THE ANGLICAN BISHOPS IN CHINA, 1907.

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Handbooks of English Church Expansion

China

BY THE

REV. FRANK L. NORRIS, M.A.

S.P.G. Missionary in North China
and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of North China

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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GENERAL PREFACE

IT was said, I believe by the late Bishop Lightfoot, that the study of history was the best cordial for a drooping courage. I can imagine no study more bracing and exhilarating than that of the modern expansion of the Church of England beyond the seas during the past half century, and especially since the institution of the Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions. It is only when these matters are studied historically that this expansion comes out in its true proportions, and invites comparison with the progress of the Church in any similar period of the world's history since our LORD'S Ascension into heaven.

But for this purpose there must be the accurate marshalling of facts, the consideration of the special circumstances of each country, race and Mission, the facing of problems, the biographies of great careers, even the bold forecast of conquests yet to come. It is to answer some of these questions, and to enable the general reader to gauge the progress of Church of England Missions, that Messrs. A. R. Mowbray and Co. have designed a series of handbooks,

of which each volume will be a monograph on the work of the Church in some particular country or region by a competent writer of special local experience and knowledge. The whole series will be edited by two men who have given themselves in England to the work and study of Foreign Missions—Canon Dodson, Principal of S. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh, and Canon Bullock-Webster, of Ely.

I commend the project with all my heart. The first volume, which I have been able to study in proof, appears to me an excellent introduction to the whole series. It is a welcome feature of missionary work at home that we have now passed into the stage of literature and study, and that the comity of Missions allows us to learn from each other, however widely methods may vary. The series of handbooks appears to me likely to interest a general public which has not been accustomed to read missionary magazines, and I desire to bespeak for it a sympathetic interest, and to predict for it no mean success in forming and quickening the public mind.

EDGAR ALBAN.

HIGHAMS,
WOODFORD GREEN, ESSEX,
November 10, 1907.

EDITORS' PREFACE

FEW facts in modern history are more arresting or instructive than the rapid extension of the Church's responsibilities and labours in the colonial and missionary fields; yet, until recently, few facts perhaps have been less familiar to those who have not deliberately given themselves to a study of the subject.

It has therefore been felt that the time has come when a series of monographs, dealing with the expansion of the Church of England beyond the seas, may be of service towards fixing the popular attention upon that great cause, the growing interest in which constitutes so thankworthy a feature in the Church's outlook to-day.

The range of this series is confined to the work in which the Church of England is engaged. That story is too full to allow of any attempt to include the splendid devotion, and the successful labours, of other Missions of Christendom. But, for a fair understanding either of the Christian advance generally or of the relative position of our own

work, a knowledge of those Missions is essential; and it is in the hope of leading some of its readers to such further comparative study that this series has been taken in hand.

The Editors have tried to keep in view the fact that, while the wonderful achievements here recorded have been accomplished in large part through the agency of our Missionary Societies, yet these Societies are, after all, only the hands and arms of the Holy Church in the execution of her divine mission to the world.

They have directed their work, as Editors, simply to securing general uniformity of plan for the series, and have left each writer a free hand in the selection of material and the expression of opinion.

T. H. D.
G. R. B.-W.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE following pages—begun in hospital in England, continued on shipboard, and finished amid the distraction of resuming active work in the mission-field—are so manifestly incomplete that they must be their own apologists. The criticisms they embody have at least the merit that they are not newly-invented, and have rather gathered force than lost it during the last eighteen years.

Limits of time have made parts of the book disproportionate, limits of space have led to the exclusion of much interesting matter—which can, however, be read in the various books named in the Appendix. No attempt has been made at uniformity of spelling for the Chinese names. Wade's system of Romanization is the only one which could have been adopted; and its adoption would have rendered the names of people and places already familiar to many in existing publications quite unrecognizable.

Neither the General Editors nor the Publishers can be held responsible for faults due to the author's incapacity; while the fact that the latter cannot have the benefit of consultation with the Editors, nor the opportunity of seeing his work in proof, may perhaps mitigate criticisms otherwise well-deserved.

FRANK L. NORRIS.

YUNGCH'ING,
DIOCESE OF NORTH CHINA,
June, 1907.

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Handbooks of English Church Expansion

CHINA

CHAPTER I

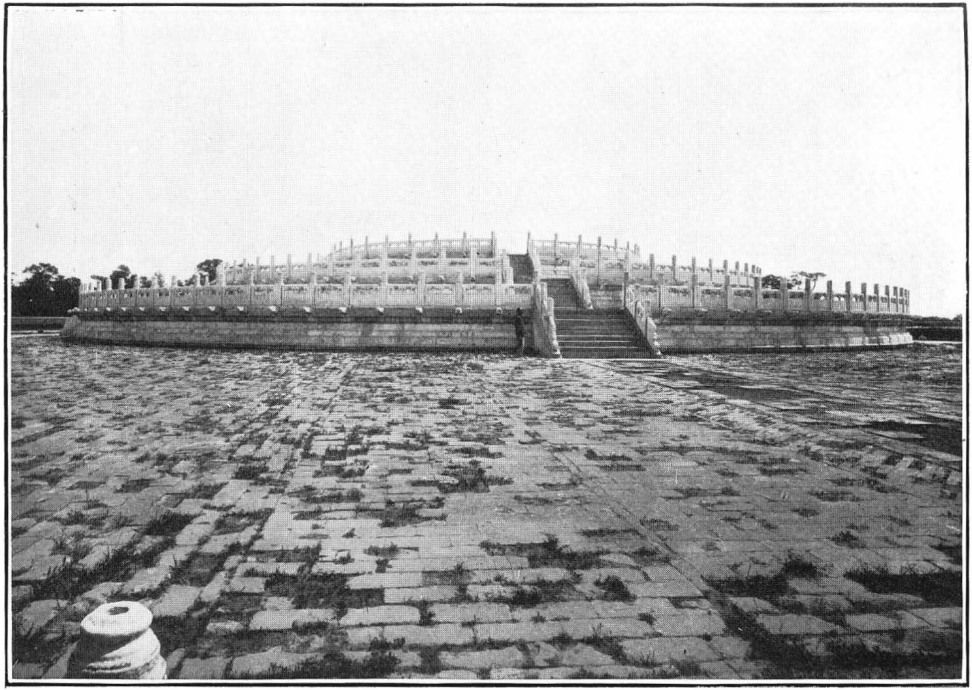
HEATHEN CHINA

"IN the beginning" GOD made China. Read "Heaven" for GOD, and the sentence not inaptly expresses the Chinese idea of the superiority of China as compared with the rest of the world. Heaven, having made China, set a Son of Heaven on the Chinese throne, and to this day there has never been wanting a monarch who thus claims what may be considered the divinest right to a throne that any earthly monarch has ever put forward.

Let us enter the gateway which leads from the main road of the Chinese, or outer, city of Peking into the sacred precincts of what is known to foreign visitors as The Temple, to the Chinese

themselves as The Altar of Heaven. Hither, once a year at least, in person, oftener by deputy, comes the Son of Heaven, the reigning Emperor. Passing under a magnificent avenue of trees, he is carried over a little marble bridge into the court-yard of the Hall of Fasting, where he passes the night, and keeps the vigil of the great day of sacrifice by abstinence from all flesh-meat. Before the sun has risen on the morrow, lighted on his way by torches, he repairs across the park to the southern end of the Altar of Heaven. Three huge lanterns hanging from as many lofty poles throw a dim light on the concentric marble terraces which rise with twenty-seven steps to the platform at the top of the Altar. Away to the right, below the terraces, but within the encircling wall, are the burnt-offerings: a black bullock, rolls of silk, and the like, smoking in the green-tiled furnace, or in the great iron baskets.

Step by step the Son of Heaven mounts the stair that leads to the platform. At every nine steps he is bidden to kneel and prostrate himself, touching the ground nine times with his forehead (the ceremony known as the three kneelings and nine kotows), and so in deep abasement he enters the presence of his nine great ancestors. For



THE ALTAR OF HEAVEN.

