dartmouth College.
   reviewed: BRD., 1933 p. 410.

Heeren, John Jay. ON THE SHANTUNG FRONT. 1940
PN
Born: German Valley, Illinois
Years a missionary: 30 (1911-1941)
Education: Iowa College (Grinnel) B.A., 1905; University of Chicago M.A. 1908; McCormick Theological Seminary D.D., 1908; Halle-Wittenberg University, Ph.D., 1910.
China location and role: Education.
   Tsinan, Shantung: History Professor, Cheloo University.
Additional note:
   Infant died in China.
Other Books:
   Das Bundnis Zwischen Konig Richard II von England und Konig Wenzel Vom Jahre 1381-1910
   Bishop Della Chiesa and the Story of His Lost Grave: 1923
   Translation of The World Remapped into Chinese. 1924
   (many more).

Holkeboer, Tena. GOD'S BRIDGE OR THE STORY OF JIN-GI. 1945
RCA
Born: Michigan
Years a missionary: 28 (1920-1948)
Education: Hope College, A.B.; Columbia, M.A.; Hope, LLD (honorary), 1949
China location and role: Education
   Amoy, Tung An district, Fukien.
   Principal of four different schools in the Amony area.
Additional note:

Hollister, Mary Brewster. LADY FOURTH DAUGHTER OF CHINA: 1932. MN

Years a missionary: 18 (1915-1928; 1946-1951)
Education: Ohio Wesleyan, B.A., 1913; University of California, M.A., 1915.
China location and role: Education.
   Hing-hwa: the county seat of P'u-t'ien "a fertile plain girdled by mountains and facing the Yellow Sea."

Additional notes:
1. At the time of publication, the author's mother Mrs. Elizabeth Brewster was still a missionary in China, having served 40 yrs there. Her father had died in China.
2. The author, herself a missionary, was the wife of missionary, George W. Hollister who taught at Ohio Wesleyan upon his return to U.S.


LuE

Born: Minnesota.
Years a missionary: 12 (1919-1931)
Education: Normal School; Minnesota College; University of Minnesota, M.D.
China location and role: Medicine
   Hankow area: mission hospital at Kioshan, Honan.

reviewed: "San Francisco Examiner" "Dr. Holman has handled the material with good balance, in humor and sadness . . . blend of wit and pathos"

Holton, Pricilla. THE SPIRIT OF THE STREET. 1927

ABCFM

Years a missionary: 16 (1923-1939)
Education: Mt. Holyoke, B.A. 1922.
China location and role: Education

Huizenga, Lee S. UNCLEAN: UNCLEAN. 1927

CRC
Born: Holland  
Years a missionary: 7 (1920-1927?)  
Education: M.D.  
China location and role: Medicine  
Kiangsu, Jukao: treatment of lepers.

Other Books: *JOHN & BETTY STAM, MARTYRS.*

Hume, Edward Hicks. *THE CHINESE WAY IN MEDICINE.* 1940  
YM  
Born: India. Third generation  
Years a missionary: 22 (1905-1927)  
Education: Yale, B.A., 1897; Johns Hopkins, M.D., 1901; M.A.;LL.D.  
China location and role: Medicine  
Changsha: Hsiang-Ya, Founder with the Chinese of the Yale-in-China hospital, medical school etc.

Other Books: *DOCTORS EAST, DOCTORS WEST:* 1946.  

translator and annotator of the preface to Ku Chieh-kang's autobiography.

ABCFM  
Born: Warrenton, Missouri  
Years a missionary: 13 (1914-1927)  
Education: University of Chicago, A.B., U. of Chicago Divinity School, A.M. 1911; University of Leyden, Ph.D.  
China location and role: Education  
Shansi, Fenchow: Principal of Boys Middle School  
Peking: Language school, Yenching School of Chinese Studies.

Additional notes:  
2. Obituary indicates that he was a member of the Society of Friends.  
3. Son was recent ambassador to China.

