

**Protesting Protestants: Missionaries During the Anti-imperialist Movement in
China, 1920s**

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Introduction

Returning to China after an absence of a little more than a year on furlough one is greatly impressed by the rapid and profound changes taking place in the mental and emotional atmosphere of this country. I want in this letter to share with you my impressions of one of the most marked and significant factors in the changing situation. I refer to the growing spirit of nationalism. I found in America of course an epidemic of the same disease. There we call it 'one hundred percent Americanism'. Foreigners in China are likely to call the same thing here by balder [bolder] names—narrow nationalism, anti-foreign feeling, anti-Christian sentiment. In certain quarters of China it is undoubtedly each and all of these things. The prestige of 'Christian nations' has not been so low in China in many years.¹

Christians have traveled the world since the apostles, zealously preaching the word of Christ and seeking converts. Eugene E. Barnett carried on this mission indirectly in China as secretary and administrator of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) between 1908 and 1953;² yet, unlike many of his Christian predecessors in China, his experience was subject to unprecedented changing relations between two cultures. The escalating nationalist spirit in China, as well as the anti-imperialist crusade unraveled before Barnett's eyes just as he drafted the letter above in July 1924. Barnett's observations on nationalism in China during the 1920s were also very relevant for Christian missionaries at the time because, as he noted, nationalist outcries occasionally entailed resentment of Christianity because of its affiliation to imperialism.³

¹ Eugene E. Barnett, "Letter to Friends" (Letter, Shanghai, July 14, 1924), 1, Eugene E. Barnett Papers, 1905-1970, Box 3, Folder 1924, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York.

² Eugene E. Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, ed. Jessie Gregory Lutz (East Lansing, MI: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1990), 1.

³ I do not mean to argue that nationalism is synonymous to anti-imperialism universally. In an excerpt from E. M. Winslow's book, *The Pattern of Imperialism*, found in *The Imperialism Reader*, Winslow indicates that imperialism outdates the modern conception of nationalism, which originated during the French Revolution. According to Winslow nationalism coincided with "the overthrow of absolute monarchic forms of government by the ideas and realities of popular sovereignty." Since nationalist demands concerned Chinese sovereignty in early 20th century China and foreigners were infringing on Chinese sovereignty, therefore to be a Chinese nationalist often meant that one was anti-imperialist. Louis Leo Snyder, *The Imperialism Reader: Documents and Readings on Modern Expansionism* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1962), 38-39.

In order to understand why Christian missionaries were perceived as imperialists in China it is worth elucidating the mode in which the term will be utilized in this thesis. Scholars like Edward Said have described imperialism as, “the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory.”⁴ Significant to this definition are the premises, first, that one group seeks to dominate or assert its power over another, and, second, that imperialism is indeed a practice or the means through which a group dominates. Additionally, although imperialism does not necessitate direct control of foreign lands— i.e. colonialism— it is a possible means of imperialism.⁵ In this sense Christian missionaries both served as cultural representatives of their nations— circulating Westerns ideas, including but not limited to Christianity— and established churches and other institutions at various points during their history in China. The history of Christian missionary efforts in China will be discussed in chapter one. By emphasizing the late 19th century, the strength of Christian educational institutions, and the Protestant predominance within that sector, I seek elaborate on Protestant missionaries’ status as imperialists given their procurement of extraterritorial privileges.

Nevertheless, I do not intend to condemn nor justify Christian missionary efforts in China, but instead to portray an unconventional imperialist narrative during the 1920s where some Protestant missionaries consented to certain nationalists’ demands. In his book *Culture and Imperialism*, Said proposes a framework through which to reinterpret the production of

⁴ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1993), 9. Said goes on to quote Michael Doyle who further elaborates on imperialism when he describes that empire, “is a relationship, formal or informal, in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society. It can be achieved by force, by political collaboration, by economic, social, or cultural dependence. Imperialism is simply the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire.” This understanding further reinforces the mode in which imperialism will be employed in this thesis.

⁵ Ibid.; Snyder, *The Imperialism Reader*, 41 & 45. Said explains that colonialism “is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory.” Hans Kohn, a nationalist historian quoted in *The Imperialism Reader*, categorizes colonialism as one of the five manifestations of imperialism.

postcolonial Western culture, specifically literature, so as to recognize the overlapping and interplaying contributions of imperialists and the imperialized in influencing novels. To accomplish this Said theorizes looking to the past contrapuntally, or as Said defines it, “with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts.”⁶ Through vouching for the recognition of “new alignments made across borders, types, nations, and essences,” Said has inspired other historians to contrapuntally reexamine history.⁷ For example, in her book, *Affective Communities*, Leela Gandhi contrapuntally traces Western anti-imperialism in India.⁸ One of the figures Gandhi identifies as a Western anti-imperialist is C. F. Andrews, an Anglican priest who defied his imperialist subject position for one of an Indian nationalist’s friend. Adopting Said’s method of nuancing history, I aim to illustrate how Protestant Christian missionaries served as allies to Chinese anti-imperialist nationals during a consequential international moment in China, the May 30th incident of 1925.

Although Christian missions had often presented themselves as propagators of Western culture, many belatedly acknowledged their implication in Western imperialism. Missionaries’ enlightenment coincided with the growth of nationalism in China, which Barnett had described in his letter. Chapter two explores the development of Chinese nationalism and how this internal movement turned on Christian missions. Furthermore, the chapter will elaborate on how the May 30th incident exemplifies a moment during the nationalist movement when missionaries became both conscious about their association to imperialism and the harm that their extraterritorial privileges posed to their Christianizing efforts in China. The third chapter engages in a micro-

⁶ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 51.

⁷ Ibid., xxiv.

⁸ Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-De-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

level analysis of dialogue among mostly Protestant Christian missionaries while they debated how to respond to the May 30th incident, as well as whether to denounce their special privileges.⁹ While the response is sufficiently documented by historians,¹⁰ the nature of the developing missionary consciousness about their ties to Western imperialism through their special privileges is oversimplified and the significance of such a realization is unstressed. Missionary rejection of their rights is significant, first, because their objection to the unequal treaties signaled the politicization of missionary efforts in China.¹¹ Second, it was a messy enterprise during which objections were raised and the future of missionaries in China was deliberated. Such deliberations would pave a path for Christianity in China from which missionary efforts in the country could never divert again.

By refusing to accept the generalized depiction of oppressor and oppressed at a specific moment in time within missionary history in China, I too, like Gandhi, determine to complicate a binary that seems irrefutable: the colonized and colonizer.¹² Barnett singularly demonstrates this evolving spirit. While he gives away his initial indignation towards nationalist movements when he refers to it as a "disease" in his letter, after the incident he seems motivated to reduce the

⁹ Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958), 194. Varg cites an article in the 1926 *China Christian Year Book* in which half of the missionaries surveyed in 1924 "replied that they had not detected any anti-Christian or anti-foreign feeling." Varg does not offer an explanation for this belated enlightenment, but I would argue that because the anti-Christian movement most evidently manifested itself by 1922 and a connection between anti-Christian and anti-foreign sentiment had formulated by 1925, therefore missionary denial of extraterritorial privileges was a phenomenon specific to the mid-1920s.

¹⁰ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929); Ka-che Yip, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, c1980); Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats*; Alice Henrietta Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy: The Changing Role of the Protestant Educational Missionary in China, 1807-1937* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse university press, 1946). These are just a few sources making this observation.

¹¹ Missionaries were intrinsically political agents given their ties to the unequal treaties, but they did not often resort to voicing their opinion on political matters.

¹² Gandhi, *Affective Communities*, 3.

YMCA's ties to foreign control through the process of indigenization. In a letter to what appears to be a friend, Sherwood Eddy, Barnett describes,

We are trying to purge our own movement of any lingering vestiges of foreign control which may remain. ...We want the American secretaries to be absorbed wholly in the China movement while they are serving it, without even the appearance of 'extra-territoriality' anywhere in its administration.¹³

This transformation in Barnett's perspective on nationalist demands to revise extraterritorial clauses speaks to the gist of the Protestant Christian missionary reaction in China during the 1920s. Christian missionaries were in China to stay, but many also demonstrated a desire to cooperate with demands made of the structure of their efforts. Despite its imperialistic origins and intrinsic quality as a foreign ideology, it is Christianity's ability to continue to exist in China today because of its malleability and as a soft power that fascinates me.

¹³ Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 181. Barnett appears to be one of the least radical foreign Christians in China as suggested by his hesitancy to sign off on a petition for the eradication of extraterritorial protections when first requested prior to the outbreak of the May 30th incident. The editor of his biographer makes the observation that while "Barnett recognized the strength of nationalism and saw the necessity of ending the 'unequal treaty' system, but he could not accept revolutionary tactics."

Chapter One

Christian Presence in China and Missionary Special Privileges

Despite disagreements on when the first Christian contact with China transpired,¹⁴ missionary efforts in China are generally summarized by missionary historians in four waves.¹⁵ Nestorians, Roman Catholics, the Jesuit order within the latter, and later Protestants left notable influences on China during their respective ascendancies. Orthodox Christians are often deemphasized because their reach was simply not as extensive by comparison both during their initial arrival in the 17th century, as well as in the 20th century, which concerns this thesis. Not until the mid 19th to early 20th centuries, however, when Roman Catholics and Protestants dominated, did Christian missionary efforts proliferate in Mainland China.¹⁶ The last momentous missionary wave was also characterized by the prominence of specific national actors; namely, the British and Americans depended on missionaries as political agents. Relatively new to the enterprise, Protestants stressed their institutional efforts in the form of schools and hospitals in China during this time.¹⁷ In his autobiography, Barnett admits his surprise of the YMCA's burgeoning popularity in Hangzhou during his first deployment to China in 1914,

I had been in no hurry to get a full-fledged YMCA building, thinking it better to limit our institutional activities for several years while continuing to cultivate a constituency in the city. The constituency came much faster than we had anticipated, however, and no sooner had we entered our temporary quarters than we found them bursting at the seams with people and activities. The city was with

¹⁴ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Macmillan, c1929), 48; Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 5. Although very little evidence exists to support the speculation that St. Thomas the Apostle reached China, some scholars argue that the aforementioned Christian made contact with China in the 1st century CE. After a reinterpretation of carvings on a rock at Kongwangshan, in today's Jiangsu Province, not as Buddhist but of Thomas, Mary and a questionable third figure, the debate was reinvigorated during the 1980s.

¹⁵ Michael Loewe, "Imperial China's Reactions to the Catholic Missions," *Numen* 35, no. 2 (December 1988): 179.

¹⁶ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 92. Bay specifically categorizes the period between 1902-1927 as the "golden age of missions." The success of the Roman Catholics and Protestants to extend their influence into Mainland China in unprecedented numbers had much to do with the political climate of the time.

¹⁷ Loewe, "Imperial China's Reactions to the Catholic Missions," 181.

us, expecting large things of the YMCA, and we feared the reaction if an adequate building were too long deterred.¹⁸

Christian Missionary Efforts in China Before the Unequal Treaties

Before the modern era, Nestorians and then Roman Catholics Christianized Chinese people on a small-scale, but their efforts were limited by fluctuating imperial perceptions of foreigners. Given the expansive nature of the Tang dynasty (618-907), Nestorians met with Chinese merchants and carried out the first organized missionary voyage to China as early as the 7th century.¹⁹ By 781, however, the successes of Nestorian monks were cut short after an internal rebellion caused dynastic instability and fostered the imperial court's conservative, anti-foreign stance.²⁰ Not until the Mongolian penetration of China did Nestorians regain their influence. Mongols encountered and tolerated Persian Nestorians during their expansion into the Asian continent, thus permitting a Nestorian "monopoly" on Christian religious efforts in China until 1293 during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368).²¹ Roman Catholic Missions were also prevalent during the Yuan dynasty and competed with Nestorians for influence. After brothers Maffeo and Nicolo Polo visited Kublai before the Yuan dynasty was established, they returned to Pope Innocent IV carrying letters of request for teachers of science and religion.²² The Pope, who was fearful of Islamic expansion and the proven might of the Khan, was eager to meet the request, eventually sending what would be the first Roman Catholic mission to China.²³ The first Roman Catholic missionary effort to China was more successful in converting Chinese than Nestorians;

¹⁸ Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 80.