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there, on the sacred platform, are ranged nine tablets, four on either side, and in the highest place, right in front of the kneeling Emperor, the tablet of the great parent of all, the tablet of High Heaven, the Supreme Ruler. Nothing but tablets—simple pieces of wood, with a few characters inscribed on each—signifying the presence of those whom they represent, much as to the Israelites of old the Shechinah was the symbol of the Presence of Jehovah.

Prostrate on the marble floor, beneath no other roof than the dark vault of the sky above him, the youngest and latest "Son of Heaven" kneels before his great "forefather"; taking on himself the sins of all his people, he confesses them there, and prays for heaven's blessing on himself and on the nation.

It is soon over: he and his retinue retire, and in an hour or two he is back in his palace within the Tartar city, and the daily routine of the Court and the city is resumed, to-day as it was yesterday, and as it will be on the morrow.

The great mass of the nation knows nothing of this wonderful worship: the great majority of the courtiers even, who take their part in waiting on the Emperor, fail utterly to appre-

ciate what it is in which they are privileged to share. But we—who are only allowed to hear of it, who can only piece together fragmentary and imperfect information in order to try and realize it: we who are Christians and who have learnt to worship GOD through the teaching of the only-begotten SON of GOD—may well stand awestruck at the spectacle which is presented to us. Here in the capital of China we mark the relic of a time when the ancestors of what is now a most heathen nation knew better, perhaps, than any heathen have ever known, what worship it was fitting should be offered to Him "from Whom and by Whom and through Whom are all things in heaven and earth."

Is it a vain dream to hope for the day when the Emperor of China, Emperor by the grace of GOD, no longer under the delusion that to him alone pertains the rank of "Son of Heaven," surrounded by a vast congregation, all by baptism GOD'S children, will find himself kneeling in Christian worship before "our FATHER which is in heaven"? Is it a vain dream to hope for the day when he will confess, in form as now, but in spirit a thousandfold more consciously, the sins of his people: when he will

ask in words as now, but in faith a thousandfold more confidently, for the outpouring of the FATHER'S blessing upon himself and upon his Christian people? It may be but a dream as yet, but wilder dreams, even as that of Jacob, who dreamed of an open heaven and of angels ascending and descending upon a Son of Man, have been fulfilled ere now, when the fullness of the time had come.

As we have already remarked, the great mass of the nation know nothing of, and care nothing for, this worship at the Altar of Heaven. Their religion, their worship, their faith, move on an altogether lower level. *Buddhism*, with its countless images, its foreign language, its unworthy monks, has for centuries had a vast influence in China, and an influence not for good. *Taoism*, a mystical philosophy mixed up with wide-reaching superstition, with its innumerable spirits and its many unknown terrors, has likewise played but an evil part in the religious life of the nation. *Confucianism*, in spite of its freedom from actual idolatry, in spite of its lofty moral teaching, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its influence in making what we call "ancestral worship" the most prominent of all religious rites

in China, has not only failed to raise, but rather tended to lower to a more materialistic level, the spiritual traditions of the Chinese people.

In the western hills near Peking, in the great Lama temple within the city itself, in the monasteries on the various sacred mountains, and in temples innumerable, we may attend the daily prayers of *Buddhism*, repeated by rote in Chinese sounds which struggle to correspond with the sound of the original Sanskrit, droned out by the monks in the presence of the idols, by men who vie with the idols themselves in their ignorance of what they say and do. It is true that the empty, vicious shell of formalism which marks the Buddhism of the North, is somewhat redeemed in other parts of China by individual lives which are as lights shining in dark places. Sakyamouni's example has not been altogether without fruit; and the attractions of heaven, no less than the terrors of hell, have served to influence minds naturally religious, and to overrule the inherent tendency to evil which marks our fallen state. But, none the less, as a religion, Buddhism is in China profoundly disappointing. A recent writer, long resident in China, can say no better of it than this: "Its essential doctrines are the vanity

of all material things, the supreme importance of love, the certainty of rewards and punishments by means of the transmigration of souls. But its adaptation to Chinese needs arose from its supplying the vacancy due to the cold and heartless morality of Confucianism, and the gross materialism of Taoism." [1]

Side by side with Buddhist temples, in the villages and towns of China, stand the rarer but still almost universal temples of *Taoism*. Taoist shrines and Taoist monasteries—innocent as they are of any apparent effect on the nation in the direction of common worship, signs rather of an ignorant superstition multiplying itself in manifold directions—serve at least to remind the people of powers unseen, which are fateful in the lives of men. The Chinese confess to this influence in many ways: in none, perhaps, more strikingly than when at a funeral, after the Buddhist monks have sung the service of the dead, the Taoist priests are bidden to say their office also, lest its omission should be fraught with any unknown risks from the wrath of neglected, and therefore angry, unseen powers.

Confucianism it is wrong to call a religion at

[1] *Rex Christus*, p. 67.

all, even as the sage himself expressly disclaimed the role so boldly adopted by Mohammed. It is rather a philosophy of life, based on a high moral code, but fatally confined to life on this side of the grave. Lord Elgin put the contrast between Confucianism and Christianity none too strongly when, in reply to a memorial presented by the Shanghai merchants in 1858, he said: "Christian civilization will have to win its way among a sceptical and ingenious people, by making it manifest that *a faith which reaches to heaven* furnishes better guarantees for public and private morality than *one which does not rise above earth*."[1] For it is just this earthliness of Confucianism which robs it of power. It inculcates the highest virtues, but it can do no more than recommend their practice. It fails absolutely, as judged by its fruits—it does not even attempt, as judged by its great literature—to save the sinner from his sin. It has won the respect, the loyalty, even the devotion, of the Chinese people; not by its power as a religion, not because it satisfies their souls, but because it claims to represent the past, because its teaching appeals to man's natural conscience, if not to his infirmity, and because it

[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, ii. 302.

is enshrined in a literature which has been for two thousand years the only literature of the Chinese race.

If we turn from these "systems" to what is undoubtedly the commonest form of worship to be met with in China, from the Emperor at the Altar of Heaven to the lowliest peasant amid the mounds of earth which mark his family graves, and ask what *ancestor-worship* really means, the question is hard to answer. That it is an attempt to satisfy the religious need of the human soul is certain: and it follows an elementary instinct in its recognition that the spirits of men continue to exist after death, somehow and somewhere otherwise than here. But it is held down by a superstition which vitiates its claim to be in any sense a true expression of religion. For its dominant motive is at least as much fear as love: its sacrifices are propitiatory rather than of pious affection: and it is a standing witness to ignorance of the truth that "perfect love casteth out fear."

Thus much it has seemed well to say, by way of explanation, of the religious need for Christian Missions to the Chinese people. No attempt can be made at any more detailed examination of

what are commonly called the religions of China. But it may be well to remark in passing that while foreign writers not unnaturally speak of "the three religions," and the Chinese themselves are no less ready in conversation to differentiate between them, yet in reality most Chinese in one way or another recognize them all. Dr. Arthur Smith quotes another writer's dictum that the Chinaman is a religious triangle; and wittily remarks that one can imagine the converse thesis being equally maintained that the Chinaman is rather an irreligious triangle.[1] It is the truth of this latter statement which has made it seem worth while, at the outset of this little record of the English Church's work in China, to draw attention to one or two points in the religious life of the nation. On the one hand there is the wonderful survival of an ancient worship such as that which is still offered by the Emperor at the Altar of Heaven; on the other there is the failure even of that, and much more of whatever else there may be of religion in China, to satisfy the needs of men. These needs are universal: our own consciousness of them testifies to this, and the apparent unconsciousness

[1] *Rex Christus*, p. 80.

of millions of our fellow-men affords no solid argument against its truth; for even in heathen China there are earnest seekers after truth; and if they are apparently fewer in proportion than they are amongst ourselves, it is only because they have been less favoured than ourselves in the knowledge of how to seek, because they have been left longer in darkness and in the shadow of death.