Other Publications: *EMINENT CHINESE OF THE CH'ING PERIOD:* 1644-1912. 1943-44

Huntington, Virginia Ethel. *ALONG THE GREAT RIVER.* 1940  
ACM  
Born  
Years a missionary: 26 (1914-1940)
Lacy, Creighton. *IS CHINA A DEMOCRACY?* 1943

Born: China 2nd gen.
Years a missionary: 3 (1947-1950)
Education: Swarthmore, A.B., 1941; Yale, B.D., 1944; Ph.D, 1953.
China location and role: Education
  Nanking: Nanking University, 1948, Professor of philosophy
  Fukien: Fukien University Theological Seminary, 1949-1950.
Misc.: 1. raised in China. See below: Walter Nind Lacy

reviewed: BRD 1943 p. 466.

Lacy, Walter, Nind. *A HUNDRED YEARS OF CHINA METHODISM.* 1948

Born: China. Second generation
Years a missionary: 19 (1908-1927)
China location and role: Education & Publishing
Superintendent, Methodist Publishing House.

Additional notes:
1. Father and Mother, missionaries from 1817-1925, buried in Foochow, influenced "their five children . . . to have a share in the development of the . . . Church in China."
2. Father associated with Foochow Mission press.
3. Carleton Lacy, Bishop, 1941-1950, brother of Walter Nind and Creighton, died "the lonely prisoner of the hordes of Mao." (Caldwell p.10)
4. Other brothers, missionaries in China, Henry V. and William Irving.

Lee, Lucy Chaplin. *AN AMERICAN SOJOURN IN CHINA,* 1968.

Born: New York City, New York
Years a missionary: 16 (1911-1927)
Education: private school in New York. "entirely unprepared for missionary work."(p.42)
China location and role: Education
Anking: established successful industrial cooperative for poor women, "The Cross-stitch Society."

Additional notes:
2. Wife of Edmund J. Lee. See below in section "spouses" that follows.

MacNair, Harley Farnsworth, ed. VOICES FROM UNOCCUPIED CHINA. 1944
ACM
Born: Greenfield, Pennsylvania
Years a missionary: 20 (1912-1932)
Education: Ph.D.
China location and role: Education
Shanghai: St. John's University faculty, refugee work

Additional notes:
1. Fairbank, Chinabound, mentions, p.36.
2. Upon return to U.S., Member of History department faculty, University of Chicago.

Other Books: Hosea B. Morse and MacNair. Far Eastern International Relations. (a condensation of Morse's International Relations and an expansion of its scope "to make a standard text" Fairbank, Chinabound, p. 36.)
The Chinese Abroad. 1924.
China's New Nationalism and Other Essays. 1926.
China in Revolution. 1931.
The Real Conflict Between China and Japan. 1938.

Muller, James Arthur. APOSTLE OF CHINA; SAMUEL ISAAC JOSEPH SCHERESCHEWSKY: 1831-1906. 1937.
Subject: Schereschewsky.

ACM-ordained.
Born: Russia
Years a missionary: 22 yrs (1859-1881)
Education: Rabbinical School, Russia; University of Breslau, Germany, 1852-1854; Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, 1855-1858; St. James College, Gunpowder Falls, Md., 1858; General Theological Seminary, New York 1858-1859.
China location and role: Church, Education, Translation.
Shanghai: Bishop, 1877
   Founder of St. John's University.
Peking: 1862, Interpreter and acting Secretary of American Legation.
Wuchang: tried to strengthen struggling, new congregation. Suffered stroke.

Additional notes:
1. After leaving China due to stroke he spent the remainder of his life writing and translating the Bible into Chinese, Wenli and Mandarin.
2. He had between nine and ten thousand Chinese characters at his command (pp. 212-213).
3. Master of several languages. Spoke 13 languages; read 20.

Nelson, Daniel. THE APOSTLE TO THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS. 1935.
LuN-ordained.
Born: China. Second generation
Years a missionary: 17 (1928-1941, 1944-1948)
Education: early education in China; Minnesota College and St. Olaf College, B.A. 1924; Lutheran Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Certificate of Theology, 1928; University of Southern California, M.A., 1940; Hartford Theological Foundation, PhD., 1943.