¹⁹ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 7; Jean Charbonnier, *Christians in China: A.D. 600 to 2000* (San Francisco: Ignatius, c2007), 20.

²⁰ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 9–10. During this short time when 21 Nestorian monks resided in China in total, two to three monasteries were built.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

²² Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 67.

²³ *Ibid.*, 68–69. According to Franciscan, John of Montecorvino's letters, he was widely successful whereas by 1300 he created a church and by 1305 he had baptized about six thousand people.

nonetheless, a lack of historical evidence left by succeeding missionaries, as well as the large number of deaths among those missionaries sent by the Pope has made it difficult for scholars to assess their impact.²⁴ By the time the Jesuits arrived in China during the 16th century Nestorians and Catholics ceased to exist.

Christians did not seriously attempt to reenter Mainland China until one of the founding members of the Jesuit orders, St. Francis Xavier, did in 1552.²⁵ While he made it near the coast to Shangchuan Island on Portuguese ships during the trading season, he could not penetrate the interior.²⁶ Jesuit Matteo Ricci, however, gained access to the imperial court in 1602.²⁷ There he followed a new missionary approach that set precedent for future missionary efforts: he sought to adopt Chinese culture, hoped to convert Chinese individuals ranking high in society, relied on Europe's science and technology to gain credence and attention, and adopted a more understanding approach towards Chinese customs and intellectual trends.²⁸ Yet while by 1701 the Jesuits succeeded in that converts numbered approximately 140,²⁹ most converts were from the lower stratum of society.³⁰ In addition, Jesuit missionary growth in China, though notably long, was not always smooth. After a series of persecutions within China and distractions from

²⁴ Ibid., 72 and 74.

²⁵ Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 123 & 131; Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 15. Charbonnier describes that Christianity did not regain its prominence in China for approximately two centuries not just because of internal conditions in China, but also because of developments concerning Christian nations, such as the Great Schism and expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the European continent. According to historian Bays, the Black Death also served as an external distraction. This digression proves highly significant in nuancing perceptions of China as closed off to foreigners during the Ming dynasty. Instead, both internal and external factors were at play in stagnating Christian efforts in the Far East from the 14th to 16th century.

²⁶ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 88.

²⁷ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 22.

²⁸ Ibid. On page 23, Bays also mentions that because Emperor Kangxi of the Ming dynasty delineated an edict of religious toleration, the Jesuits even hoped to convert him.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 24; Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 160. Although most converts in China were poor, some exceptions existed. Charbonnier identifies three Chinese scholars, though not the most prominent of their time, as the first Christian converts by the Jesuits: Xu Guangqi, Li Zhicao and Yang Tingyun.

abroad Jesuit missionary efforts became enfeebled. By 1810 European missionaries totaled 31 individuals, and, despite the promising strength of indigenized Christianity (in the form of 81 priests), Jesuit influence was no longer quite as strong as it had been in the past.³¹

Although three distinct waves of missionary activity have already been detailed, they should not be identified as the sole religious efforts in China during their time nor the last of their kind. When the Jesuits predominated the missionary effort in China from the 17th to 19th century, other Catholic orders, such as the Dominicans and Franciscans, gained more access to China by 1633.³² Similarly when the Jesuits' influence was nearing its end, the Lazarists were reinforced in Peking in 1784 to save the prospects of missionary efforts in the capital.³³ Furthermore, a Russian Orthodox mission was dispatched to China in the late 17th century.³⁴ Spurring from a border dispute in Albazin, China wrote its first treaty with a European power, the Treaty of Nerchinsk, in 1689 to settle the border dispute and allow the Russians a biannual trade agreement. This treaty became a platform for Orthodox missionary activity in China.³⁵ By 1898 Chinese Orthodox Christians numbered approximately 450 in the northern cities of Beijing and Tianjin, where the Orthodox mission had its strongest hold.³⁶ The Russian Orthodox mission in China witnessed significant growth again between 1900 to 1917—until the Bolshevik Revolution erupted and distracted the mission from its religious priorities abroad.³⁷

³¹ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 180. The mission in Beijing, which had achieved influencing the imperial court just as the Nestorians and Catholics had done under the Mongols, suffered significantly from the persecutions unleashed by a stricter emperor, Yongzheng.

³² Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 216.

³³ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 168.

³⁴ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 209.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 209; Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 199.

³⁶ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 211.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 212.

Protestantism revival in the 19th century coincided with the first Protestant missionary sent to China. Dispatched to China by the London Missionary Society, Robert Morrison is credited as being the first Protestant missionary to arrive in China, specifically in Canton in 1807.³⁸ Although he never made it to Mainland China, Morrison's contributions were important for future Protestant missionary efforts. Morrison translated the Bible to Chinese, created a Chinese-English dictionary, and established the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca among many other achievements.³⁹ As Britain began to send more missionary societies to China, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the first American mission to China, joined the British Protestant enterprise and helped distribute literature to the coastal areas of China.⁴⁰ The production and distribution of literature—though printing was also employed by the Jesuits— as well as the prominence of institutions like schools and hospitals were significant initiatives taken by the Protestants that would play a major role in the emerging nationalist critique of foreigners.⁴¹ In 1834 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent the first medical missionary to China in history.⁴² By the First Opium War in 1839 fifty Protestant missions had reached as far as Guangzhou and Macao, but they only managed to convert approximately 100 individuals.⁴³

³⁸ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 212.

³⁹ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 44.

⁴⁰ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 217.

⁴¹ Loewe, "Imperial China's Reactions to the Catholic Missions," 181. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 60. Though his paper is not concerned with Protestant missions, Loewe does note how characteristic it was of Protestant missions to establish schools and hospitals. This is not to say that Catholics did not set up orphanages, primary schools and clinics; instead it was done on a smaller-scale.

⁴² Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 218.

⁴³ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 46.

After the Unequal Treaties

The prominence of Protestant missionary schools, on the other hand, are more telling of the hold that Protestant missionaries had on China. Dr. Alice Henrietta Gregg, who was herself a missionary in China between 1916 to 1950, remarks that from 1807-1902 Protestant missionary schools could even be considered "forerunners of China's national system of education."⁴⁴ At the time the Confucian Classics still constituted the basis of Chinese education, and thus the Confucian examination system continued to graduate bureaucrats.⁴⁵ Resulting from the distinct forms of education promulgated by the Qing court and missionaries was the constant reconfiguration of the latter as to remain relevant. For example, distinction amongst the type of missionary schools, like those shown in Table 1 and 2 on page 15, was subject to constant change. While only "theological schools" were designated purely for religious curriculum, "boarding schools" often trained students who would eventually become missionary helpers and all other educational institutions primarily but not only disseminated Western learning.⁴⁶ Furthermore, before the 20th century some missionary institutions prematurely labeled themselves as colleges when very few of their students were completing advanced work.⁴⁷ In 1887, however, the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries organized and called for the School and Textbook Committee to standardize learning.⁴⁸ Establishing missionary schools for the sole purpose of educating rather than converting was not uniformly agreed upon and by the Second General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in 1890, and only 37 of the 445 attendees

⁴⁴ Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy*, 11.

⁴⁵ Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 42. Chinese gentry hesitated to send their children off to missionary schools because they failed to prepare students for the civil service examination.

⁴⁶ Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy*, 16. Protestant schools would later develop to include normal schools, or schools for training teachers, as well as schools for higher education.

⁴⁷ Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*, 25.

⁴⁸ Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy*, 18.

established The Educational Association of China (EAC) nurturing the growth and development of both secular and religious educational work in China.⁴⁹

Table 1: Missionary Society Schools 1842-1877⁵⁰

<i>TYPE OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>AMERICAN</i>	<i>BRITISH</i>	<i>CONTINENTAL</i>	<i>TOTALS</i>
BOYS' BOARDING SCHOOLS	19	8	3	30
GIRLS' BOARDING SCHOOLS	24	12	2	38
BOY'S DAY SCHOOLS	93	70	14	177
GIRL'S DAY SCHOOLS	57	24	1	82
THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS	9	9	2	20
				347

Table 2: Number of Students in Missionary Society Schools⁵¹

<i>TYPE OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>AMERICAN</i>	<i>BRITISH</i>	<i>CONTINENTAL</i>	<i>TOTALS</i>
BOYS' BOARDING SCHOOLS	347	118	146	611
GIRLS' BOARDING SCHOOLS	464	189	124	777
BOYS' DAY SCHOOLS	1255	1471	265	2991
GIRLS' DAY SCHOOLS	975	335	15	1307
THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS	94	115	22	231
				5917

The conditions formulated under the First (1839-42) and Second (1856-60) Opium Wars were critical of missionary expansion within China. The first war was fought between the British and Chinese as a direct result of the banning of British merchants when a British ship was caught

⁴⁹ Ibid., 20.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 16. This is a replica of the table found in Alice Henrietta Gregg's book. She obtained her data from the *Records of the First General Conference of Protestant Missionaries* in 1877.

⁵¹ Ibid., 17. This table is also a copy of the one found in Gregg's book.

with 20,000 cases of opium in Guangzhou,⁵² and an indirect result of Britain's dissatisfaction with the current state of trade with China.⁵³ After the British signed the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, the Americans and French seized the opportunity to secure similar treaties, thus expanding trade prospects in 1843 and 1844 respectively.⁵⁴ During this time missionaries served as "interpreters and secretaries" for all three treaties: Karl Gutzlaff for the British, Elijah Bridgman and Peter Parker for the Americans, and Joseph-Marie Callery for the French.⁵⁵ Missionaries did not only benefit from the terms granted under Britain's or America's treaties, but also relied upon Frenchman's, M. Theodore de Lagrene, negotiated terms for religious work in the Treaty of Whampoa (1844). Before Lagrene sought the toleration clause for Christian missionary activity in China, religious practice was still illegal. Christians benefited from four terms outlined in the first set of treaties: they benefited from extraterritorial privileges, could practice a legal faith due to the French, could build missionary institutions in five newly attained coastal cities, and could reclaim any buildings they had previously built before missionaries were banned in 1724.⁵⁶

The treaties resulting from the second war granted even better terms for Christian missions. Despite the advances made from the first set of treaties, missionary efforts were limited because they could not travel to the interior of China nor purchase land,⁵⁷ and the fact that Lagrene had secured an edict rather than a treaty provision disconcerted some. Concurrently the British and French found another pretext through which to make more demands of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912). In 1856, the British angered by the removal of their flag from a Chinese

⁵² Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 319.

⁵³ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 228.

⁵⁴ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 47.

⁵⁵ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 231; Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 58.

⁵⁶ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 48. The author notes that only Catholics benefited from the last provision because Protestants had not yet entered Mainland China.

⁵⁷ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 271.

ship and the French retaliating for the murder of priest, Auguste Chapdelaine, decided to wage another war.⁵⁸ Following the ratification of the Treaty of Tienstin (1858) another scandal broke out when British and French diplomats followed by a few soldiers were fired on in 1860.⁵⁹ Consequently, the Chinese emperor agreed to also pay indemnities. The resulting agreement benefitted missionaries not only because some indemnities went to support missionary efforts,⁶⁰ but also, as per the French request, missionaries could utilize the funding to purchase land and build anywhere.⁶¹ Furthermore, the French and Russians also sought the eradication of all previous edicts banning the safe practice of Christianity and promised the enforced security of all Christians, including Chinese.⁶² In the China Mission Yearbook of 1926, Harold Blame, also mentions that Christian missionaries could extend their allotted rights onto their converts.⁶³

Growth was steady for Christian missions after missionary procurement of special privileges and until the 20th century, as it was a time with relatively fewer hindrances.⁶⁴ While Christian missions did face some drawbacks during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, missionary efforts recuperated seamlessly afterwards. Unsettled by the threat foreigners posed to tradition, the Boxers, or the “fist of just harmony,” with support from Empress Dowager Cixi violently

⁵⁸ Ibid., 273. The war actually began in 1857.

⁵⁹ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 57.

⁶⁰ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 274.