Before we pass on, however, to set forth the record of the part which the English Church has played in the endeavour to bring the light of the Gospel into China, there is one characteristic of the people which calls for special mention, namely, *the solidarity of the Chinese race.* While it is true that natives of different parts of China differ widely in language, dress, employment, manners, and even character, there is, notwithstanding, an essential unity amongst them which differentiates the Chinese people from all other peoples, which binds together northerner and southerner, the emigrant who lives side by side with the Englishman at Singapore and the mandarin who has never left Peking, the scholar steeped in classical lore and the beggar clad in apologies for rags. "The Chinese nation is the only nation

which has throughout retained its nationality, and has never been ousted from the land where it first appeared." Dynasty after dynasty has succeeded to the throne without affecting the nationality of the people. Even a foreign dynasty like the present Manchu dynasty, which began by conquering the Chinese from end to end of the Empire, has failed, after centuries of rule, to make the nation anything but Chinese.

The causes of this solidarity, in which those believe most who have lived longest in the country, are manifold; but they are moral rather than physical, and they owe more to the unity of the written language which has enshrined the classics of Confucius than to any unifying pressure from without. For over two thousand years the Chinese race has had in the teaching of Confucius a common standard, not, it may be, containing in itself a very ennobling force, but yet forming a real rallying point which has made for national solidarity. In this respect we may perhaps find the truest parallel in Judaism; and, again, an even more illuminating comparison in Mohammedanism. For in this latter case we can mark the conflict of forces in China itself, and the result is extraordinarily definite. The Chinese Moham-

medan is a Chinese first and a Mohammedan afterwards; and, if history is any guide, he will always remain so. Again and again there have been Mohammedan risings and rebellions; everywhere to-day the Mohammedan Chinese are distinct from their fellow-countrymen; yet the rebellions have come to nothing, and the very distinction which we cannot fail to mark only makes more wonderful the solidarity which prevails against it. If any further proof were needed, it is to be found in the impression made in every land to which Chinese have emigrated—in America, in Australia, in Singapore, in India, or in islands like Honolulu or Trinidad. Like the Jews of the dispersion, these Chinese settlers, however prosperous, however intimately bound up with the life and activities of the land wherein they sojourn, remain to the end a race apart, and, though often technically of other nationality, are really still fundamentally Chinese.

It is to such a people, one in all their diversity, bound together by subtle ties more strong than any of the forces that make for disintegration, numbering hundreds of millions, inhabiting a country whose coast-line, long as it is, is but the fringe of an even vaster hinterland, that the English Church and the sister Church of America

have for three-quarters of a century been sending forth their missionaries. The object of this little book is to trace in broad outline the expansion of this missionary work in China. But if the lessons of this little bit of Church history are to be read aright, if these pages are to be fruitful in truer views of the task still waiting to be done in China, this fundamental idea of the solidarity of the Chinese race must be ever borne in mind. For it carries with it an inevitable corollary. The efforts of the English Church, the aims of its Missionary Societies, the labours of its individual missionaries — and as of the English so also of the Americans—must not be limited to the conversion of individual souls, must not be devoted to any attempt to transplant the Church of England (or of America) into China: but must be faithfully and whole-heartedly directed towards the establishment throughout the length and breadth of this solid nation a no less solid Church of China. Thus, and thus only, shall the command of our LORD to "make disciples of all the nations" find its true fulfilment.[1]

[1] μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, not ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν.—S. Matt. xxviii. 19.

CHAPTER II

HEATHEN CHINA AND CHRISTIAN ENGLAND

DR. EUGENE STOCK, in his fascinating history of the Church Missionary Society, felt it advisable to devote a considerable portion of that book to a review of contemporary Church life in England, and to the effects of religious movements at home on the Society's work abroad. In the present instance a different need presents itself with equal or even greater cogency. Broadly speaking, the Missions of the Church of England in China have not been due to any particular religious movement at home, but rather, and that in a remarkable degree, to the political and commercial relations which grew up between England and China. For it was those relations which gradually forced open the closed doors of the Middle Kingdom, and it was those relations which made missionary work in China not only possible

but morally incumbent on the Church, in a degree which has not even yet been fully recognized in England. Some notice of them, therefore, as brief as may be, is essential to a right understanding of the Church's responsibility, and of her efforts to acquit herself of her duty towards China. Such notice, moreover, however brief it is, must include some reference to the opium trade, a subject which is more disliked than understood. It is some consolation to reflect that, before the abolition of the slave trade, William Wilberforce was accounted a dangerous fanatic, and yet by his persistency he righted a great wrong. If those who to-day dislike all reference to the opium trade would but study its history, they would probably forget to criticize the foolishness of its opponents in the excitement of their own indignation.

In the eighteenth century the East India Company found a remunerative outlet for trade in the export of Indian opium to China. There was some difficulty in disposing of the cargoes on the coast of China, but that was more than atoned for by the profits arising from the sale of the drug. In 1796, however, the Chinese Government issued an edict which made the law against the importation of opium much stricter, and which had the

further result of making it impossible for the East India Company to continue to carry on the trade themselves with any show of self-respect. In China, therefore, they withdrew from it, and confined their ostensible trade, through their agents at Canton, to more legitimate channels. But in India they continued the manufacture of opium in a form specially adapted to the Chinese market, they sold it publicly by auction in Calcutta, and they gave every facility and special privileges to the vessels employed by the opium merchants to carry their contraband cargo to China. Those merchants, who had spent large sums in the purchase of each ship-load, and expected to reap even larger profits by its successful disposal to the Chinese, naturally took pains to ensure its safe arrival. The Chinese junks which haunted the sea around the mouth of the Canton River and even further down the coast, were manned by bold pirates; and this fact afforded specious justification for arming the opium ships with sufficient force, not only to resist piratical attacks, but also, if need be, to drive off any Government war-junks which might attempt to interfere with the landing of the contraband cargo. The judicious use of bribery, directly or by the offer of a share in the profits,

amongst the local officials at Canton, still further facilitated the trade.

We shall have to revert to the further history of the opium traffic again, unfortunately, because of its close connection with missionary effort. But for a moment it may be well to pause, and mark one or two of its immediate results, and to notice in passing the attitude of those responsible for it towards anything in the shape of missionary effort.

It is hardly surprising that the Chinese authorities, with this contraband trade carried on in defiance of their repeated prohibitions, and forced upon them by the collusion of armed force and tempting bribery on the one hand, with the fatal viciousness and no less fatal corruptibility of their own people and their own officials on the other, allowed their natural dislike of the foreigner to ripen into active hostility. Again, it is hardly surprising that, familiar with the deceptions carried on at Canton by the East India Company, no less than by individual merchants, in connection with the opium trade, they learnt to suspect ulterior designs, and those of an evil tendency, in every effort made by any foreigner to obtain a footing anywhere in China. And it is hardly surprising

that the Chinese people, as distinct from the officials, learnt to judge all foreigners by those whom they knew, and connected them with a trade which, while it depended for its success on the vicious appetites of their own countrymen, was yet condemned by all those who enjoyed a reputation for morality.

But it is surprising, and hardly creditable to England, to the East India Company, or to the English merchants, that while this trade was being carried on for the sake of gain, an English missionary who desired to proceed to China should have been compelled to travel to America, to take his passage from New York in an American ship, and to find his only welcome in Canton, though the home of many Englishmen, from the American consul in that place. Yet such was the experience, just a century ago, of Morrison, the first Englishman who went out to China as a missionary.