China location and role. Church
Hangkow: Pastor
Chengyang: Pastor
Chungking: Director in China: Lutheran World Federation.
Shanghai: Director in China: Lutheran World Federation.

Additional notes:
1. First President of World Aviation
2. Killed along with his wife and children in a plane crash near Macao, 1948.
3. Book dedicated to his Mother "Whose Husband was killed in China after thirty-six years of missionary service, and whose son (Bert Nelson) was martyred in China in 1932."
4. The father, Daniel Sr., often referred to as "pioneer", labored most of his years in China in Sinyang, Honan. He was killed in cross-fire during war-lord activity (Feng Yu-xiang and Wu Pei-fu).

Other Books: JOURNEY TO CHUNGKING. 1945.

Nevius, John L. CHINA & THE CHINESE.
PN-ordained
Born: Ovid, New York
Years a missionary: 39 (1854-1893)
Oss, John. MISSION ADVANCE IN CHINA. 1949
SDA
Born:
Years a missionary: 20 (1919-1939)
Education: Plainview Academy;
China location and role: Church
Shanghai

Palmborg, Rosa W. CHINA LETTERS: 1943.
SDB
Born: Sweden
Years a missionary: 46 (1894-1940)
Education: Hahnemann Medical College, M.D., Chicago; post-graduate
training at the Peking Union Medical College.
China location and role: Medicine
Liu-ho (near Shanghai) major work: medical Doctor,
teacher, founder and builder of hospital, church,
industrial cooperative (handiwork) for women.
Shanghai: clinic etc.
Additional notes:
1. Adopted a Chinese baby girl, Eling.
2. Assisted in the educational support of several other young people.

Pollock, John C. A FOREIGN DEVIL IN CHINA. 1971
subject: L. Nelson Bell
PS
Born: Virginia
Years a missionary: 25 (1916-1941)
Education: Washington and Lee; Medical College of Virginia, M.D.
China location and role: Medicine
Tsingjiangpu: Hospital builder and director
Additional notes:
1. Ten month old infant died in China.
2. He had a short career as a professional baseball player before
   he became a missionary.
3. Upon his return from China, he resumed surgical practice
4. "He helped found and became executive editor of Christianity
   Today.
5. Father-in-law of Billy Graham.
Poteat, Gordon. STAND BY FOR CHINA. 1940  
SBC, NB-ordained.  
Born: New Haven, Conn.  
Years a missionary: 19 (SBC 1915-1927; NB 1930-1937)  
China location and role: Church and Education.  
Kaifeng, Honan (1915-1921)  
Shanghai: Shanghai College (University of Shanghai), Prof. of New Testament & Ethics.  
Additional notes:  
1. A member of the editorial board of the "Chinese Recorder."  
2. Author's father, President of Furman University; Grandfather, Dr. A. J. Gordon, for several years the "chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society.  
3. NB period--members of First Baptist Church of Evanston, Illinois church staff abroad.  
reviewed: BRD., 1940, p.732.

Powell, Charles. A. BOUND FEET.1938  
ACM (Boynton)  
Born:  
Years a missionary: 12 yrs (1913-1925)  
Education: M.D.  
China location and role: Medicine  
Chao Hsien, Anhwei( 60 miles from Nanking):  
Founded and built hospital