⁶¹ Kejia Yan, *Catholic Church in China*, trans. Chen Shujie (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2004), 57; *ibid.*, 80.

⁶² Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 57; Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 275.

⁶³ Harold Balme, *Missionaries and Special Privilege*, Reprinted in advance from the Chinese Christian Yearbook, 1926 (Shanghai: The Christian Literature Society, 1926), 4.

⁶⁴ Some upheavals materialized in the form of the Taiping rebellion (1850), some persecutions, small wars and most notably the Boxer rebellion (1900). The rest of this chapter will stress Protestant activity as it is the focus of this thesis. Statistics on Roman Catholics will be included whenever possible in order to offer a comparison between the two most important Christian religions of the time. It is worth remembering that after the treaties were composed and Christians could once again enter China, it was the first time Protestants made headway in Mainland China.

targeted foreigners, especially Christians, in Beijing.⁶⁵ The following excerpted notice encapsulates Boxer sentiments both towards Christianity and their fading culture quite clearly:

The Gods assist the Boxers,
The Patriotic Harmonious corps,
It is because the ‘Foreign Devils’ disturb the ‘Middle Kingdom.’
Urging the people to join their religion,
To turn their backs on Heaven,
Venerate not the Gods and forget the ancestors.⁶⁶

In addition to singling out foreigners, 30,000 Chinese Catholics, 1,900 Chinese Protestants and 222 Orthodox Christians (almost half the number of converts in Beijing) perished during the revolt.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, Protestant communicant—the means of measurement for the Protestants—growth remained promising in spite of the Boxer Rebellion’s anti-Christian nature.⁶⁸ In 1900 there were approximately 95,943 Protestant communicants in China and in 1910 that number grew to 167,075 individuals.⁶⁹ Similarly, Catholic converts grew from 720,540 in 1901 to 1,364,618 in 1910.⁷⁰ Additionally, even Orthodox Christians had a period of extensive growth whereby 1916 Chinese Orthodox Christians numbered 5,587.⁷¹

A few differences did exist between the characteristics of Protestant and Catholic missionary efforts by the 1920s. For instance, statistics show that as early as 1860, Catholics far

⁶⁵ Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 334; Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 212.

⁶⁶ Snyder, *The Imperialism Reader*, 322. Here the “Middle Kingdom” refers to China and “Heaven” refers to the mandate of heaven, a belief that the emperor reigned because the universe approved of the individual.

⁶⁷ Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 335–36.

⁶⁸ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 93.

⁶⁹ Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy*, 214.

⁷⁰ Yan, *Catholic Church in China*, 73.

⁷¹ Milton T. Stauffer, Tsinforn C. Wong, and M. Gardner Tewksbury, eds., *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China Made by the Special Committee on Survey and Occupation China Continuation Committee 1918-1921*, Reprint Series 71 (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1979), 464, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112001844551>.

outnumbered Protestants by the hundreds of thousands.⁷² Like Protestants, Catholic priests resided in each of the 19 provinces designated by the 1920.⁷³ Yet while Catholics reported 1,971,189 Catholic Christians in China,⁷⁴ Protestants only claimed that 345,453 Protestant Christians existed.⁷⁵ In part this is likely because Catholics had a considerably longer missionary presence in China. Yet despite the competition, Protestant communicant growth remained promising because growth between 1889 and 1900 (an eleven-year period) and 1900-1906 (a six-year period) matched that of a fourteen-year period from 1906-1920.⁷⁶ Out of the 130 Protestant missionary societies, 63 were American, 35 British, and 25 from the European continent (8 Swedish, 7 Germany, 6 Norwegian, 2 Finish, 1 Danish, and 1 Swiss).⁷⁷ Specifications regarding Protestant and Catholic missionary composition are provided in Table 3 and 4. Together Protestant and Roman Catholic forces held noticeable authority in China as shown in Table 5 on page 21.

⁷² Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 60.

⁷³ Stauffer, Wong, and Tewksbury, *The Christian Occupation of China*, 299.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 461; Yan, *Catholic Church in China*, 73.

⁷⁵ Stauffer, Wong, and Tewksbury, *The Christian Occupation of China*, 300.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 345.

Table 3: Protestant Denominational Presence in China, 1920⁷⁸

Denominational Group	Percent of Total Mission Stations	Percent of Total Communicants	Average Number of Evangelistic Centers per Mission Station	Average Number of Communicants per Mission Station
Anglican	8%	6%	9	242
Baptist	7%	13%	17	652
Congregational	3%	7%	16	759
Lutheran	11%	9%	6	277
Methodist	8%	21%	23	892
Presbyterian	9%	21%	14	825
CIM and Assoc. Miss.	24%	15%	6	205
Other Societies	30%	6%	3	65

Table 4: Distribution of Catholic Christians by Societies, 1920⁷⁹

Name of Society	No. of Missions	No. of Chinese Priests	No. of Christians
Lazaristes	11	290	606,425
Jésuites	2	106	358,301
M. E. de Paris	12	254	237,208
M. de Scheut	6	45	113,259
Franciscains	10	148	279,644
M. de Steyl	1	18	93,698
Dominicains	2	29	62,299
M. E. de Milan	4	24	61,524
M. E. de Rome	1	6	15,800
Augustiniens	1	2	11,406
M. E. de Parma	1	-	9,168
Salésiens	1	-	2,314
Prêtres séculiers (Macao)	1 diocese	20	40,000 (?)

⁷⁸ Ibid., 341. This is a replica of the table provided in *The Christian Occupation of China*. CIM stands for the China Inland Mission, which was an interdenominational Protestant society instituted in 1865. Today it is known as the Overseas Missionary Fellowship.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 461. This is also a replica of the table provided in *The Christian Occupation of China*. The data was likely provided by French Catholics.

Table 5: Combined Work of Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches⁸⁰

	Protestant and Roman Catholic				
	Foreign Missionary Force	Church Enrollment	Places of Regular Warship	Christians Per Thousand	Students under Protestant and Roman Catholic Christian Instruction
Total (19 Provinces)	8,410	2,196,648	18,829	40	326,043
North China	2,297	1,007,819	6,432		100,887
Manchuria	240	75,894	574	38	10,126
Chihli	848	600,856	2,157	220	53,051
Shantung	706	201,560	2,199	65	23,249
Shansi	311	73,480	906	67	12,189
Shensi	192	56,029	596	61	2,272
East China	2,097	463,690	4,207		83,472
Kiangsu	1,126	218,929	1,307	65	45,189
Chekiang	403	83,953	1,549	36	16,133
Anhwei	274	73,388	660	36	12,883
Kiangsi	294	87,420	691	35	9,267
Central China	1,448	224,106	2,684		44,321
Honan	463	64,010	990	19	12,305
Hupeh	532	118,473	900	41	21,138
Hunan	453	41,623	794	14	10,878
South China	1,574	266,710	3,360		65,734
Fukien	541	100,296	1,575	58	36,575
Kwangtung	932	156,686	1,652	44	27,564
Kwangsi	101	9,728	133	9	1,595
West China	994	234,323	2,146		31,629
Kansu	105	8,585	120	14	975
Szechwan	690	156,701	1,389	25	26,633
Kweichow	94	44,732	299	38	1,966
Yünnan	105	24,305	338	27	2,055
Special Administrative Districts					
Mongolia					
Sinkiang	182	106,551	374	137	11,071
Tibet	22	336	10	1	531
	25	3,910	18	18	99
Total (All China)	8,639	2,307,445	19,231	81	337,744

Evidence of the reach of Protestant missionaries following the signing of the treaties also manifests itself through a close look at the expansion of missionary schools. By 1902 the Qing government recognized the need for an education system "loyal to the Throne and Confucianism," and thus ordered the Edict of 1902 organizing a nationally sponsored education

⁸⁰ Ibid., 300. This is the last table also comes from *The Christian Occupation of China*.

system. The implementation of a competing national system of education as well as promotion of worship of Confucius encouraged EAC missionaries by their Fourth Triennial in 1902 to call for the strengthening and separation of state and religious education.⁸¹ In 1919 the stated goals of academic mission schools were the following,

- a. Education of the children of the Christian constituency.
- b. The general leavening of the community with Christian thought.
- c. The training of Church leaders.
- d. The training of Christian teachers.
- e. Social uplift of the community.⁸²

The reach of mission schools in China was only made possible by the legal context of the treaties. While national schools experienced a surge after the 1902 edict as shown in Table 6, missionary schools maintained a considerable presence as well. By 1907 Protestant efforts had grown to host 57,000 students in approximately 2,500 schools.⁸³ The number of students in Protestant schools (not including those in bible schools, normal schools, theological seminaries, colleges and universities) grew to nearly 200,000 by 1920.⁸⁴ By comparison, in 1914 Roman Catholics managed 8,034 schools and 132,850 students; while by 1925 nearly 310,000 students⁸⁵ attended 150,599 Catholic educational institutions (including normal schools, seminaries, colleges and more).⁸⁶ Furthermore, by 1920 more than 10 Protestant colleges, shown in Figure 1, existed throughout China, whereas in 1913 there was no distinction between middle schools and colleges in reports.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy*, 44.

⁸² Stauffer, Wong, and Tewksbury, *The Christian Occupation of China*, 406.

⁸³ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 9.

⁸⁴ Stauffer, Wong, and Tewksbury, *The Christian Occupation of China*, 403.

⁸⁵ Yan, *Catholic Church in China*, 81.

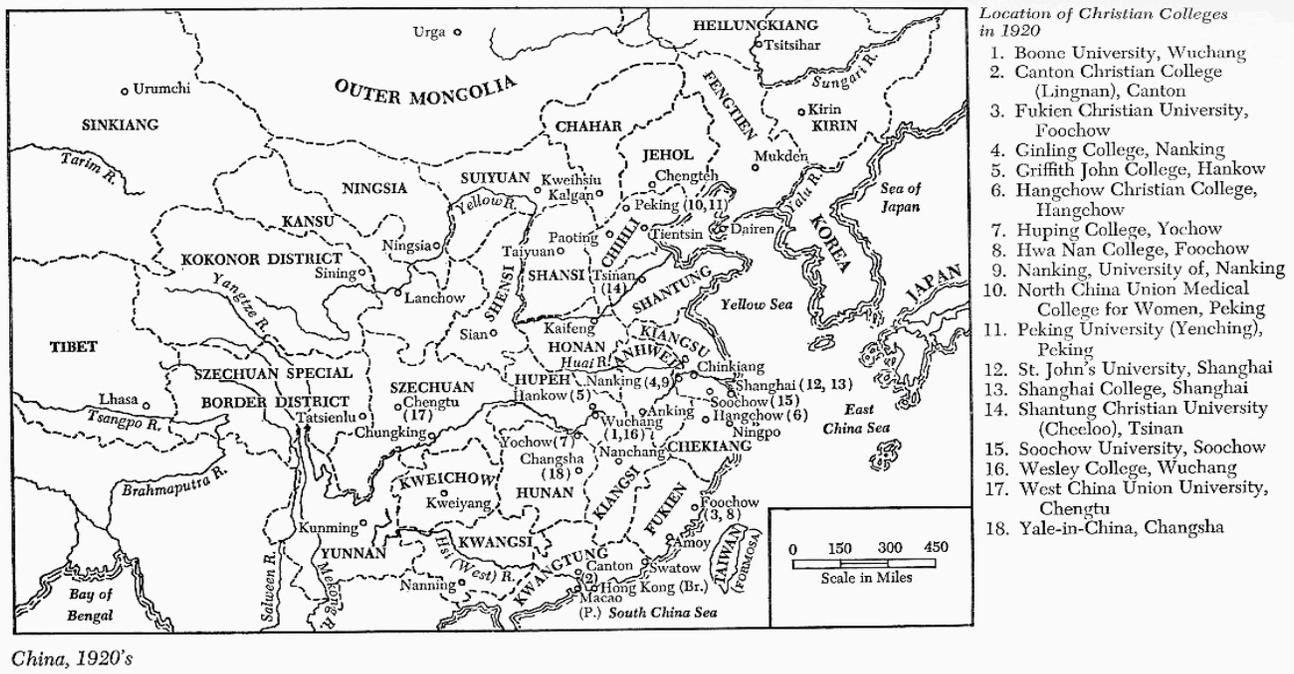
⁸⁶ Stauffer, Wong, and Tewksbury, *The Christian Occupation of China*, 462.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 37. A discrepancy exists regarding the number of colleges present in China in 1920 in *A General Survey* (listing 14) and Lutz's *China Christian College* (listing 18) likely because, as Lutz explains and as is

Table 6: Increase in Number of National Schools, 1905-1910⁸⁸

YEAR	GOVERNMENTAL	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	TOTALS
1905	3,605	393	224	4,222
1906	2,770	4,829	678	8,477
1907	5,224	12,310	2,296	19,830
1908	11,546	20,321	4,046	35,913
1909	12,888	25,688	4,512	43,086
1910	14,30	32,254	5,793	52,348

Figure 1: Christian Colleges in China, 1920⁸⁹



elaborated in the chapter, before the EAC standardized educational standards Christian schools identified themselves as colleges prematurely, therefore making the assessment a subjective matter.