The mention of Morrison, the pioneer of English missionaries in China, sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1807, brings before us the very pertinent question of what the Church of England was doing to allow herself thus to be robbed of the honour which was surely hers by right of her inherent responsibility. We are not

now concerned with other and much earlier attempts to evangelize China, with the work of the Nestorian Missions of the seventh century, or of the Roman Missions of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. English Missions to China date from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and began under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. But considering that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had been founded a hundred years before, we may well ask why the Church allowed herself to be thus supplanted by a Society formed mainly by those outside her ranks, a Society only some twelve years old. The answer is twofold: it was due in part to the unspiritual condition of the Church at the time, to the selfishness and sloth which had been creeping on her like paralysis: but it was due also to a fact which was as true then as it is now, a fact which has in the minds of many a vital bearing on the whole question of the missionary work of the Church. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, though nominally representative of the whole Church in its missionary capacity, had not then, any more than now, the whole Church at its back: and, partly for this reason, it often failed to attract and enlist

enthusiasm, and so to seize the Church's rightful opportunities. It is no answer to object that the primary objects of the Society were our fellow-countrymen abroad, or the negro-slaves at work on plantations in British colonies. The Society, then at least, was entitled to claim to represent the Church in her missionary capacity; and there was something wrong when priests, fired with missionary zeal, were driven to seek sympathy outside instead of within the Church.

Nearly forty years elapsed before the Church, through its oldest Missionary Society, first made an attempt to touch the problem of heathen China, and thirty more before she made any resolute effort to send missionaries thither. Hereafter there will be occasion to refer to this point again. But we may thankfully record that English Churchmen were already considering the duty of the Church to do something for the people to whom English merchants were doing such grievous injury. In the very first report of the Church Missionary Society, issued in 1801, one-sixth of the whole space was devoted to the subject of China, which had been brought to the notice of the Society by a proposal from a dissenting minister, Mr. Moseley, that they should undertake the trans-

lation of the Bible into Chinese. The proposal fell through at the time, and eventually the task was handed on by the Church Missionary Society to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and again by them to the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has ever since done splendid work in this direction on behalf of the Chinese people. But through the Church Missionary Society the Church maintained its interest, if it could not yet take an active part, in missionary efforts in China. Morrison, on his visits to England, was accorded a hearty welcome; and a German traveller and evangelist, Mr. Gutzlaff (afterwards Chinese Secretary to the Government of Hong Kong) was given more material help. In 1832 the Society, in its report, recorded its regret that it could not, for lack of means, undertake a duty which it nevertheless acknowledged.

However, a year or two later, in 1835, the Church of the United States, the noble daughter of the Church of England, set an example which was soon followed, albeit unconsciously, by the mother Church. We shall have occasion hereafter to put on record some of the work which the American Church has done in China, side by side with the mother Church of England. It

is interesting, therefore, to remember that both the great Missionary Societies of the English Church played a part in making such work possible. The American Church owes a great deal, and has ever been ready to acknowledge its debt, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for generous help in its early days: but its missionary work, which was actually begun in 1821, was due in great measure to the influence of the Rev. J. Pratt, for many years the leading spirit in the Church Missionary Society.

The first missionaries of the American Church sailed for the East in 1835, and settled in Singapore and Java to learn Chinese as a necessary preliminary to their proper work in China. Almost simultaneously the English Church sent out her first representative through the Church Missionary Society, Mr. Squire, who would, it was hoped, have followed in the footsteps of Mr. Gutzlaff, and been able to report on the possibilities of work on the Chinese coast. But he got no further than the Portuguese settlement at Macao; and a few years later the outbreak of the first China War led to his return to England, and a necessary suspension for the moment of further missionary effort.

Into the causes or the morality of that war it is not necessary to enter. We may well take the wise words of Mr. Eugene Stock as an adequate description of its object and its effect. "Presently," he writes, "the question became one, not of opium merely, but of whether the English would be allowed to trade with China at all. Ultimately, in 1840, open war ensued—a war which on England's side it is hard to justify on any righteous principle of national conduct, and yet a war which undoubtedly resulted in great benefit to China."[1] The war opened a door through which the Gospel entered China, sometimes after, sometimes together with, sometimes even ahead of, English commerce. Hong Kong, a little island with a magnificent harbour, was ceded to Great Britain, and became, if one of the smallest, yet by no means the least important of her colonies. Canton, Amoy, Fuhchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, all of them places in the southern half of China, and at a safe distance from the sacred capital and jealous Court, were opened as treaty-ports for foreign trade, under a treaty which was strangely silent on the subject of the original cause of dispute, the opium trade. The Chinese Government refused to legalize the

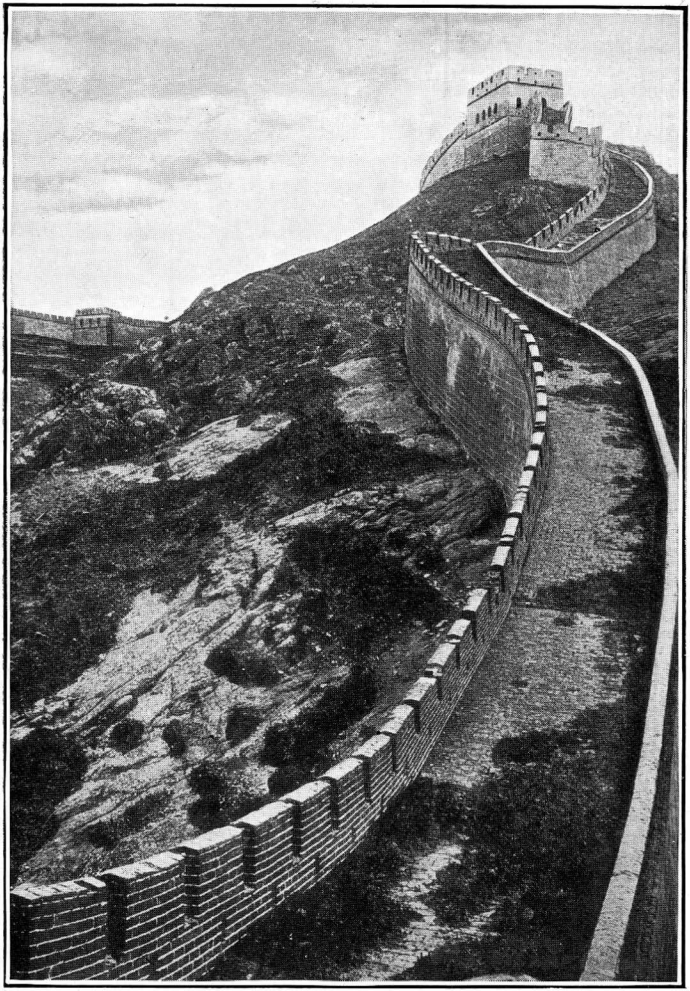
[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, i. 469.

trade, the opium merchants had no intention of abandoning it if they could avoid doing so. But for a moment it seemed as if our national responsibility for it might be removed. In April, 1843, Lord Ashley—afterwards better known as Lord Shaftesbury—moved a resolution in the House of Commons strongly condemning the trade as being "utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom." His motion was not pressed to a division, apparently on the ground that by so doing he would have hindered the Government's negotiations for the same purpose.[1] Such negotiations, if ever seriously undertaken with that object, at any rate came to nothing. In the following October it is true that a supplementary treaty was signed in China which contained a reference to the opium trade; it acknowledged the illegality of it, and it recorded the determination of Great Britain to "discourage smuggling." But that determination existed mainly on paper. The trade developed with enormous rapidity, the new colony of Hong Kong providing an admirable depôt such as had long been needed. The profits

[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, i. 470, 471; and compare the action of the Convocation of Canterbury in 1886.

not only of the merchants but of the manufacturer (the Indian Government) increased in proportion, and made it more difficult than ever to deal with the question without a selfish bias. The consciences of godly men in England, who found themselves powerless to restrain their country from thus bringing evil into China, urged them to do their utmost to introduce at the same time the greatest counteracting force they knew, the greatest good which they themselves had found, the glorious light of the Gospel of CHRIST.

We cannot fail to notice how GOD brings good out of man's evil. The opium trade was from the first an evil thing, and England's part in it has been a grievous national sin. Nevertheless it is true that, in the Providence of GOD, this evil trade, this national unrighteousness, was the immediate cause of English missionary effort to evangelize the people of China.



THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA.