Price, Francis W. ed. WARTIME CHINA AS SEEN BY WESTERNERS. 1942.  
PS-ordained.  
Born: China, Chekiang, Kashing. Second generation  
Years a missionary: 27 (1923-1950)  
Education: Davidson College, A.B.; Columbia University, M.A.; Yale University, B.D. and Ph.D.  
China location and role: Church and Education.  
Hangchow: Hangchow Christian University.  
Nanking (primary): Nanking University.  
Nanking Theological Seminary, Professor of Religion Involved especially with rural church development and rural reconstruction.
Price, Phillip Francis, ed. OUR CHINA INVESTMENT. 1927
PS-ordained.
Born: Richmond, Virginia
Years a missionary: 51 (1890-1941)
Education: private schools and taught by his father in preparation for college. Three years at Hampden-Sidney College (forced to withdraw for financial reasons; Union Theological Seminary, 1889; Davidson College, Honorary D.D. 1908.
China location and role: Church
Soochow: two years.
Sinchang, (9 miles from Kashing), 13 years.
Kashing, Chekiang: opening evangelical work 13 years.
Tunghsiang: establishing outstations, 5 years.
Nanking: 1912 Theological seminary, taught theology, homeletics, administration.
Pastor of Nanking Union (English-speaking) Church.

Additional notes:
1. Father a minister.
2. Between college and seminary was principal of a "graded" school in Virginia.

Pruitt, Anna Ashley Seward. THE DAY OF SMALL THINGS. 1929.
PN & SBC
Born: Ohio
Years a missionary: 49 (1887 PN; 1888-1936 SBC)
Education: Lake Erie Seminary.
China location and role: Education
Shantung, Hwanghsien: Founder of boys' school.
Tengchow, Chefoo, Pingtu.
Additional notes:
1. Puritan ancestry.
2. Taught school for 7 years in Ohio and California before going to China.
3. She wrote that missionaries were the heroes of her home during youth.
4. Cousin a missionary, had been killed while stationed at the Presbyterian mission in Tungchow, which was her first station in China eleven years later.

Other Books: UP FROM ZERO. 1939.

SBC, YM,
born: China. Second generation
Years a missionary: 6 (1912-1918)
Education: Early education provided by her Mother; Teachers College, Columbia University.
China location and role: Education and Social Work
Shantung, Chefoo: North China Mission of SBC
William's Memorial School for Girls, teacher.
Peking: Peking: Union Medical Hospital, Social worker.
Additional notes:
1. In 1920, no longer under missionary auspices, "chosen by the Rockefeller Foundation to establish the Department of Medical Social Work at the new Peking Union Medical College Hospital." She "trained China's first generation of social workers." (NYT, August 11, 1985, obit.)
2. 1921-1939 Chief of Social services at Peking Union Medical Hospital.
3. 1946. Worked for Chinese Relief, NYC.
4. Supported People's Republic which she visited "frequently" between 1959 and 1972 (NYT obit, August 11, 1985).


Rawlinson, Frank J. NATURALIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA. 1927
SBC&ABCFM-ordained
Years a missionary: 35 (SBC 1902-1922; ABCFM 1922-37)
Education: Bucknell, A.B, 1899; Rochester Seminary, 1902; Columbia University, M.A., D.D. 1917.

China location and role: Editor
   Nanking: Language school "lecturer at various times."
   Peking: N. China Union Language school (later, Yenching School of Chinese Studies).
   Shanghai: editor:
      * China Mission Year Book 1923-24.*
      * China Christian Year Book 1926.*
      * Chinese Recorder 1914-1935.*

Additional notes:
   1. Lecturer, Union Theological Seminary, NYC 1925.
   2. Killed by stray bullet on the streets of Shanghai, 1937.

Other Books:
   * CHINESE ETHICAL IDEALS. n.d.*
   * Religion and Revolution in China.*
   * Chinese Ideas of the Supreme Being.*
   * Western Money and the Chinese Church.*

Richardson, Donald W. THE CHURCH IN CHINA.1929.
PS-ordained.
   Born: Blackstock, South Carolina.
   Years a Missionary: 18 (1910-1928)
   Education: D.D., Ph.D.
   China location and role: Church, Education.
      Chinkiang, Kiangsu: evangelist & teacher.
      Nanking: Dean of Nanking Theological Seminary.
   Additional note:
      Upon return to U.S., Professor of Christian Missions at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

Robb, Alice E. FIFTY-FIVE YEARS OF REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN MISSION WORK IN SOUTH CHINA.
RP
   Born: Canton, China. Second generation
   Years a missionary: 4 (1923-1927)
   Education: Geneva College, B.A., 1919; Bible School, New York.
   China location and role: Education
      Tak Hing ("about 10 miles west of Canton): teacher in a girls school.