⁸⁸ Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy*, 35. Endnote describes, "Government schools are supported by funds appropriated by the government treasury; public schools are those maintained by local public funds; the private schools are those established by individuals and maintained by donations."

⁸⁹ Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*, 107. The number of Roman Catholic colleges instituted by 1920 is not as clear. While the Protestant source *The Christian Occupation of China* trusts that there might have existed 61 Catholic Colleges by 1920, historians concentrating on Catholicism in China like Yan Kejia note that "in terms of higher education, the Catholic Church lagged behind the Protestant Church...". Stauffer, Wong, and Tewksbury, *The Christian Occupation of China*, 462; Yan, *Catholic Church in China*, 81.

Protestant institutional expansion continued to define the early 20th century. On the one hand, this may have resulted because Protestants' emergence in China occurred when their sending nations experienced noteworthy international authority, especially the United States and Britain. On the other hand, many Protestants believed that their missionary work entailed more than just evangelizing.⁹⁰ According to observations made in *The Christian Occupation of China*, most Chinese donations to Christian missions were made out to Christian medical missions likely because it was viewed as most valuable.⁹¹ Overall, the Protestant foreign staff increased by 103% from 1907 to 1920.⁹² Medical foreign missionaries increased 54% and “hospitals and dispensaries” increased by 165% during this time.⁹³ To put these numbers differently, out of the 3,445 Protestant missionaries in 1905, 301 were foreign doctors.⁹⁴ While by 1920 there resided approximately 6,204 Protestant missionaries in China.⁹⁵ Catholics also engaged in medical

⁹⁰ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 416. It goes to say that Protestants largely shared an ideology regarding their mission abroad. Latourette describes, “... as before 1856 missionaries thought of themselves as being in China primarily to proclaim the Christian message and to leave the Chinese into the Christian experience. They believed that the possession of this experience was evidence not so much by the ability to repeat with accuracy and intelligence a summary of Christian doctrine... as by certain qualities of life. Parallel with the desire for an inward transformation of character was the purpose of alleviating much of the physical distress and of correcting what the missionary deemed the social and intellectual evils of China. Institutions grew up, therefore, for the relief of suffering, schools for the education of Christians and non-Christians arose, literature for introducing new ideas was prepared, and movements against opium, and, to a lesser extent, against foot-binding, were fostered.”

⁹¹ Stauffer, Wong, and Tewksbury, *The Christian Occupation of China*, 37.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 34.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁹⁴ Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 378.

⁹⁵ Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy*, 214. This number comes from the *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China*.

missionary work,⁹⁶ but they better known for their orphanages.⁹⁷ In 1920 Catholics had about 150 orphanages hosting approximately 17,000 orphans.⁹⁸

Both Protestant mission organizations and the Chinese public became increasingly aware of the growing successes of missionary efforts in China. On one hand, some concerns among the Christian communities remained the same. Take the concern for an indigenous church, for example, the authors of the China Christian Council survey compilation believed that Protestant Christian slowed ratio of growth among converts was a sign that, “the Christian Movement has passed from the period of pioneer seed planting by the missionaries to that of training Chinese sowers; it has moved from the problem of missionaries winning China to that of training the Chinese Church to win it.”⁹⁹ While a concern from the indigenous Church was not unique, more efforts and progress were made in the vain at the turn of the century. In addition, other denominations like the Roman Catholics put a more honest effort into making the transition.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, however, when Protestants managed to occupy all provinces—including the interior, which had been a failing of theirs—they soon confronted, like other denominations, a growing political angst towards the abuses of the West in China.

⁹⁶ Yan, *Catholic Church in China*, 78. The French Catholic Church established 70 hospitals by 1937. By comparison, in 1905 Protestants had 166 functioning hospitals.

⁹⁷ Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 375. Catholic missionaries did not have the best reputation among Chinese individuals for their orphanages because a lot of rumors circulated regarding exploitation of the children. For this reason, argues Charbonnier, Protestants did not concentrate their efforts in this form of philanthropic work.

⁹⁸ Yan, *Catholic Church in China*, 77.

⁹⁹ Stauffer, Wong, and Tewksbury, *The Christian Occupation of China*, 38, 34. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 73, Catholic institutions, on the other hand, were short of priests and not as supportive of their Chinese counterparts.

¹⁰⁰ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 114. On page 214 Bays also mentions that the Orthodox Christians did not make similar efforts until the 1950s.

Chapter Two

From Emulation to Resentment Towards Western Thought

In considering Christian missionary responses to the growing current of Chinese nationalism in early 20th century China, an understanding of the intellectual context that fostered a national identity is necessary. Among the anti-foreign sentiments that surged during China's modern history, Western thinking also permeated Chinese intellectual circles and later student movements as to allow expressions of nation-state building. Similarly, Christian missionary efforts in China were also viewed in two lights. On the one hand, Christian missions served as a platform for the dissemination of Western thought and science; on the other hand, Christian missions also became increasingly associated with the imperialistic antagonism of Western powers. Two transformations are particularly important for my discussion of Christian missions within the context of the Chinese nationalist movement. First, organized movements for cultural change amongst Chinese intellectuals eventually metamorphosed to also include political change.¹⁰¹ Second, although the Chinese historically challenged Christianity, the anti-Christian movement reached its height in the 1920s.¹⁰²

The First Expressions of Chinese Nationalism

China's brutal defeat during the Opium Wars challenged Chinese notions of the West. Specifically after the Second Opium War (1856-1860) the Chinese appealed to the West for

¹⁰¹ Guoqi Xu, "Nationalism, Internationalism, and National Identity: China from 1895 to 1919," in *Chinese Nationalism in Perspective: Historical and Recent Cases*, ed. C.X. George Wei and Xiaoyuan Liu, Contribution to the Study of World History 91 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), 103.

¹⁰² Ka-che Yip, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China, 1922-1927, With Special Reference to the Experience of Protestant Missions" (PhD in Philosophy, Columbia University, 1970), 93; Daniel H. Bays, "Foreign Missions and Indigenous Protestant Leaders in China, 1920-1955: Identity and Loyalty in an Age of Powerful Nationalism," in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley and Alaine M. Low, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans Pub, 2003), 146.

weapons and technology.¹⁰³ The Manchu court reasoned that their failure during the wars resulted from China's outdated military tactics and supplies. China's attempt to catch up militarily and economically became known as the Self-Strengthening Movement. High-ranking officials, like Zeng Guofan, best known for having quelled the Taiping Rebellion, built armies and arsenals relying on modern weapons as a means to catch up to the West. In addition to the efforts made to fortify Chinese military capabilities during the Self-Strengthening Movement, some initiatives were also taken in other fronts. Prince Gong, for instance, built both a school for interpreters and established a new Foreign office in 1861.¹⁰⁴

Nationalist misgivings of Chinese culture eventually developed into what would come to be known as the New Culture Movement by the 1910s.¹⁰⁵ While participants of the New Culture Movement did not entirely agree on what facets of Chinese culture they opposed,¹⁰⁶ these intellectuals heavily relied, first, on Western notions ranging from democracy to Darwinism, and, second, on publications to propagate their concerns. Kang Youwei, who both opposed footbinding and proposed a remodeling of the Confucian examination system to include questions on contemporary issues, not just the classics, is regarded as one of the predecessors of China's "intellectual awakening."¹⁰⁷ In 1915 Chen Duxiu wrote in an article in the first volume of his periodical *New Youth*—a centerpiece for the circulation of nationalist thought in 20th century China—that "I would much rather see the ancient Chinese culture disappear than see the

¹⁰³ Sung-k'ang Huang, *Lu Hsün and The New Culture Movement of Modern China* (Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1957), 5.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ China's defeat during the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and, more importantly, the humiliating treaty that resulted indicated to many Chinese intellectuals that their impairment could not only be met through military reform. Consequently, widespread debate on cultural reform ensued.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Kang Youwei upheld Confucian tradition although he sought to reform Confucian education, while Chen Duxiu believed in the complete eradication of Confucian ethics. Huang, *The New Culture Movement*, 9.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

Chinese race die out now because of its unfitness for living in the modern world.”¹⁰⁸ Others like Lu Xun espoused Western ideas such as John Locke’s theory on individualism via his renowned short stories and essays, with the first, *The Diary of the Madman*, published in *New Youth* in 1918.¹⁰⁹

Christian missionary contribution to the proliferation of Western notions cannot be understated. Certainly, some Chinese intellectuals—like Hu Shih, a proponent of the use of vernacular Chinese who studied philosophy at Columbia University with John Dewey—were not a product of Christian education.¹¹⁰ But in contrast to later condemnation of Christian education by Chinese nationalists, Christian missions were originally welcomed by many for their “introduction of Western education, social reforms, and political ideas.”¹¹¹ For instance, while Christian missions were overtly eager to open China to the West for evangelical purposes after the Opium Wars,¹¹² they were also at the forefront in the effort to end opium addiction among the Chinese public.¹¹³ Furthermore, following China’s defeat during the First Sino-Japanese War

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 9.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 44. Historian Dr. Huang Sung K’ang indicates in his book on the New Culture Movement that “prior to the rise of nationalism, individualism was the first powerful trend resulting from the Western impact.” This is a significant remark for my argument because it demonstrates that Chinese nationalist sentiment did not emerge immediately after Western nations forced a more lasting relationship with the Chinese following the Treaties of Nanjing and Tientsin.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 13; *China To-Day through Chinese Eyes 1922*, China To-Day through Chinese Eyes I (New York: George H. Doran, 1922), vii. Interestingly, in this latter Christian publication Professor Hu Shih is described as, “not a Christian, but has many Christian friends and much of the spirit of Christ.” *China To-Day through Chinese Eyes* is a Christian publication written by Chinese leaders that is meant to be circulated in China and the West. I found this description about Hu extraordinarily interesting because it illustrates some degree of overlapping concern for the Chinese nationalist cause among both the Christian and secularly educated.

¹¹¹ Brian Stanley, “Introduction: Christianity and the End of Empire,” in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley and Alaine M. Low, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans Pub, 2003), 7.

¹¹² Lydia He Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 158.

¹¹³ Yip, “The Anti-Christian Movement,” 24; Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 95; Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 377. Charbonnier remarks that both at The General Conferences of Protestant Churches in 1877 and 1890, missionaries concerned with China’s opium addiction stipulated the formation of antiopium societies.

(1894-5) (when Chinese nationalism intensified) several hundred groups formed to discuss solutions for saving China's nationhood, including religious institutions like Yenching University, a Christian university, hosting one group called Apologetic Group.¹¹⁴

Yet despite Christian missionary championing of Chinese nationalism, missions articulated their own nationalist sentiments too, which proved problematic. According to Adrian Hastings who was both a priest and historian, Protestant missionary activity outside of the American-British cohort were "as intensely national as it was denominational."¹¹⁵ This became such a notorious problem that in 1919 Pope Benedict XV condemned missionaries who put nationalism at the forefront of the universal message of religion.¹¹⁶ The nationalist impressions that missionaries exuded from the mid 19th century to the early 20th not only appeared imperialistic,¹¹⁷ but also prolonged efforts to indigenize the Chinese church due to a rejection of native clergy because it was reasoned to be anti-nationalist.¹¹⁸ Not until the World Missionary Conference of Edinburgh in 1910, at which only Protestant denominations were present, was groundwork laid to change the nature of missionary activity. First, the concept of indigenization was taken more seriously among a larger group of Christians.¹¹⁹ Second, the unification of Protestant missionary efforts in spite of denominational differences became more of a pressing matter. It was at this conference that the Continuation Committee that controlled the

¹¹⁴ Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976), 17.