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CHAPTER III

THE ENGLISH CHURCH ENTERS CHINA

HARDLY had the news of the Treaty of Nanking reached England, ere the Church Missionary Society began to move. In March, 1843, one who called himself "less than the least" contributed £6,000 to start a China Mission, and a year later the two first missionaries sailed. Their instructions were to visit the newly-opened treaty-ports, and to report to the Society where it might best begin its work. Great Britain — characteristically — had ignored the missionary question in her treaty: but the United States, whence, as we have seen, the American Church had some years previously sent missionaries to the Far East to learn the Chinese language, as a preliminary step to the commencement of actual mission work in China, no less characteristically secured the insertion in her treaty of the right of missionaries to build churches and hospitals in the newly-opened

ports. The American Church immediately took steps to consecrate the first Missionary Bishop of the Anglican communion in China, William Jones Boone; and he took up his residence at Shanghai in 1845.

Nor had that other arm of the Church, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, been altogether idle. In 1843 the Rev. Vincent Stanton was appointed chaplain to the English colony in Hong Kong, and a portion of his stipend was provided through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The same Society set itself with some success to raise funds for the endowment of a bishopric, of which the seat should be in the British colony, but the work should include from the very first the oversight of Church Missions in China.

The first English Bishop, George Smith, one of the two pioneer missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, was consecrated Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, in 1849. But that Society, with its admirable enterprise, had not delayed to strengthen the work it had begun. Mr. Smith's companion, Mr. McLatchie, had settled in Shanghai in 1845; and two years later three more missionaries had followed, while five more accompanied the Bishop in 1849. Work was at

once begun in Hong Kong, Fuhchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. In Hong Kong Mr. Stanton's energy and zeal had founded S. Paul's College as a place of training for native catechists and teachers. In the other ports the missionaries settled down to the study of the language. Canton and Amoy were thus the only ports left unoccupied, the neglect of the former being the more regrettable, because there was a considerable English settlement, and a church dating from the time when the East India Company had maintained a chaplain there.

It is worthy of remark to-day that of these first China missionaries Cambridge provided three, Oxford one, and Dublin four: some of them men with brilliant degrees, and one of them a fully qualified doctor.

It is no less worthy of remark that, from the first, the two great Missionary Societies of the English Church, each on her own lines, worked hand in hand in China. The Church Missionary Society was the first to send out missionaries, directly for work among the heathen: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was the first to find funds for the chaplain at Hong Kong, whose work lay primarily among the

English residents, and to help in the endowment of the first English bishopric. Some thirty years afterwards, the same corporate spirit marked the withdrawal of the Church Missionary Society from Peking, and the transference of one of their missionaries to the roll of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, when Bishop Scott was consecrated to the new see of North China. Such early indications of harmonious working are surely of good augury for the day when both Societies, and all who are interested in the Church's work in China, may be called upon to promote the welfare of one National Church, embracing all their Missions, including all their converts, and enduing with new life and strength and unsuspected energy all efforts for the expansion of the Church in China.

In later chapters of this book an attempt will be made to follow the growth of Church work in the various districts which have become parts of, if not conterminous with, episcopal jurisdictions or dioceses. In the present chapter we may content ourselves with glancing briefly at the first beginnings of the Church's work, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, in the ports already mentioned, all of them for the time

being under the jurisdiction of Bishop Smith of Victoria.

In Hong Kong, where the efforts of Mr. Stanton had led to the erection of S. John's Cathedral, the English work was in good hands. On Easter Day, 1850, Bishop Smith "administered the Holy Communion to seventy merchants, Government officials, and naval and military officers." S. Paul's College, part of which was and has always been the Bishop's residence, was duly opened, and an attempt at least was made to put it to its proper use. But it found its immediate usefulness in another direction, as the home of translation work; and from it issued the first Chinese version of the English Liturgy, of which Mr. Cobbold made the translation, securing the help of Dr. Medhurst, of the London Missionary Society, in its revision.[1] But, as a College, it was for the time a failure; and its day of real usefulness in that direction was postponed for nearly half a century, when Bishop Hoare arrived to fill it with new life and inspiration, and to leave upon it in a few short years the impress of his own great character.

[1] Parts of the Prayer Book had already been translated by Morrison himself.

In Foochow, where Welton, a qualified medical man, and Jackson were stationed, premises were secured in the native city, and the medical work at once proved popular. But Welton's death and Jackson's removal, though the latter's work was taken up by others, served to hinder progress, so much so, indeed, that in 1859 the C.M.S. Committee at home proposed to abandon the work there. The faith, or the obstinacy, of the one missionary there at the time, George Smith, succeeded in preventing this withdrawal; and a visit from another missionary, W. H. Collins, from Shanghai, who chanced to be a doctor as well as a priest, led to a few inquirers coming forward, of whom four were baptized in the summer of 1861. Three of the four fell away afterwards, and in 1863 George Smith himself died, leaving a young and inexperienced colleague, J. R. Wolfe, with but a few baptized Christians as the result of more than ten years of missionary effort. From that day to this Archdeacon Wolfe has remained at his post, his handful of converts have become twelve thousand, and in no other part of China is the Church so firmly planted.

In Ningpo things moved faster. The first two

converts were baptized at Easter, 1851, and one of them, named Bas, became a zealous evangelist, though he was never able to be ordained. In the next four years some sixty converts were enrolled, and the two missionaries, Messrs. Cobbold and Russell, did some successful itinerating work in the neighbourhood. In 1859, the year in which the home Committee of the Church Missionary Society were proposing to abandon Fuhchow, no less than sixteen baptisms took place in Ningpo.

In 1860 a small neighbouring city, rejoicing in the name of "Stream of mercy," was successfully occupied, and at the same time in Ningpo itself one of the missionaries was enabled to open as an adjunct to the work there the first opium refuge, with funds provided from a striking source. "A Government official in India, an inspector of the opium manufactory at Malwa, pricked in his conscience, had resolved to cleanse himself from all share in the traffic; he resigned his office, and dedicated the savings of his official career, more than £3,000, to the relief of opium victims in China."[1] With this money Mr. Gough was able to open the Ningpo Refuge.

In a previous chapter we have seen how large

[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, ii. 307.

a part the opium traffic played in giving an impetus to the starting of the Missions of the Church in China, by its effect on the consciences of godly men at home. In this instance we see how it affected an Indian Government official. A few years later, it led directly to the establishment of a Mission in North China. The opposition to the opium trade is often denounced as hysterical, having no basis in common sense. But it has shown a curious persistency, if that is so; and bears testimony to a widespread conviction and a genuine earnestness which seem to be strangely inconsistent with the character ascribed to it by newspaper criticism.

In Shanghai, where Mr. McLatchie had been joined by reinforcements, the progress of mission work resembled that at Fuhchow in its slow development. Three blind men were baptized in 1851, but the work grew very gradually. Mr. Hobson took up the position of chaplain to the English community, but his place was taken in 1853 by two new men from England. One of them speedily won for himself a name as an intrepid evangelist, the Rev. J. S. Burdon, afterwards Bishop of Victoria, and a first-rate Chinese scholar. Among the causes of this slow progress,

one was, if not peculiar to Shanghai, at least felt there in a special degree. The Taiping rebellion reached Shanghai at the beginning of its most successful period; and the city and surrounding district became for some time the scene of military operations and still more disturbing devastation. In 1853, while Bishop Smith was giving his primary charge in the settlement church, a cannon-ball actually struck the building; and this interruption was typical of that which for several years interfered with missionary work. The native city fell into the hands of the rebels, only to be retaken by the Imperial troops, and it became afterwards the base of the Imperialist operations. In spite, however, of this great hindrance, Mr. Burdon was indefatigable in preaching and itineration; and in 1863, twelve years after the first baptisms had taken place, Bishop Smith ordained his first Chinese deacon, Dzaw Tsang-lae, for work in Shanghai.

But no record of the first beginnings of the work of our Church in Shanghai would be complete without notice of the work done by the American Church. That Church belongs to our own communion, its work has been blessed and prospered in no small degree, and in a later

chapter we shall have to record its development in detail.