Rudd, Herbert F. CHINESE SOCIAL ORIGINS.1928.
NB-ordained
   Born: Kansas.
Years a missionary: 18 (1903-1921).
Education: Central College, Iowa, B.A., 1900; Rochester Theological Seminary and University of Chicago Divinity School, B.D., 1901-1903; University of Chicago, M.A., 1913; Ph.D., 1914.

China location and role: Education and Church.
Suifu, Szechuan: Pastor; Principal of Boy's Boarding school.
Chengtu: Professor, West China Union University, Comparative Religion and Psychology and teacher in Normal School.

Additional notes:
1. Upon return to U.S., Prof. of Philosophy and Psychology, University of New Hampshire.
2. Married Anna Evans Corlies, M.D. who had been born in Alaska and was the grandaugher of Rev. Josiah Goddard (she was therefore either the sister or cousin of above author, Francis Wayland Goddard)

SBC
Born: Texas
Years a missionary: 25 (1905-1930)
Education: Baylor University.
China location and role: Education
Kaifeng, Honan: founded girls boarding school.

Other books: Torchbearers in Honan. 1948.

Scoval, Myra. THE GINGER JARS. 1962.
PN
Born: New York state.
Years a missionary: 22 (1930-1952)
Education: Registered nurse.
China location and role: Medicine.
Tsining: hospital nurse
Huai Yuan: hospital nurse
Canton:

Additional note:
1. Scoval's husband, Dr. Fredrick Scoval, was shot by the Japanese while in Huai Yuan.
2. Dr. Scoval served in small hospitals and established nurses training programs before going on to Canton to teach in the medical school associated with Lingnam University.
Sewall, Carolyn T. NEW JOY: A COURSE ON CHINA FOR JUNIOR BOYS AND GIRLS 1932.
ABCFM-ordained
Born: Plymouth, Mass.
Years a missionary: 28 (1913-1941)
Education: Mt. Holyoke, 1910.
China location and role: Church and education.
Tientsin: Kang Wei Lu Church and outstations: In charge of the work of Chinese women evangelists. Involved with the oversight and development of Christian primary schools in the area.
Additional note:
Sewall ordained in China.

Smith, Harold Frederick. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN SHANTUNG. 1931
PN
Born: Fishkill-on-the-Hudson, New York
Years a missionary: 20 (1910-1930)
Education: Stanford, A.B. 1907; Columbia Teachers College A.M., 1908; Graduate Study, Stanford, 1914; Columbia University, 1922-23, PhD, 1931.
China location and role: Education
Chefoo: 1910-1922, Teacher and principal in high school and superintendent of rural schools.
Tsinan: Cheeloo Univeristy Associate professor of education and registrar.
Additional note:
1. Wife May Corbett, born in Chefoo.
2. California was his home when he was appointed to foreign field.

Stam, Elizabeth Alden Scott. THE FAITH OF BETTY SCOTT STAM. CIM.
Born: Michigan on parents furlough. Second generation
Years a missionary: 4 (1931-1934) see below:
Education: High School., North China American School, Tung Chow (Senior year in Springfield, Mass.-parents' furlough yr.);
Wilson College, Pa. B.A., 1928; Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, 1931.
China location and Role: Church
Shantung, Tsingtao and Tsinan: as a girl, 1906-1923.
Anhwei: evangelist, 1931-1934
Additional notes:
1. Parents were Presbyterian missionaries in China.
2. Married 1933 at her "home" in Tsinan, Shantung to John Cornelius Stam, (son of the pastor of The Star of Hope Mission, Patterson New Jersey),
3. December, 1934, both Stam and her husband were murdered by the Communists at Miao Sheo, Anhwei.