¹¹⁵ Adrian Hastings, "The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism within Twentieth-Century Missionary Christianity," in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley and Alaine M. Low, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans Pub, 2003), 21.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 15. To quote an excerpted portion of Pope Benedict XV's letter to Roman Catholic Bishops, he explained, "should [a missionary] in any way follow worldly considerations and not conduct himself altogether as an apolistic man, but should seem to be engaged in doing the business of his own country, at once his whole work is suspected by the multitude...".

¹¹⁷ Stanley, "Introduction: Christianity and the End of Empire," 4.

¹¹⁸ Hastings, "The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism," 19.

¹¹⁹ Christian Meyer, "The Emergence of 'Religious Studies' (Zongjiaoxue) in Late Imperial and Republican China, 1890-1949," *Numen* 62, no. 1 (December 12, 2015): 58, doi:10.1163/15685276-12341355.

International Missionary Council was formed, and the initiation of the National Christian Council (NCC)—which would oversee cross-denominational missionary efforts within specific nations—was formulated.¹²⁰

China's developing nationalist yearning was quite unique: it both borrowed a language meant to help level the playing field with Western nations and had a malleable identity as observed over time. First and foremost, China's strain of nationalism was "internationalist nationalism."¹²¹ In other words, a primary goal of China's nation building was to, as Yuan Shikai announced on October 10, 1913, abandon its isolationist stance in order to gain a position as an equal among nations.¹²² Nevertheless, even China's internationalist nationalism encompassed a series of subtexts. First, this implies that China fostered several goals for its nationalist identity including, "political nationalism, cultural anti-traditionalism, and a strong desire to be accepted as an equal member in family of nations and for active engagement in world affairs."¹²³ Second, China's national identity was subject to change over time. This is true even among individual understandings of Chinese nationalism. Sun Yat-sen, for example, perceived Chinese nationalism as an ethnic nationalism from 1895 to 1911, but by 1912 he too stressed equality among world nations.¹²⁴ In respect to nationalism Sun Yat-sen is best known is for The Three Principles of the People, or what Sun Yat-sen described as "the principles of our nation's

¹²⁰ Hastings, "The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism," 21.

¹²¹ Xu, "Nationalism, Internationalism, and National Identity: China from 1895 to 1919," 107.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., 101. Joseph Levenson's quoted observation about the paradoxical nature of Chinese nationalism as it first emerged is relevant and fascinating. Essentially he notes that Chinese nationalism depended on a rejection of traditions. At this stage of Chinese nationalism, many Chinese nationalists searched for answers not from within their culture but from abroad.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 106. Sun Yat-sen specifically advocated for five characteristics of nationhood: blood lineage, language, custom, religion, and livelihood. Stephen Anthony Smith, *Like Cattle and Horses: Nationalism and Labor in Shanghai, 1895-1927* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2002), 7.

salvation” in 1924.¹²⁵ Following a failed revolt in 1895, Sun Yat-sen fled China and eventually finalized the aforementioned principles, advocating for nationalism, democracy and livelihood (also often explained as welfare).¹²⁶ Although Sun Yat-sen was an esteemed proponent of nationalism, it is important to also recognize that he too was a product of Western learning; Sun Yat-sen was educated in two religiously affiliated colleges in Hawaii, was baptized a Protestant at 17 in 1884 and more.¹²⁷

An Anti-imperialist Chinese Nationalism

The First World War was pivotal to China’s nationalist efforts despite the war’s undesired consequence for the Chinese. More importantly, it marked a deep political shift in nationalist sentiment. Certain Chinese leaders, including Liang Qichao and Wellington Koo, wanted to join the war just as it erupted in hopes that they could renegotiate the unequal treaties and gain recognition as an equal national entity.¹²⁸ Instead, despite being on the winning side, during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 the Western powers not only failed to do anything to alleviate China’s predicament, but even gave Shandong, a former German concession, to Japan. Consequently, Chinese diplomats refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles.¹²⁹ Among the unintended consequences of foreign neglect of China was a historic shift in Chinese nationalism that took the form of the May Fourth Movement in 1919.¹³⁰

The May Fourth Movement contrasted previous nationalist expressions during the New Culture Movement in significant ways. It not only marked an increased politicization of Chinese

¹²⁵ Yat-sen Sun, *The Three Principles of the People: San Min Chu I* (Taipei: China Publishing Co., 1989), 1.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, v.

¹²⁷ Yip, “The Anti-Christian Movement,” 13; Stella Dong, *Sun Yat-Sen: The Man Who Changed China* (Hong Kong: FormAsia Books Limited, 2004), 10–12. Yuan Shikai was also a Christian and had asked the people to pray for the success of the republic in 1913.

¹²⁸ Xu, “Nationalism, Internationalism, and National Identity: China from 1895 to 1919,” 114.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 116.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

nationalism, but it also spread the ideology throughout new sectors of Chinese society. In his history on student nationalism, Lincoln Li draws the distinction as follows:

In the 1910s the New Culture and May 4th movements articulated two tactical concerns in China—namely, cultural and political. Leaders of the New Culture Movement stressed the unity of culture and society, articulating the view that cultural renaissance was the a priori to political rebirth. Their students, activists of the May 4th movement, did not reject importance of culture, but changed the emphasis from cultural renaissance to political action.¹³¹

This is not to say that a political movement did not exist prior to the May Fourth Movement: the usurp of power by the Guomindang (GMD) in 1912 creating the Republic of China was just one of the political developments in China, for example. Instead, political nationalism manifested itself on many more fronts in China after 1919 and nationalism was linked to a growing anti-imperialist sentiment. This change is partly illustrated through a multitude of changes among leading groups in Chinese society. For example, the GMD mounted pressure on Christian universities to register with the government and terminate religious studies under the Restoration of Educational Rights Movement in the 1920s.¹³² In addition, the Chinese communists gained more ground as it organized the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. The *New Youth* periodical even implemented communist advocacy, influencing figures like Hu Shih to leave the group in July 1920.¹³³

Japan's Twenty-One Demands, resulting from their WWI victory, also contributed to an intensified political nationalism. Chinese nationalists considered their diplomatic loss a “national humiliation,” an expression that grew in application as anti-imperialist sentiment burgeoned

¹³¹ Lincoln Li, *Student Nationalism in China, 1924-1949* (Albany: State University of New York Press, c1994), 1.

¹³² Meyer, “The Emergence of ‘Religious Studies’ (Zongjiaoxue) in Late Imperial and Republican China, 1890–1949,” 59; Ka-che Yip, “China and Christianity: Perspectives on Missions, Nationalism, and the State in the Republican Period, 1912-1949,” in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley and Alaine M. Low, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans Pub, 2003), 138.

¹³³ Huang, *The New Culture Movement*, 75.

throughout the 1920s.¹³⁴ On May 2nd, 1919 about 1,000 students protested outside one of the three signatories of the Twenty-One Demands, the Minister of Communication's, Cao Rulin, home. The demonstration escalated when students forced entry into Rulin's home and found the other two signatories, ultimately leading to the assault of the Minister of Tokyo, as well as 32 students arrested and many wounded.¹³⁵ Mass opposition to Japanese imperialism also took on the form of boycotts of Japanese goods, as well as strikes.¹³⁶ On March 19, 1922 a series of strikes emerged at a Japanese mill in Pudong as a means to secure higher wages, guarantee that the wages are implemented for new workers and later recover the President of their union, Zhang Yizhang, who was arrested.¹³⁷ Christians were also involved in the opposition. Of the 3,800 workers at the Nikko mills in Pudong who went on strike 2,000 were Roman Catholics.¹³⁸ While strikes were not a novel political scheme, the number of strikes increased following the war. Strikes in Shanghai grew from 30 to 89 during the periods 1909-1913 and 1914-1919 respectively.¹³⁹

To a lesser extent missionaries also addressed the labor movement that was embedded in the anti-imperialist movement. First, it is important to acknowledge that the labor strikes that occurred during the early 20th century were a manifestation of "militant nationalism rather than of class consciousness."¹⁴⁰ To this end foreign missionaries were hesitant on how vocal they were on the matter of labor unrest because it concerned their countrymen. Some missionaries were even cautious to criticize their own special privileges as not to sabotage businessmen from

¹³⁴ Smith, *Like Cattle and Horses*, 78.

¹³⁵ Huang, *The New Culture Movement*, 18.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹³⁷ Smith, *Like Cattle and Horses*, 142.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

their nation also benefitting from privileges allotted to them in the unequal treaties. In what appears to be a draft of a public statement about Barnett's position on labor unions, Barnett recounts a dilemma that Zung Sze Sen, secretary at Zhengzhou's YMCA, had when the Labor Federation Officials asked Zung to use the YMCA space as a venue.¹⁴¹ Zung did not want to upset any party in making a call: by agreeing the decision would please the officials, but might run the risk of offending former benefactors. When it came time to decide, Zung rationalized his decision with a statement on labor unions and said,

If your unions are dominated from Moscow or other foreign places and represent their ideas we cannot be of much help for the YMCA in China is a Chinese organization. But if your labour unions are Chinese Organizations organized to study the problems needs of Chinese unions then we can be friendly for we will be working for the same thing.¹⁴²

The careful wording of Zung's conclusion indicates that he meticulously sought to portray the YMCA's utmost concern for protecting the Chinese.

During the Washington Conference of 1921 attempts were made to redress foreign infringements on Chinese sovereignty, but Chinese nationalists were still disappointed with Western efforts and the strength of Chinese diplomacy.¹⁴³ The purpose of the conference was to discuss foreign armament concerns and establish protocol in Pacific and East Asian affairs, and in so doing a multitude of Chinese demands came to the forefront of discussion.¹⁴⁴ Among the topics concerning China discussed were those that Chinese delegates could vote on, such as the eventual termination of extraterritoriality and the unification of Chinese railways, and those that

¹⁴¹ Eugene E. Barnett, "A Chinese 'Y' Secretary's Answer to Labour on What Is the Attitude of the 'Y' Towards the Labour Unions" (Draft of a statement, n.d.), 2, Eugene E. Barnett Papers, 1905-1970, Box 3, Folder 1925, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York.

¹⁴² Ibid., 3.

¹⁴³ Yip, "The Anti-Christian Movement," 93.

¹⁴⁴ Wensi Jin, *China at the Washington Conference, 1921-1922, Asia in the Modern World 3* (New York: St. John's University Press, 1963).

they could not like the withdrawal of armed forces from China, as well as who could control the Chinese Eastern Railway.¹⁴⁵ According to a Western educated Chinese observer at the conference who wrote an account of the conference many years later, Wensi Jin, besides not having a say on all matters Chinese nationalist disappointment also stemmed from Japanese hostility towards the Chinese and the West's inclination to appease concerns rather than implement viable solutions.¹⁴⁶ Wensi remarks that without pressure imposed by United States Secretary of State, Charles Hughes, and representative from the British Empire, Arthur J. Balfour, Chinese and Japanese delegates would not have settled the Shandong problem; yet, many of China's other concerns with Japan's Twenty-One Demands were not resolved until the Allied victory in 1945.¹⁴⁷

The political leaning of nationalists during this time also permeated into anti-Christian sentiment. Dismayed with events in 1922, Chinese nationalists led what researcher Yip Ka-che describes as an organized opposition to Christian missions. Two publications caught nationalist attention: *Christian Education in China* and *The Christian Occupation of China*—the latter was referenced considerably in chapter one. Both marked the exponential growth of Christian efforts in China, thus troubling nationalists.¹⁴⁸ More significantly, the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) conference held at Tsinghua University on April 4th, 1922 led to an immediate reaction by a group marking the official initiation of the anti-Christian Movement. In direct response, the Anti-Christian Student Federation (ACSF) issued a statement on March 9th condemning both the outcome of the Washington Conference as well as the use of public spaces

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 4.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 53–55. A commission to oversee the relinquishment of extraterritorial privileges of Western nations did form until 1926 despite being organized at the 1921 conference.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 51.