William Jones Boone, who may be called the pioneer of the American Church Mission in China, had, as we have seen, come out to the Far East as far back as 1837, going at first to Java to study the Chinese language. Directly on the opening of the treaty-ports in 1842, he established himself at Amoy; but two years later he returned to the United States, and in October, 1844, he was consecrated as Missionary Bishop in China. In 1845 he reached Shanghai, with a band of eight other missionaries, and took up his residence there. The civil war in America naturally hindered the Mission in its early years, but the Bishop held to his work and was rewarded by its rapid progress.

The first convert to be baptized illustrates something of the difference in method between the American and English Missions. The former, owing partly to the greater nearness of the United States, partly to national characteristics, has always sought to carry on its work on what, in contrast to the methods of the English missionaries, may fairly be called more radical lines, especially in the matter of education. When

Mr. Boone went home to be consecrated, he had taken with him a promising heathen lad named Wong Kong-chai, and on the return voyage in 1845 the boy asked to be allowed to be baptized. His request was granted, and in 1851 he was ordained deacon. Twelve years later, just before the Bishop's death, he had the joy of admitting Mr. Wong to the priesthood, and his confidence was abundantly justified. For twenty odd years, till his death in 1886, Mr. Wong was a pillar of the Church, and his children have all taken their share in the work of the Mission.

Another of the most striking fruits of these early years was a boy named Yen Yung-kiung. At the age of fourteen he was taken to the United States to be educated, and graduated with honours at Kenyon College in Ohio. On his return to China he nobly justified the experiment which had been made, rejecting all offers of more lucrative employment and devoting his life to the Church's service. For twelve years he worked at Wuchang on the Yangtse River, for eight more he was on the staff of S. John's College at Shanghai, and for another twelve years he was in charge of the Church of Our Saviour in Hongkew, part of the American settlement at Shanghai.

He passed to his rest at length in 1898, after thirty years of devoted work, full of years and honour.

One other personality of these early years may be mentioned here. Miss Lydia Fay came out from America to China in 1851, and for twenty-seven years she laboured in Shanghai. It is interesting to recall that for part of the time she was lent by her own Mission to help the sister Mission of the English Church, a debt which has been indirectly repaid by the Englishmen who have since then worked in the American Mission. Her chief work in Shanghai, however, was in connection with the Boys' School, out of which has grown the present S. John's College; and her early prayers were abundantly answered when, mainly as the result of her own work and influence, ten of her Chinese boys had been admitted to the sacred ministry before her death.

With this brief notice of a few of the personalities connected with the early years of the American Church Mission, we must be content for the moment. We shall return to its later development hereafter. But as English Churchmen we cannot but rejoice that a Church in full

communion with ourselves came into the field so early, with such devoted labourers, and with such striking results. The Holy Catholic Church from America realized what our own branch of the Church at the time seemed unable to grasp, and planted its first Mission in China on truly Catholic lines, under the control of a Bishop on the spot, sent out not by a Society but by the Church in her corporate capacity. The Church of England is only now struggling towards a like ideal, and is not always sufficiently alive to the need of Missionary Bishops from the outset in the mission-field. Yet, surely, the example of the Church of America is fully in accord with the traditions of the New Testament and of the Church of the first centuries.

CHAPTER IV

HEATHEN CHINA AND CHRISTIAN ENGLAND AGAIN

WHILE the English and American Churches were thus effecting an entry into China, two events took place in that country which drew the attention of Englishmen more closely than before to the Chinese nation. The one, a movement lasting nearly twenty years and characterized by curious and conflicting features, was the Taiping rebellion; the other, which lasted but three years altogether, and yet in some ways exercised a far more permanent influence, was the second China War. Both events seem to call for brief notice here.

The interest of the Taiping rebellion centres round three points: its alleged Christianity, the part played by "Chinese Gordon" in its suppression, and the degree and rapidity of its success. The first aroused no little sympathy in missionary

circles; the second led Englishmen generally to take a kind of romantic interest in China; while the third has hardly been considered, as it ought to be, in relation to the problem of whether China can ever be really Christianized.[1]

The man who afterwards became the rebel leader was, in 1853, a disappointed scholar, smarting under a sense of injustice. Hung Su-tsuen in that year met an English missionary, probably Morrison himself, in Canton; and from a convert of Morrison's he received some Christian books, which apparently he did not read for some years. In 1837 he had a long illness, and believed that he was ordered by heaven to destroy "the idols and the imps," meaning by the latter apparently the Manchus. Five years later, in 1842, he had an object-lesson in the success of Christian warfare, when the English forces defeated the Chinese in the first China War. Thereupon, with the help of a man named Fung Yen-san, he formed in the Province of Kwangsi a "Society of the worshippers of GOD"; and in 1847 he himself applied to an American missionary at Canton for baptism, which was (probably wisely) refused.

[1] cf. *The Glorious Land*, by A. E. Moule.

The movement, however, spread rapidly; and in 1853 Hung was enabled to assume the title of "Taiping Wang" (King of Peace) in Nanking itself, the southern capital of China, where twenty thousand Manchus are said to have fallen victims to the rebel forces. A glance at the map will show how far the movement had to spread before it extended from Kwangsi to Nanking. Though the actual title assumed by Hung has a scriptural sound, it was probably chosen without any such intent, and rather to signify that the golden age was at hand, when, in the words of the Chinese proverb, everywhere under heaven there would be peace. But nevertheless the degree in which in these earlier years the movement was influenced by what was, at least, a kind of Christianity seems to have been very marked. Space forbids us to quote at any length from the publications of the rebel society—some of them can be studied in the *History of the Church Missionary Society* and elsewhere,[1]—but we may note a few characteristic points.

The Taipings "called GOD the Heavenly FATHER, and CHRIST the Celestial Brother";

[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, ii. 297 ff, from which much of the information in the text is derived.

they printed and distributed thousands of copies of Genesis, Exodus, and S. Matthew's Gospel; they published several devotional books, and almanacks in which the Sundays were marked; and they destroyed every idol they could find. Great stress was laid upon the Ten Commandments, on which they published a remarkable commentary; and apparently in some sort they held something like the Christian Creed. One brief quotation may be permitted from a doxology for use on Sundays:

> "We praise GOD, our holy and heavenly FATHER.
> We praise JESUS, the holy LORD and Saviour of the world.
> We praise the HOLY SPIRIT, the sacred Intelligence.
> We praise the three Persons who united constitute the one true GOD (or SPIRIT)."

A society which professed such a creed, which destroyed idols, which, at least at first, strove to impose the morality of the Decalogue upon its followers, was bound to create widespread interest among missionaries and those who sympathized with Christian Missions. Moreover, the fact that the Taipings were consistent opponents of opium was another strong motive with the same people for taking a favourable view of the movement. In 1860, when they were at the height of their success, several Shanghai missionaries, and

amongst them Mr. Burdon, visited their Prime Minister, Hung Jin, a man who had actually, in former years, been a catechist of the London Missionary Society at Hong Kong. The impressions received by the visitors varied considerably; Mr. Burdon's, perhaps, naturally being less favourable than those of his London Missionary Society companions. But, whether from policy or conviction, the rebel authorities certainly made every effort to encourage the missionaries to believe in their sincerity, and to come amongst them and carry on their missionary work. When the Taiping forces seized Ningpo, the leaders assured the missionaries in that place that their lives and property would be perfectly safe, though as events proved, their followers were too ill-disciplined for the assurance to carry conviction.

Was the movement, then, genuinely Christian? We have already given some grounds for thinking, or wishing to think, that it was so in its earlier years; but, before we leave the subject and consider "Chinese Gordon's" share in suppressing it, a share so inexplicable if that was its true character, it is only right to draw attention to some of the facts which tell only too strongly in the other direction.

In its first beginnings it coincided with a proof of the superiority of English troops over Imperial levies, and it is obvious that Hung himself was always anxious to enlist English sympathies—possibly in a practical form—to support him in his enterprise.