Books written on the subject of the "martyrdom:"
English, Eugene Schuyler. BY LIFE AND BY DEATH: Excerpts and Lessons From The Diary of John C. Stam. 1938
Taylor, Mrs. Howard. THE TRIUMPH OF JOHN AND BETTY STAM. Philadelphia: China Inland Mission,


PS & PN-ordained.

Born: China, Hangchow. Second generation
Years a missionary: 42 (PS1904-1921; PN1921-1946)

China location and role: Education
Hangchow: "country evangelism"(1904-1907).
Peking: First President of Yenching University (1919-1946).

Additional notes:
1. Large family involvement in China.
2. Ties: Member of East Hanover Presbytery, Virginia
3. "China has been my home for the greater part of my life. I am bound to that country."
4. Awarded "Special First Class Order of Merit, the highest honor of the Republic of China.
5 Preface written by George Catlelt Marshall.
Introduction written by Hu Shih.


Other books in Chinese:
Troxel, Ellen Armour. CECIL TROXEL; THE MAN AND HIS WORK. 1948.

subject: Cecil Troxel

NHS

Born: Illinois.
Years a missionary: 34 (1910-1944)
Education: Normal School, Normal Illinois.
China location and role: Church
Shantung: Tientsin, Taming, Lintsing, Nankwantao: (on the Wei river), Tungchan.

Additional notes:
1. Last 22 months in China were spent in Japanese internment.
2. Returned on second trip of the Gripsholm, 1944.

Wells, Laura Preston. STORIES FROM A CHINESE HOSPITAL. 1930

ACM

Born: Boston, Mass.
Years a missionary: 25 (1915-1940)
Education: R.N., B.A.
China location and role: Medicine
Shanghai: St. Elizabeth's Hospital, nurse.

Additional notes:
1. Ordered to evacuate in 1940.

Wheeler, William Reginold. FLIGHT TO CATHAY. 1949.

PN-ordained

Born: Tidioute, Pa.
Years a missionary: 11 (1915-1921; 1932-1937)

China location and role: Education
Hangchow: 1917-1919, Christian College
Peping: 1919-1921, Secretary of Peiping University
Nanking: 1932-1936, Nanking University, "ed. work."
1937, Vice President of the Boards of Founders.

Additional notes:
2. At Yale, interest in sports, singing, editor of "Yale News."
3. One infant child died in China.
4. Upon return to U.S. served as Trustee and Executive secretary of Yale-in-China Association.
5. Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (USA), 1921-1923, 1938-1942.
6. Historical officer WWII, Hampton Roads Virginia (too old for the chaplaincy he sought).
9. Member of Explorers Club of New York.
10. "His first and last love being China" (from his memorial service at the Hill School).

Other Books: Published 15.

- John E. Williams of Nanking, 1937.
- Book of Verse of the Great War, ed. 1917
- China and World War, 1919
- The Foreign Student in America, ed., 1925
- Modern Missions in Mexico, 1925
- Modern Missions on the Spanish Main, 1925.
- Modern Missions in Chile and Brazil, co-author 1926

White, Mary Culler. MEET MRS. YU. 1948.

MS

- Born: South
- Years a missionary: 40. (1901-1941?)
- Education: Wesleyan College, Macon Georgia, B.A.
- China location and role: Church
  - Chekiang, Mokanshan
  - Kiangsu, Sungkiang

Other books: 1. I was There when it happened in China. 1947.

White, Vaughan. OUR NEIGHBORS THE CHINESE. 1946.

- Born:
- Years a missionary:
- Education: Early education from Chinese tutors; Mount Holyoke; Columbia, M.A., 1924.
- China location and role: Education.
  - Canton: faculty, Lingnam University.
Shanghai: faculty, St. John's University.

Additional notes:
1. Father a medical missionary in Canton
2. As a Journalist she wrote for many magazines and newspapers about China and especially about the position of women in the Orient.
3. Studied conditions in China for the Rockefeller Foundation.
4. Wrote a regular column on the political and social conditions in China for the Japan Advertiser.
5. Did research on Overseas Chinese and guerrilla warfare in China for the United States government.

reviewed: BRD, 1946, p. 886


CC
Born: Columbus, Ohio.
Years a missionary: 10 (1887-1897)
Education: Bethany College, B.A.
China location and role: Church
Misc. 1. After retiring from missionary service in 1897, Williams served in the U.S. diplomatic service and also at various times served the government of China until 1917.
2. Upon return to the U.S. he became Professor of Oriental languages and literature at the University of California at Berkeley, 1918-1927.