¹⁴⁸ Yip, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students*, 22.

for religious meetings that would "pollute the minds of Chinese youth."¹⁴⁹ The anti-Christian Movement grew in scope over time and became an especially useful line of argument among Marxist-Leninists. By March 21st, Yip notes, the ACSF developed a Marxist overtone with its censure of all religions.¹⁵⁰ Eventually other groups such as The Communist Youth League chimed in its criticism of Christianity.¹⁵¹ It is not to say, however, that some communists did not endorse Christianity. Yaozong Wu, for instance, who turned to Christ in 1918 officially accepted communism after WWII.¹⁵² Consequently, while the year 1922 essentially illustrated what would increasingly become a convergence of the anti-imperialist and anti-Christian agendas, there always existed exceptions to the trends.

Already agitated by a plethora of both perpetuating and new imperialist manifestations in the 1920s, the violent May 30th incident of 1925 shaped the height of anti-foreignism. The May 30th incident is often referred to as a movement because a multitude of events led to the most violent act on May 30. Originating on May 4 from a series of strikes at Naigai Wata Kaisha, a complex of Japanese owned mills in Shanghai, the movement increased in intensity some days later when a Japanese foreman shot and killed worker, Ku Cheng-hung, and injured of many others.¹⁵³ Although the workers singularly initiated a public campaign soon after the Shanghai Municipal Police censored local papers from writing about the event, their concerns ultimately reached a wider audience when both students from local universities and GMD and CCP

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 23; Latourette, *History of Christian Missions*, 695; Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats*, 181.

¹⁵⁰ Yip, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students*, 23.

¹⁵¹ Richard W. Rigby, *The May 30 Movement: Events and Themes* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980), 133. The Communists Youth League released a few damning publications of Christianity before the May 30th incident.

¹⁵² Dr. Ng Lee-Ming, "Chapter Two: Wu Yaozong," in *Christianity and Social Change in China*, ed. Alexander H. L. Chen, First Edition, Chinese Theological Education Series (Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Literature Council, Ltd., 1981), 74 & 75.

¹⁵³ Rigby, *The May 30 Movement*, 29.

members became involved.¹⁵⁴ Collaboration among these different groups transformed strikers' concerns into national outcries against imperialism. By May 30, when arrested students campaigning for workers' rights were to be held on trial, hundreds stormed into the Shanghai International Settlement and later collected on Nanjing Road.¹⁵⁵ Just as many arrests were made, demonstrators requested to also be arrested and even began to attack police officers.¹⁵⁶ Inspector Edward Everson eventually called for the firing into the crowd of demonstrators leading to the death of nine and injury of many others, as well as the dispersal of the crowd.¹⁵⁷

The May 30th incident occurred during the apogee of the anti-imperialist movement and at a time when Christian missionaries were also subject to severe criticism for being imperialistic. Additionally, the outbreak of the bloody encounter led to the conclusion that all of China's troubles boiled down to the existence of extraterritorial rights under the unequal treaties.¹⁵⁸ Calls for the abolition of extraterritorial privileges were not new to the year 1925, but instead they gained momentum because as, "never before had the Chinese people been so united in their effort against foreign encroachment."¹⁵⁹ It is worthwhile noting, however, that organized demands for the removal of special privileges were not far-removed from the 1920s. In fact, it was only in 1924 that The Great Anti-Imperialist League formed, which principally called for the aforementioned.¹⁶⁰ The brutal nature of the account in May 1925 was soon to also demand an international response and this pressure was ever-more immediate for foreigners already residing and working in China. Hence, Christian were pressured to respond.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 30–31.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 31, 34 & 35.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 35.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 36.

¹⁵⁸ Yip, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students*, 45.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 32.

Chapter Three

Christian Involvement in the Anti-imperialist Movement

The turbulent events that unfolded in the early 20th century led many Christian missionaries to question their institutional and individual roles within the politics of their respective nations.¹⁶¹ The foremost question that missionaries posed was whether religious institutions should even intervene in national politics. Yet, while both Western and Chinese Christians often complained about their isolation from the intellectual and political mainstream and saw it as weakness, it is important to recognize the convictions of individual actors as not to generalize the inclination of all Christian missionaries.¹⁶² Jessie Gregory Lutz, the editor of the biography of Eugene E. Barnett—the Secretary of the Student Division of the National Committee for the YMCA in Shanghai during the fall of 1921—calls for an understanding of Barnett as an individual because he was complicated, which only further contributes to the nuances that marked Christian involvement in the anti-imperialist movement.¹⁶³ This observation is worthwhile because although Christians contributed to the anti-imperialist movement, the relationship between Christian missions and the movement is far from uniform.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ This chapter primarily concerns two organizations: The National Christian Council (NCC) and Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). The NCC, which was mentioned in chapter two, was set up in 1910 at the World Missionary Conference for the purpose of overseeing all Christian denominational activity in an assigned country. The YMCA, on the other hand, is a Protestant mission founded in 1844 in England, was organized in Shanghai by Americans around 1900. According to *The Christian Occupation of China* in the YMCA and Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) twenty years of existence in China, the organizations managed to populate 33 cities. “YMCA International - World Alliance of YMCAs: History,” accessed April 5, 2017, <http://www.ymca.int/who-we-are/history/>.

¹⁶² Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 2. Barnett was born in rural Florida around 1888 to a deeply religious family. Both his father and grandfather were Methodist ministers, but Barnett chose to study law at Emory College. As a college senior, Barnett was president of his campus YMCA. In 1910, the same year Barnett married his wife Bertha Smith, Barnett joined the International Committee of the YMCA.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 145. Specifically, Barnett believed in the eradication of the unequal treaties (p. 166), but was more hesitant regarding the means of achieving change. He criticized revolutionary tactics, “it is a perilous thing to unleash men’s passions, for they have a way of getting out of the control of those who direct them to worthy and constructive ends. They tend to sweep everything before them, the good along with the bad” (p. 173).

¹⁶⁴ Rigby, *The May 30 Movement*, 132; Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 171. “one of the unprecedented feature of the May 30 Movement noted by Communist commentators was the support given to

Although a general trend did exist among Christians where they were at first accustomed to identifying themselves as separate from the surrounding political climate, they began to increasingly debate their involvement as nationalist fervor heightened.¹⁶⁵ In 1911 the Republic of China declared that church and state should be separate, therefore “barring missionaries from getting directly involved in politics and interfering with people’s lawsuits.”¹⁶⁶ At an NCC Executive Committee meeting on November 26, 1925, Reverend E. C. Lobenstine led a discussion on his agitation about the North China Daily News’s attack of the NCC for its perpetuation of Christianity’s relation to the unequal treaties. Most interesting is that Chinese NCC members thought that the attack was beneficial for clarifying through a public statement that missionaries “were not political agents of their governments.”¹⁶⁷ Disagreements about the role of Christian missions in politics among members of Christian institutions were, in fact, common. David Z. T. Yui, a Chinese Christian and the General Secretary of the National Committee of the YMCA in the 1920s, did not always agree with the YMCA’s stance on the nationalist movement in China.¹⁶⁸ In a brief biography of Yui, author, Peter Chen-main Wang, remarks:

China’s cause by foreign sympathizers.” I adopt this expression of “foreigners being anti-foreign” from Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 171, which demonstrates that this was a common theme in scholarship at the time.

¹⁶⁵ According to Varg, a historian specializing in U.S. foreign relations, a large group of American Protestant liberals existed who believed that faith alone would lead to the “evangelization of the world in one generation.” Sharing comparable sentiments with missionaries centuries earlier, “their exhilarating faith grew out of their confidence in the principles of evolution, the efficacy of education, and the general technological advance.” In other words, these Protestants believed their cultural and religious influence would suffice in converting masses and that there was no need to appeal to political maneuvering. Barnett identifies the May 30th Incident, the Northern Expedition, and the Nanking Incident as pivotal moments for Christian workers in China. Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 168; Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats*, 123 & 124.

¹⁶⁶ Yan, *Catholic Church in China*, 72.

¹⁶⁷ “National Christian Council Executive Committee Minute of Meeting of Shanghai Members” (Minutes, November 26, 1925), 1, Charles Luther Boynton Papers 1897-1964, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

¹⁶⁸ Peter Chen-main Wang, “A Patriotic Christian Leader in Changing China—Yu Rizhang in the Turbulent 1920s,” in *Chinese Nationalism in Perspective: Historical and Recent Cases*, ed. C.X. George Wei and Xiaoyuan Liu, Contribution to the Study of World History 91 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), 34.

When the YMCA was introduced into China, it followed its Western tradition of not becoming involved in politics. However, this tradition could not be maintained when the whole nation was caught up in the nationalistic wave of the May Fourth Movement. There were also many different opinions among the YMCA secretaries. The national committee of the YMCA therefore issued a statement saying that the YMCA would not interfere in the individual's civic right.¹⁶⁹

Yui was not satisfied with the YMCA's statement, and therefore issued his own public statement in response in April 1920. The statement argued that the YMCA needed to align its values with its programs, meaning that Yui desired that the YMCA involve itself in nationalist matters.¹⁷⁰

The May 30th Incident and the Politicization of Protestant Missions

The May 30th incident intensified the debate on missionary involvement in politics as Christian missions felt the urgency to issue public statements on the misfortune. In this context, argues Peter Chen-main Wang, "the church and state relationship, which had been kept in low profile in the early Republic, became a hot issue at the outbreak of the May 30th Incident."¹⁷¹ A letter issued by the NCC to the Secretaries of The Board of Foreign Missions on July 22, 1925 noted:

Chinese Christians have been stirred as never before. They have been profoundly shocked not only by the actions of the police shooting into an unarmed crowd composed mostly by students and of similar shootings elsewhere, but even more by the divided opinion of missionaries as to whether these acts of foreigners could be justified. Sharp differences of opinions have developed.¹⁷²

David T. Z. Yui, also known as Yu Rizhang, was a Chinese Christian who was educated only in Christian schools throughout his life. He lived to see the end of the Qing dynasty, which fueled his animosity towards the failure of Chinese governments. Most importantly, Yui held both the position of General Secretary of the National Committee of the YMCA and chairman of the NCC throughout his lifetime: two very prominent positions in the Christian Mission community in China.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 32.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 38. As will be later noted, Yui urged and eventually instilled a program on citizenship education through the YMCA. Yui therefore wanted to YMCA to not only be involved in Chinese politics, but also support nationalism, which he believes was a righteous movement.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 41.

¹⁷² The National Christian Council of China, "Letter to the Secretaries of The Board of Foreign Affairs" (Letter, July 22, 1925), 1, Charles Luther Boynton Papers 1897-1964, Series 2, Box 9, Folder 2, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

Many Christians wanted to secure an unbiased understanding of the event both as not to misinform the public, but also because it was a means of securing justice. For example, Yui sought a “thorough and impartial investigation” of the incident by writing letters both to the Shanghai Municipal Council and a body of commissioners to the Chinese government.¹⁷³ Calling for an unbiased investigation of the incident seemed to be one of the most prominent responses.¹⁷⁴ In large part, as Barnett notes, the incident also inspired collaboration between Christian missionaries and students as they both addressed the underlying issues that the incident denoted: the unequal treaties were a manifestation of imperialism and Western missionaries and Chinese Christians attained special protections under them.¹⁷⁵

Opposition to extraterritoriality and missionary special privileges under the unequal treaties was the focal objection that Christians raised against imperialism because it was the most widely criticized facet of imperialism. To reiterate from an earlier chapter, Christian missionaries were granted four special privileges that other foreigners did not enjoy. Missionaries could travel to the interior of China, lease property in the interior, extend their national protections onto their

¹⁷³ David T. Z. Yui, “An Open Letter to the Shanghai Municipal Police” (Letter, n.d.), Eugene E. Barnett Papers, 1905-1970, Box 3, Folder 1925, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York, accessed November 19, 2015; David T. Z. Yui, “An Open Letter to the High Commissioners of the Chinese Government” (Letter, June 10, 1925), Eugene E. Barnett Papers, 1905-1970, Box 3, Folder 1925, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York. The National Christian Council of China Executive Committee, “Message of the National Christian Council to the Christians in China” (Letter, July 16, 1925), Charles Luther Boynton Papers 1897-1964, Series 2, Box 9, Folder 2, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York. In addition, the NCC also issued a statement to the Chinese Christians that indicated that as an organization the NCC called for a, “thorough investigation and insist upon full justices being done.” The National Christian Council of China Executive Committee, “Message of the National Christian Council to the Christians in China” (Letter, July 16, 1925), Charles Luther Boynton Papers 1897-1964, Series 2, Box 9, Folder 2, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

¹⁷⁴ *Documents on the Shanghai Case*, Peking Leader Reprints 12 (Beijing: Peking Leader Press, 1925). Groups such as the Peking YMCA and Christian schools all demanded an investigation.