And the actions of the Taipings were often inconsistent with the sincerity of their Christian professions. It is true that they destroyed the idols, but, on the other hand, they perpetrated the most appalling massacres; they professed to observe the Ten Commandments, but openly sanctioned polygamy; they published, as we have seen, statements not unlike the Christian Creed, but they belied their nominal faith by the blasphemy of no less public and authoritative assertions. Finally, whatever the leader professed, their followers seemed, for the most part, ignorant of and indifferent to Christianity; and it was a natural question how much of the leaders' professions were rather reserved for the ears of their foreign visitors than in any real degree characteristic of their convictions.

The sympathy of the missionary body was natural; the antipathy of official and commercial circles no less natural. English consuls were not

in China to encourage rebellion, and English merchants, even when not biassed by the anti-opium policy of the Taiping leaders, had strong reason to object to anything that made for disorder and the interruption of peaceful and profitable trade.

Enough has been said to show that the genuineness, even as far as it went, of Taiping Christianity was, at least, "not proven," though, at the same time, its apparent existence naturally elicited sympathy. And enough has been said to explain why the British Government sanctioned a British officer lending his services to the Chinese Government to help them subdue the insurrection. The story of Gordon's intervention must be read elsewhere.[1] It was a wonderful achievement for a young officer of the Royal Engineers; and his character and his methods, no less than the uniform success which attended his operations, made it an extraordinarily romantic episode. England found herself really interested in China in a way which has only been paralleled in recent years by the Boxer crisis of 1900. In both instances it is true that the general interest soon

[1] See, for example, *The Story of Chinese Gordon*, by A. E. Hake.

passed away; but in both instances it is true that, if that interest bore but little fruit at the time, it might have borne much more if the Church of England had been more alive to her opportunities.[1]

We must pass on, however, to the third point, which seems to give the story of the Taiping rebellion a real bearing on the question of missionary enterprise in China.

The point is this. China is an immense country, both in area and population. It is so vast that it would seem sometimes almost impossible to imagine anything affecting it as a whole. For example, neither of the China Wars of the middle of the nineteenth century seemed to penetrate the country at all, or to affect more than a few ports on the coast, and, finally, the capital. The Japanese War of 1894–5 was really waged by a single Viceroy with land forces, drawn almost entirely from his own Viceroyalty, and was watched with indifference or with a contemptuous interest by the rest of China. Even the Boxer movement of 1900 was practically confined to the northern provinces, and the international invasion which followed was unfelt over the greater part of the Empire until its effects in

[1] cf. *The Glorious Land*, pp. 25, 26.

the nature of increased taxation drew the attention of the other provinces to the disaster that had befallen their Government and its disagreeable consequences for themselves.

It is argued, with much apparent reason, that Christian Missions may aim at the conversion of Chinese individuals, may found little Christian communities in every province of the Empire, may, perhaps, in time meet with such success that those communities will be mainly self-supporting and self-governing; but that the idea of Christianity ever really permeating China, as much, for example, as it permeated Western Europe in the Middle Ages, or as it permeates European nations to-day, is a wild and impossible dream. At least, so these critics urge, it is a dream which will require the lapse of several centuries before it can approach fulfilment.

Now, it has been stated more than once already in the earlier pages of this book, that the aim of our Missions in China should not be the conversion of Chinese individuals so much as the establishment of a Christian Church of China, which may win China as a nation to the discipleship of CHRIST. In other words, this, which we claim to be the true object of the Church's mission work, is that which

is pronounced a dream, impossible of fulfilment at all perhaps, or at least for many hundred years. Surely the history of the Taiping movement has a warning for the critic, no less than a real encouragement for ourselves. Granted that it was not in the end successful, granted that it won its way by methods of which a truer Christianity would be ashamed, it remains true that a movement which took shape originally in the brain of a single man, which was born in the southern city of Canton, and developed in the Province of Kwangsi, which made no apparent stir for several years, ran like wildfire when once it started. Spreading from district to district, from province to province, it speedily established itself from Canton to Nanking, and from thence made a great effort, not far short of success, to reach Peking itself.

The argument is not based on the possible Christianity of the movement, neither is it weakened by the fact that it was a rebellion of Chinese against a foreign dynasty. It is simply a point of fact, to be set against the other facts to which attention has been drawn. It may be, evidently it is, difficult to make an impression on China as a whole; but it has

been done, and done in a score of years, by a movement which was, at the best, but very imperfectly Christian, by a movement which entailed immense suffering, by a movement avowedly hostile to the civil power. The Church of CHRIST, whatever her shortcomings, has something better to offer than the religion of the "Taiping Wang" or self-styled King of Peace; it is part of her profession, and, at least in our own Missions part of her practice, that whatever suffering there may be shall be borne, and gladly borne, by her Christians, and not by those amongst whom she strives to spread the knowledge of the truth: she puts in the forefront of her teaching the great principle of the New Testament, "Fear GOD, honour the king," and for her own part she neither has nor will have any conflict with the civil power. It may be that for the present, and for years to come, she will make no apparent stir; but, at least, she is justified in claiming that in the light of history it is not incredible that Christianity should one day run like wildfire over China, until the whole nation has been won for CHRIST.

But we must leave a subject which is in many ways a fascinating study, and turn our attention

to another, in itself far less attractive, but one that exercised a far greater immediate influence on Christian Missions.

The origin of the second China War is thus described by Mr. Eugene Stock: "The Chinese Governor of Canton, Yeh, seized a boat, the famous lorcha *Arrow*, affirming (truly as it proved) that it was a Chinese smuggling boat wrongfully flying the English flag. Sir John Bowring, the British Plenipotentiary at Hong Kong, contended that the vessel was English (which it was not) and demanded satisfaction. On this being refused, he ordered the British fleet then in Chinese waters to bombard Canton."[1] There is no purpose to be served in going behind that description, which accurately represents the immediate *casus belli*. Mr. Stock's biting parenthetical comments are abundantly justified, as the following facts prove. Sir John Bowring in a dispatch to the English consul, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Harry J. Parkes, dated October 11, 1857, admitted the truth of Yeh's contention, and three days later, in a dispatch to Yeh himself, dated October 14th, denied it flatly, and affirmed again that the *Arrow* was an English ship.

[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, ii. 300.

Evidently the question of the *Arrow's* nationality was only one, and that not by any means the most important, of those which led to the war. The previous war of 1840–2 had ended, as we have seen, in a treaty which ignored the opium question, although that question had lain at the root of the quarrel. The supplementary treaty of 1843 had done little more than leave matters where they had been before; and for fourteen years successive Governors of Hong Kong had pressed on the Chinese authorities the advantages of legalizing the trade, and had pressed them in vain. But China was in a pitiable case. Great Britain was apparently determined to force the opium trade on any terms. If China would legalize it, so much the better for China, for opium could then be made to pay duty and yield a revenue. If not, the existing and unsatisfactory system of smuggling must continue.

China's position may be summed up in the words of Keying, the sometime High Commissioner at Canton: "It would," he wrote, "indeed be to the advantage of the Chinese revenues; but we should thus certainly put a value on riches and slight men's lives." Great Britain rejoined with well-simulated scorn that such talk was very

fine, but that the Chinese evidently wanted opium, and would have it in spite of the Government authorities if not with their sanction. To which China, in the person of her Emperor, replied, "It is true that I cannot effectually prevent the introduction of the flowing poison: gain-seeking and corrupt men will, for profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people."

The story of the war must be read elsewhere[1]: here it is sufficient to say that the British arms were, of course, successful, and the Treaty of Tientsin was signed on June 26, 1858. Under that treaty opium was for the first time legalized as an article of import, the duty leviable upon it was strictly limited in the interest of British importers, and several new treaty-ports, especially in North China, were opened to the world. The true meaning of the treaty in regard to opium may be expressed in the words of Sir Rutherford Alcock, afterwards H.B.M. Minister in Peking, "We forced the Chinese to enter into a treaty to allow their subjects to take[2] opium."