Other Books: SHORT HISTORY OF CHINA.
reviewed: BRD, 1929, p. 1030

Williams, Walter Rollin. THESE FIFTY YEARS WITH OHIO FRIENDS IN CHINA.

Born: Union County, Ohio
Years a missionary: 18. (1909-1927)
Education: Ohio Wesleyan University, Ohio State University, Wheaton College, D.D.
China location and role: Church and Education.
Luho (25 miles northwest of Nanking):
   Developed and taught in Friends Academy for boys.
   Ministered to a church.

Additional notes:
1. Spouse: taught in Boys Academy
2. Child died and buried in Christian cemetery in Luho.
Yaukey, Grace Sydenstricker. MADE IN CHINA. 1943

PS

Born: Chinkiang, China. Second generation
Years a missionary: 2(1921-1923)
China location and role:
"lived in various provinces [of China] until 1935."
Additional notes:
1. Married Jesse Baer Yaukey, 1923.
2. American Authors Index identifies her religion as Quaker.

Other Books:
reviewed: BRD, 1945, p.797
LET'S READ ABOUT CHINA. 1948
THE MISSIONARY. 1947
REVEALING THE HUMAN HEART. 1964
Three Sisters. 1939
Made in India. 1946
Understanding the Japanese. 1949
China Trader. (novel, 1940)
Japan 1948. (Juvenile literature).
Nehru " "
The Exile's Daughter. 1944.

Uncounted authors, missionary spouses', or missionary subjects' of authors who may have been cited in the text.

Ayscough, Florence W. CHINESE WOMEN YESTERDAY AND TODAY. 1937

spouse

Born: Shanghai, 1878 Second generation in China, daughter of Thomas Reed Wheelock
Additional notes:
1. Hobbies: Chinese language, culture and history.
3. Note Chicago residence named "House of the WuTung Trees."
4. Wrote primarily for young readers.

Book reviewed: Booklist 34:167, January 1, 1938
Books, p.6, November 28, 1937
Commonweal 27: 246, December. 24, 1937.
Saturday Review of Literature (SRL) 17:7, January 1, 1938.

Other Books: A CHINESE MIRROR: Being Reflections of the Reality Behind Appearance, 1925. (Chinese customs, social life, topography, TienShan, Yangtze & Yellow rivers etc)
BRD., 1926


TU FU: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHINESE POET.
SRL v6, p.898, 1930.


FIR-FLOWER TABLETS: Poems translated from the Chinese (in collaboration with Amy Lowell), 1921.

FRIENDLY BOOKS ON FAR CATHAY, 1921 (bibliography for young students and brief summary of Chinese History.)

Robert Edward Chambers.
SBC-ordained
Born: Virginia.
Years a missionary: 37 (1895-1932)
Education: first private instructor, later in the public schools of Lynchburg Va.; Richmond College, B.A., 1892;
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., 1894
China location and role: Publishing
Canton: Publishing
Shanghai: Publisher, oversaw the building and workings of the True Light Baptist Publishing enterprise.
Additional note: Chambers was born on a farm and was one of seven children.

John Burrus Fearn spouse
MS
Born: Yazoo City, Mississipi.
Years a missionary: 35 (1891-1926)
Education: M.D.
China location and role: Medicine
Soochow: MS hospital
Shanghai: Business Manager, Protestant Missions in China; Director of Shanghai General Hospital.
Additional notes:
1. Resigned from MS. service in 1907, to assume missionary duties of an interdenominational character in Shanghai.
2. Resigned from missionary service to serve Chinese coolies in
the Chinese labor division of the British Army in France
during WWI. Returned to Shanghai and served as medical
administrator in a missionary hospital after war.
3. Died in China, 1926.