¹⁷⁵ Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 171.

converts and exempt converts from taxes.¹⁷⁶ In his dissertation on the anti-Christian movement, Yip Ka-che maintains that all throughout the country, many missionary societies gathered and protested both foreign aggression and argued for updated treaties.¹⁷⁷ This is not to say that the opposition to the unequal treaties did not precede the 1925 May 30th incident. In fact, in August, 1924 twenty-five American missionaries in North China had already signed a statement that asked for their personal relinquishment of the protections allotted to them under the unequal treaties.¹⁷⁸ By March 19, 1925 two missionaries from the Methodist Episcopal Church contacted Barnett to request his signature on this very same statement.¹⁷⁹ Following the incident, however, the numbers of missionaries who felt compelled to renounce their special privileges grew. A group of Chinese Christians who assembled in Peking on June 14, 1925 outright condemned imperialism, and identified factors such as foreign settlements, extraterritoriality, an independent judicial system, and infringement on the Chinese assigning their own tariffs as causes for the unrest.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, British missionaries, the YMCA and YWCA, as well as faculty from Yenching University, a Christian university, all called for a revision of the unequal treaties.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ Balme, *Missionaries and Special Privilege*, 4.

¹⁷⁷ Yip, "The Anti-Christian Movement," 183.

¹⁷⁸ 25 Missionaries in North China, "Statement" (Declaration, August 1924), Eugene E. Barnett Papers 1905-1970, Box 3, Folder 1924, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York; Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 172.

¹⁷⁹ James M. Yard and Henry Hodgkin, "Letter from James M. Yard to Eugene E. Barnett" (Letter, March 19, 1925), Eugene E. Barnett Papers 1905-1970, Box 3, Folder 1924, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York.

¹⁸⁰ "Manifesto on the Shanghai Incident Issued by Chinese Christians Assembled in Mass Meeting in Peking" (The Life Journal, June 14, 1925), 1-2, Abbe Livingston Warnshuis Papers 1910-1958, Series 18, Folder 302, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

¹⁸¹ "By a Group of British Missionaries in Peking" (The Life Journal, June 6, 1925), Abbe Livingston Warnshuis Papers 1910-1958, Series 18, Folder 302, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York; "By the Y.M.C.A. Staff" (The Life Journal, June 4, 1925), Abbe Livingston Warnshuis Papers 1910-1958, Series 18, Folder 302, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York; "By the Y.W.C.A." (The Life Journal, June 6, 1925), Abbe Livingston Warnshuis Papers 1910-1958, Series 18, Folder 302, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York; "By the Yenching Faculty" (The Life Journal, June 3, 1925), Abbe Livingston Warnshuis Papers

Despite the large-scale Christian opposition to the unequal treaties, some Christians still maintained that they were necessary. The treaties gave Christian missionaries a sense of safety. Figures like Yui, who identified as a nationalist, admitted to understanding why foreign missionaries might be hesitant to forgo their privileges by renouncing the protections they were accorded as citizens of their respective nations.¹⁸² Further, it is important to remember that at the time the privileges were a rather recent development. Due to the experiences of the Roman Catholics before the mid 19th century, where Catholics were not only not protected to practice their faith and covert others, but also could not travel or reside in the interior of China—limiting their efforts to Christianize a nation—foreigners thereafter sought to secure these Christian missionary special privileges via treaties.¹⁸³ On December 1st, 1925 the Executive Committee of the NCC urged the North China Section of the Committee of International Relations to investigate the steps Chinese Christians should take in case the toleration clauses and extraterritorial benefits were repealed, suggesting that members of the NCC still questioned their prospects as well as Christianity's in the case of the removal of these privileges.¹⁸⁴ Abbe. L. Warnshuis also imparted this sentiment of insecurity felt by other foreigners in China when he attended the Conference on American Relations with China at John Hopkins University in

1910-1958, Series 18, Folder 302, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

¹⁸² “Executive N.C.C. Committee Minutes from Twentieth Meeting, October 13-14 1925” (Minutes, October 13, 1925), 2, Charles Luther Boynton Papers 1897-1964, series 2, box 2, folder 4, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York. According to the summary made on David Yui’s contribution to the NCC meeting, Yui believed that a revision of the treaties was more viable than a renouncement on an individual level.

¹⁸³ Abbe L. Warnshuis, “Christian Missions and Treaties with China” (Letter Draft, August 18, 1925), 4, Charles Luther Boynton Papers 1897-1964, Series 2, Box 9, Folder 2, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

¹⁸⁴ “National Christian Council Executive Committee Minute of Meeting of Shanghai Members” (Minutes, December 1, 1925), Charles Luther Boynton Papers 1897-1964, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

September 1925. As a leading figure of the conference and a representative of Christians in China he defended,

Various members of the Conference have been labeled by other members of the Conference as practical people with a knowledge of practical affairs and others as idealists. I am afraid I may have been labeled wrongly by the members of the Conference and I should like to have it known, Mr. Chairman, that I belong to the practicalists and am speaking from inside information as to the working of extraterritoriality in China.¹⁸⁵

In other words, divisions among foreigners in regards to revising or abandoning the unequal treaties were primarily constituted by, first, the level of security felt by individuals if the removal of the privileges were to occur, and, second, by the belief that there existed idealists and rationalists in the matter (where those who no longer agreed with the treaties were deemed to be idealists).

Aside from the concerns of safety determining which Christians supported the eradication or revision of the unequal treaties, legal debates also transpired. Those who insisted on the phase out of the extraterritorial privileges viewed the provisions in the treaties as obsolete. Furthermore, the special privileges, particularly those pertaining to the interior, were stipulated for the sake of protecting missionaries from what was believed to be an inferior legal system. As a result, Warnhuis maintained, it was determined in the treaties of 1902-3 and in a conference in 1922 that the eradication of extraterritorial benefits were dependent on China's judicial maturation.¹⁸⁶ Those who legally argued for the eradication of extraterritoriality, like the Citizens' League in 1929, pointed to the facts that not only did the treaties arrange for the discontinuation of the extraterritorial clauses when governing stabilized in China, but that legal

¹⁸⁵ "Typewritten Draft of Conference on American Relations with China" 1925, 173, Conference on American Relations with China, 1925, Box 1, Folders 9-12, Union Theological Seminary, Columbia University New York, New York.

¹⁸⁶ Warnshuis, "Christian Missions and Treaties with China," 3.

reform had already occurred in China.¹⁸⁷ At the foreign relations conference, Warnshuis ridiculed Shanghai volunteers who fought for the status quo but sent their wives to resorts in Qingdao—a former German concession where only Chinese law applied.¹⁸⁸ The Citizens' League also criticized the defects of legal manifestations of extraterritoriality in China—courts could only handle their own nationals and if cases involved multiple treaty states then legal battles had to be taken up in each country's individual court, for example—and emphasized that Germany, Austria and Russia had already given up their privileges.¹⁸⁹

Although initiatives to procure the abolition of extraterritorial privileges already existed by the end of the 1920s, some foreigners still insisted on protecting their special rights. The participants in the Washington Conference of 1921-22 voted to establish a commission to oversee the removal of extraterritorial privileges that came into fruition only in 1926.¹⁹⁰ In a similar vein, while the Minister and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, as well as other Chinese officials, called for the termination of extraterritorial privileges by January 1930, foreigners like journalist Henry Woodhead and H. G. Wandesforde argued that doing so would put missionaries in harm's way.¹⁹¹ Woodhead found the Maritime Customs, who published an annual estimate of foreigners in China, unreliable, yet he utilized their 1927 approximation to remark that about 75% of foreigners would be affected by the removal of the extraterritorial provision.¹⁹² The removal of forms of law foreigners were familiar with put them in harm's way because, even in the late 1920s, foreigners insisting on maintaining the extraterritorial privileges regarded China's

¹⁸⁷ *Syllabus on Extraterritoriality in China by the China's Citizens' League*, 2nd ed. (Nanking, China: Under the auspices of the Committee on the Abolition of Extraterritoriality in China, 1929).

¹⁸⁸ "Typewritten Draft of Conference on American Relations with China," 178.

¹⁸⁹ *Syllabus on Extraterritoriality*, 50–51, 66.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁹¹ Henry G. W. Woodhead, *Extraterritoriality in China: The Case Against Abolition* (Tientsin: Tientsin Press, 1929), 4.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

legal system as inadequate. Specifically, Woodhead worried that, “there is no Constitution; no guarantees of the rights or liberties of citizens or aliens; there is no machinery by which it is possible to obtain redress in the event of oppression, extortion, or other wrongdoing on the part of military or civil authorities, or party or other organs.”¹⁹³ Missionaries still found that both the conditions in the interior as well as nationalist agitation everywhere gave them a sense of insecurity.¹⁹⁴

Beyond contemplating voicing their opinions on extraterritoriality for their personal welfare, many missionaries decided to speak up because their moralistic propensity and the livelihood of Christianity in China depended on it as well. This resulted in many Christians advocating for the compatibility of nationalism and Christianity. Some individuals, for instance, denounced their special privileges because they considered defending them immoral in light of the prevailing nationalist sentiments. Resident Secretary Lobenstine of the NCC remarked, “it is hardly in keeping with the Spirit of Christianity that we should continue to depend on this form of protection.”¹⁹⁵ Others, on the other hand, made the same assertions because of a fear of losing following. As mentioned in the NCC letter to the Board of Foreign Missions, the divisions regarding whether or not to publicly address the incident within the Christian community disillusioned many Chinese Christians. On July 15, 1925, the NCC had the following to say to Chinese Christians,

In the third place, we wish to state that Christianity, patriotism and good citizenship are not necessarily opposed to each other. To be a Christian does not at all mean to be unpatriotic or to surrender one’s rights of citizenship. ... A Christian cannot but to be opposed to a patriotism which is bigoted, blind, or

¹⁹³ Ibid., 12.

¹⁹⁴ Balme, *Missionaries and Special Privilege*, 7–9.

¹⁹⁵ E.C. Lobenstine, “Letter from Resident Secretary of N.C.C. to Members of the Executive Committee” (Letter, 1925), Charles Luther Boynton Papers 1897-1964, Series 2, Box 9, Folder 2, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

prejudiced; he can have no use for a citizen who loves his own country at the expense of other countries.¹⁹⁶

The statement suggests both that the NCC supported Christian patriotism, but also that they did not support extreme forms of patriotism that favored one culture over another. Even the Catholic Pope in Rome supported Chinese nationalism and stated that the Church should support nationalists.¹⁹⁷ The Christian missionary stance on patriotism and religion was therefore two-fold: first, it argued that Christians could be patriotic, and, second, that religious institutions had the duty to espouse feelings of patriotism—so long as they, of course, did not undermine the preservation of missionary efforts in China. Yui also strongly believed that both religion and politics were part of the human experience, and that neither should be neglected.¹⁹⁸

Other Reforms Sought by Protestant Missions

In cooperating with the anti-imperialist movement, Christians also promulgated new forms of teaching that would foster patriotism and support patriots. After the incident an affiliate, T. Chow, of the Hangchow Christian College in Zhejiang Province wrote an article at the request of the Committee of Shanghai Tragedy urging Christian educators to be more forgiving towards rebellious students. “I understand some of the strong leaders in the Anti-Christian Movement,” observed Chow, “have been students in our mission schools. I think those leaders are the very

¹⁹⁶ The National Christian Council of China Executive Committee, “Message of the National Christian Council to the Christians in China.” This statement, along with the messages issued to the Shanghai Municipal Commission and High Commission of the Chinese Government, were all written by David Z. T. Yui after the NCC members conducted long and thorough discussions on what they wanted their institution’s stance to be. It is noted that not all members of the NCC agreed on the premises in the documents, which led to the delayed publication of the statements after the May 30th Incident. The National Christian Council of China, “Letter to the Secretaries of The Board of Foreign Affairs.”

¹⁹⁷ Rigby, *The May 30 Movement*, 132. This source probably refers to Pope Benedict XV.

¹⁹⁸ Wang, “Patriotic Christian Leader,” 41.

boys who have been kicked out at the time when they needed our help and love most.”¹⁹⁹ Yip Ka-che echoes this idea with evidence of student unrest in mission schools—like those from the Anglican Trinity College who sought to establish a student union but were denied and therefore protested in 1924— due to the administrations’ refusal “to listen not only to political demands but also to legitimate student grievances.”²⁰⁰ Chow both recognized that the “democratic spirit” was a result of missionary education and that religious institutions had done a great harm by dismissing all questions that Christians had posed on foreign injustices. Calls to be open to questioning students that pursued democratic means of revolt preceded the incident in the form of citizenship training for students.²⁰¹ In other words, Christian missions were often at the forefront of promoting civic participation.²⁰² Yui had made it his life’s work with the YMCA to promote the “awakening of Chinese minds,” which he believed to be the solution to the instability that the Republic faced.²⁰³ He looked to host three programs to tackle China’s political circumstance: character building, mass education and citizenship training.²⁰⁴ Due to the success of his programs, Yui was delegated to oversee the Chinese negotiations at the Washington Conference and he reasoned that they failed to negotiate good terms because of the poor quality

¹⁹⁹ T. Chow, “A Challenge to the Foreign Christian Educators” (Letter, June 6, 1925), Eugene E. Barnett Papers, 1905-1970, Box 3, Folder 1925, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York.

²⁰⁰ Yip, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students*, 37 & 38.

²⁰¹ Eugene E. Barnett and L. T. Chen, “Letter to the Secretaries of City Young Men’s Christian Association” (Letter, December 13, 1924), Eugene E. Barnett Papers, 1905-1970, Box 3, Folder 1924, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York. In this letter the YMCA’s city division urges that YMCA secretaries around China adopt a new course, Citizenship and International Problems, in the spring. Barnett and Chen even hope that the course becomes a nation-wide effort.

²⁰² “Seventh National Convention of the National Student Union of the Republic of China, July 1925” July 1925, Eugene E. Barnett Papers, 1920-1930, Box 5, Folder Anti-Christian Movement in China, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York. Some nationalists like the proclaimed National Student Union of the Republic of China actually blamed the YMCA and other Christian missionaries for not allowing their students to participate in patriotic movements.

²⁰³ Wang, “Patriotic Christian Leader,” 36.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

of Chinese political engagement.²⁰⁵ Yui's biographer notes that his observations on Chinese civic engagement resulted in widespread support of Yui's citizenship movement, even among non-Christians.²⁰⁶ Therefore, like other forms of Christian involvement during the anti-imperialist movement, citizenship education preceded the 1920s but flourished during the late 1920s.

The push for the Sinification of the Christian Church was also another means of moving the foreigners out of China that preexisted the incident, but intensified after. Indigenizing the Christian church was discussed as early as 1910.²⁰⁷ Small progress was observed in institutions like the YMCA, which, according to Barnett, "by the 1920s, when nationalistic Chinese launched anti-Christian campaigns... had a larger proportion of Chinese in administrative positions than did other Christian institutions such as schools, churches, hospitals, and orphanages."²⁰⁸ Namely, in 1925 Yui remarked that 20 of the 43 YMCA local Associations have Chinese General Secretaries.²⁰⁹ In minutes from the NCC's October 14-15, 1925 meeting the executive committee agreed to establish The Committee on the Indigenous Church.²¹⁰ Later on February 2, 1926 the NCC informed all its executive members that it was considering to appoint a Chinese General Secretary since September 1925, and that names were currently being circulated.²¹¹ Others hoped to indigenize the church not just through the individuals populating Christian institutions. K. T. Chung advocated for "an indigenous form of expression" within churches: referring to the fact that all masses should be held in the Chinese language and

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 39–40.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 40.

²⁰⁷ Yip, "The Anti-Christian Movement," 39.

²⁰⁸ Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 2.

²⁰⁹ David T. Z. Yui, "The Indigenization of the YMCA in China," in *The Chinese Mission Yearbook*, ed. Henry T. Hodgkin (Shanghai: Shanghai Christian Literature Society, 1925), 164.

²¹⁰ "Executive N.C.C. Committee Minutes from Twentieth Meeting, October 13-14 1925."

²¹¹ "National Christian Council of China to Members of Executive Committee" (Letter, February 2, 1926), Charles Luther Boynton Papers 1897-1964, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4, Union Theological Seminary Archives, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

reference other Chinese Christians.²¹² Although progress was slow, individuals like Barnett relied on the tumultuous events of the 1920s, like the May 30th incident, to inspire his Christian agenda in China. In his autobiography he writes,

Are we wise enough and courageous enough to make drastic changes in our institutional organisms to adjust them to the cataclysmic changes taking place in our intellectual and spiritual environment? If our answers to those questions are affirmative one feels sure that the anti-Christian movement will be looked as the greatest help to true Christianity and indigenous Christianity in China that could have come.²¹³

Surely missionaries had a vested interest in protecting their profession abroad, but some individuals like Barnett realized that the times called for unique action.

The role of the May 30th incident in accelerating missionary decisions cannot be understated. While missionaries were once generally hesitant to even associate themselves with matters of politics, the demands of angry nationalists, anti-imperialists and even of doubting Chinese Christians encouraged missionary reaction. It is true that certain missionary institutions, like the YMCA under the guise of Yui, instilled cooperative measures in the form of citizenship classes and the hiring of Chinese Christians prior to the incident, but efforts made by missions to support patriotism—and inevitably anti-imperialism—only intensified following 1925. Support for the revision of extraterritorial privileges is evidence for this premise. The ambitious twenty-five missionaries who first sought to free themselves from their special privileges stated in 1924 that their “task is to lead men and women into a new life in Christ that promotes brotherhood and takes away all occasions of war,” which would become a motto less daunting in light of new

²¹² K. T. Chung, “The Yearnings of the Chinese Church,” in *The Chinese Mission Yearbook*, ed. Henry T. Hodgkin (Shanghai: Shanghai Christian Literature Society, 1925), 86–89.

²¹³ Eugene E. Barnett, “Eugene E. Barnett’s Personal Letter” (Letter, September 1, 1925), Eugene E. Barnett Papers, 1905-1970, Box 3, Folder 1925, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York.

forms of insecurity that emerged after the incident.²¹⁴ Despite the growth in the number of missionaries who no longer believed in being granted foreign protections, the movement—just like other forms of involvement in the anti-imperialist movement—were messy and slow.

²¹⁴ 25 Missionaries in North China, “Statement.”

Conclusion

This thesis speaks to the self-inflicted weakening of foreign missionary efforts in China— not necessarily the weakening of Christianity—during the 1920s. It challenges perceptions of an imperialist force in a way that tries to respect the reality of the time: through analysis of many voices and dilemmas posed by the renunciation of extraterritorial privileges. Perhaps the decision of many Protestant Christian missionaries to essentially renounce their protections and later increase their efforts to indigenize the Christian Church in China can ways be viewed as inevitable given the nationalist climate. Nonetheless, one should not forget that at the time renunciation of one's extraterritorial privileges meant self-identifying as an imperialist, thus jeopardizing a prestigious career and subverting oneself to new dangers.

Despite overwhelming agreement to relinquish their special privileges, missionary intention to do so did not quell the anti-Christian movement after the incident. In fact, in many instances anti-Christian aggression manifested in more violent ways in its aftermath. For example, on March 12, 1926 a mob assaulted a Chinese Christian in Guilin for his imperialist affiliation.²¹⁵ Furthermore, by 1927 the level of persecution of missionaries across China had reached its height so much so that Christian missionary historian Kenneth Scott Latourette refers to the time as Protestantism's "worst plight in history."²¹⁶ During the GMD's Northern Expedition in 1927, the National Revolutionary Army devastated Nanjing, looting foreign buildings.²¹⁷ This was also a time when an increased desire for political engagement was felt

²¹⁵ Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats*, 188.

²¹⁶ Latourette, *History of Christian Missions*, 821.

²¹⁷ Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats*, 190.

among Chinese Christians, as well as the takeover of both missionary schools and hospitals by Nationalist soldiers.²¹⁸

While the widespread rejection of extraterritorial privileges fell short of changing Chinese opinions about foreign Christian missionary efforts in China, the trend marked a permanent shift in how missionaries needed to navigate Chinese affairs for their institutions to survive. The increased emphasis placed on the indigenization of the Christian church after the incident has already been alluded to, but this movement carried on all the way into the ascendancy of CCP in the mid 20th century in the form of the Three-Self Movement. Philip Wickeri outlines in his book, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front*, that the concept of indigenizing Christian churches “was almost as old as the missionary movement itself.”²¹⁹ Nonetheless, not until the 1950s did Chinese Protestants, who believed that the CCP offered the final solution to China’s political disarray, actualize the groundwork for a government recognized Chinese church.²²⁰ Yaozong Wu was one of the central figures in this movement who both believed strongly in Christ and after the 1930s lost faith in capitalism in China.²²¹ Under the 1954 constitution of the People’s Republic of China, religious freedom was granted so long as loyalty to the state was assured.²²²

This thesis does not address to any great length the internal political shuffle that begun in the 1920s and was actively underway throughout the anti-Christian movement. This work has already been done by Yip Ka-che in his doctorate dissertation, *The Anti-Christian Movement in*

²¹⁸ Ibid., 191. Varg describes a case at a missionary middle school affiliated with Boone College where the students turned on religion by ultimately leading an anti-Christian protest on May 8th.

²¹⁹ Philip L. (Philip Lauri) Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1989), 36.

²²⁰ Ibid., 98.

²²¹ Lee-Ming, “Wu Yaozong,” 90 & 163.

²²² Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*, 94 & 103.

China, 1922-1927. Still it is impossible to overlook, as has previously been indicated, the more hostile form that anti-imperialist rhetoric took on because of the CCP's promulgation of "Russian revolutionary ideology and Vladimir Lenin's theory of imperialism."²²³ Barnett observes in his mid-May reflection:

While the present upheaval is mainly political in its surface expression, it represents a deeper and more significant cleavage. Two cultures have met. Each is hardy and determined to survive. They stand measuring each other's values and each other's strength. Shall one survive by overthrowing the other? Or shall both survive by letting each other alone? Or will they be willing and able to merge their respective values in what will come out a new and common creation?²²⁴

But more significantly he follows the inclusion of this reflection in his autobiography, which he writes during the 1960s years after the remark was made, with, "My alternatives left out a fourth course which China would actually follow, namely the rejection of both her traditional values and those of Western democracies and the wholehearted espousal instead of Russian-inspired totalitarian communism."²²⁵ Today the Protestantism remains comparatively decentralized—though still monitored—in China, whereas the Catholic church is closely monitored by the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CPA).²²⁶

²²³ Jianwei Wang, "The Chinese Interpretation of the Concept of Imperialism in the Anti-Imperialist Context of the 1920s," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 6, no. 2 (2012): 164, doi:10.1080/17535654.2012.726861.

²²⁴ Barnett, *My Life in China, 1910-1936*, 173.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 203.

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