Phillip Greene. spouse
YM
Born: Van, Turkey
Years a missionary: 14 (1923-1927, 1931-1941)
Education: Amherst, B.A., 1915; Harvard, M.D., 1915
China location and role: Medicine
    Changsha: Hsiang-Ya-Medical School teaching staff, Head of
department of Surgery, Dean.

Daniel Trumbull Huntington. spouse
ACM-ordained.
Born:
Years a missionary: 45 (1895-1940)
Education:
China location and role: Church.
    Anking: Bishop of Wuhu, 1912-1940, which included the
    Province of Anhui and a part of the Province of
    Kiangsi, "an immense territory offering great
    opportunity with comparatively few workers." The
    chief institutions were St. James' Hospital, St. Paul's
    Boarding School for Boys, St. Agnes' School for Girls,
    all at Anking, the capital of Anhui; and St. James'
    Boarding School for Boys at Wuhu.
    Ichang: Rev. D. T. Huntington of Ichang was "best known
    for his trade school for beggar boys in Ichang."

Edmund J. Lee. spouse
ACM-ordained
Born: Virginia
Years a missionary: 26 (1902-1927)
Education: University of Virginia, B.A & M.A., 1897; Virginia
    Theological Seminary, 1900.
China location and role: Church.
    Anking, Anhwei: Pastor, Flood relief, etc.
Additional note:
    Member of the distinguished Lee family of Virginia.

James Arthur Muller: author of Schereschewsky biography.
ACM
Born:
Years a Missionary: (1917-
Education:
China location and role: Education.
Wuchang: "Formerly Professor at Boone "(later known as Central China University).
reviewed: BRD., 1938, p. 696.

Bert Nelson: subject of Daniel Nelson's APOSTLE.
LuN-ordained
Born: Minn. 2nd gen.
Years a missionary: 15 (1917-1932)
Education: Early years in China; 8th grade in Iowa; Waldorf College, 2 years; St. Olaf College, 2 years; United Lutheran Seminary, St. Paul.
China location and role: Church
Additional notes:
1. Aged two when family went to China, 1890.
2. Bert murdered by Communists, after months of captivity, in 1932.

SBC-ordained
Born: Dawson County, Georgia.
Years a missionary: 55 (1881-1936)
Education: Furman University, Southern Baptist Seminary (no degrees).
China Location and role: Church and Education
Shantung, Hwanghsien: "I have almost daily gone among the people, half of the time going into the streets and shops of this great city, and on alternate days to the country villages which dot our plain more thickly than do farm houses in a portion of the South."
Bush Theological Seminary, Professor of theology and later President.
Tengchow
Chefoo: Baptist literary work.
Pingtlu

W. Eugene Sallee, subject of book and spouse of author
SBC-ordained
Born: Kentucky
Years a missionary: 27 (1903-1930)
Education: Georgetown College (Kentucky), B.A., 1899; M.A., 1902; Rochester Theological Seminary, B.D., 1903; Baylor University, D.D., 1920; Columbia, 4 months. of courses in education, 1920 furlough; Georgetown College, Honorary
Doctor of Laws, 1930.

China location and role: Church and education.
Chengchow: evangelist 1904-1908
Kaifeng, Honan: preacher teacher 1908-1930
Taught in the Imperial Provincial College.
Founded: Drumtower Church, 2 primary schools,
Kaifeng Baptist College with its agricultural
school and industrial department (did not become a
four year accredited college. Its promising students
were sent on to University of Shanghai).
Developed a missionary compound in the city.

Additional notes:
1. Born on a farm, his father a Baptist minister.
2. Active in athletics in college and graduate school.
3. Tennis player all his life.
4. Married by Frank Rawlinson in Shanghai.
5. His oldest sister, Mamie, married Shanghai missionary, R. T. Bryan (Bryan's 3rd missionary wife)
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China Hands


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American Characteristics


MISCELLANEOUS

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