[1] cf. Boulger's *History of China*; Laurence Oliphant's *Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission.*

[2] By "take" Sir R. Alcock probably meant "import."

The eighth article of the treaty had an important bearing upon the future of missionary work. It was probably due to French influence—the French Plenipotentiary took part in the negotiations, and was helped by French missionaries as interpreters—and provided that "the Christian religion as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics inculcates the practise of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it or professing it shall therefore be alike entitled to the protection of the Chinese Government." (One is tempted to wonder if it ever occurred to the Chinese envoys, as they reflected on Great Britain's conduct of the opium question, that, if such was the teaching of Christianity, its teachers and professors might naturally wish to leave such a country as England and take up their residence in China!)

The Treaty of Tientsin was to be ratified in Peking itself; and in May, 1859, Lord Elgin's brother, Mr. Bruce, had reached the mouth of Peiho river, leading from the sea to Tientsin, and thence to within a few miles of Peking, when he found his further advance obstructed at Taku. It is hard to realize to-day that the attempt resulted in success. The allied forces were defeated, and

the envoys had to return to Shanghai. There had been a clear and inexcusable breach of faith on the part of a terrified Government, and retribution followed in the shape of a fresh expedition in the following spring. The passage of the Peiho was forced, Tientsin was taken, and the Chinese promptly made overtures for peace. But again their unlucky star was in the ascendant, or, perhaps we should say, again the treacherous character of the Manchu Government revealed itself. A party proceeding under a flag of truce were captured, and the captives treated with the most revolting cruelty.[1] Punishment was swift and signal. The allies marched on Peking, seized the city, and, to punish the Emperor, as directly responsible for the crime that had been committed, sacked and destroyed the Summer Palace. The treaty was at length ratified. Foreign Legations were established in Peking, and so the curtain fell upon another act in the strange drama of forcing open China's long-closed doors.

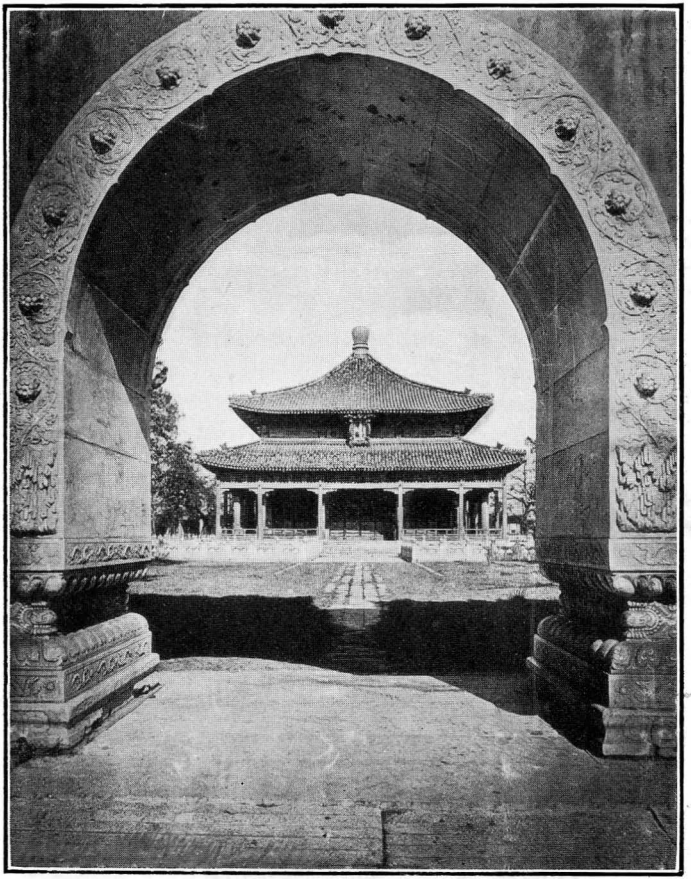
[1] cf. Laurence Oliphant's *Narrative.*

CHAPTER V

THE ENGLISH CHURCH ENTERS PEKING

JUST as twenty years before, the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 had been taken as a summons to missionary enterprise, so in 1860 the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin was the occasion of a stirring appeal from the one English Bishop on the coast of China, Bishop Smith of Victoria, for reinforcements for the work. There were at the time six missionaries actually engaged in work in China itself: three at Ningpo, two at Shanghai, and one at Fuhchow. Bitterly and justly does the historian of the Church Missionary Society record the failure of the Church to make any adequate response: "The Church at this time, torn by intestine divisions, totally neglected its duty to China, more so even than its duty to Africa and India."

However, we are more concerned now with what



THE HALL OF THE CLASSICS, PEKING.

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was done than with what was left undone, and we may turn thankfully from the failure of the Church at home to record the enterprise of the men on the spot. The American Church sent Mr. Schereschewsky (pronounced Shérry-shéffsky) from Shanghai to Peking, and the scanty ranks of the English Mission were depleted to enable Mr. Burdon to proceed thither; while shortly afterwards Mr. Collins, the doctor-priest whose visit to Fuhchow a year or two previously had been the turning-point in the history of that struggling Mission, joined him in 1863. Mr. Burdon "bought a house near the Legation, the site of which is now part of the Legation area, and the members of the Legation secured his services as chaplain, thereby starting an arrangement which has been of great benefit to the English-speaking community in Peking."[1]

In the same year, 1863, Dr. J. A. Stewart, the first missionary sent out through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to China, and the only doctor sent thither in connection with the Society for forty years, arrived in Peking, and at first found hospitality in Mr. Burdon's house. In the autumn he was joined

[1] *Historical Sketch of North China*, p. 45.

by a colleague, a young clergyman named Mitchell. But, in the words of the Society's own record, "while the Society was seeking a qualified superintendent for the Mission, Dr. Stewart showed such a lack of discretion" (by purchasing without due authority from home "a fine palatial site" for the Mission's future premises) "that his bills on the Society were dishonoured, and he himself was recalled in January, 1864."[1] Mr. Mitchell, we are hardly surprised to learn, in the following March "accepted an engagement at Shanghai, and operations in China were suspended for ten years."[2] Comment is superfluous, and it is some consolation to think that Mr. Mitchell afterwards did excellent work elsewhere, becoming Archdeacon of Calcutta in 1889; while the Society which was really, on its own confession, responsible for the fiasco, has at length atoned for its mistake by the purchase, in 1906, of its first property in Peking, which includes accommodation for a doctor and his work, as well as for a Bishop (the "qualified superintendent" so much needed before), for several missionaries, and for a church and schools.

One offshoot of the Peking work must be

[1] *Two Hundred Years of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, p. 705. [2] Ibid.

mentioned here, because it opened up a place which was to prove in after years the nursery of the leading members of the North China Mission, as well as the principal station for native work in the Province of Chihli. One of the twelve Christians confirmed by Bishop Alford was a man named Chang Fu, the father of Chang Ch'ing-lan, who was afterwards the first, and for many years the only, deacon of the Church in North China. He took Mr. Collins down to his native place, a country town called Yungch'ing, some fifty miles south of Peking; and an admirable instance of the kind of difficulty which in those and later days often beset the foreign missionary is recorded in connection with that visit.

"Chang Fu conducted Mr. Collins to Yungch'ing, where, on November 13, 1868, they found lodging at a small inn inside the south gate. They spent several days preaching the Gospel and healing the sick, looking in the meanwhile for a house. At length they found one and paid a year's rent in advance. But neighbours threatened to burn the shop of the would-be landlord if he let his house to a foreigner; so eventually, in the interests of peace, Mr. Collins consented to receive back the rent. The magistrate sent him

a civil message, hoping that he would soon find another house, and at the same time Chang Fu received a threatening order to take Mr. Collins away from the district at once."[1]

The actual growth of the work at Yungch'ing was slow enough, partly because several of the best Christians belonging to the place were employed by the Mission in Peking as teachers or preachers. In fact, as we shall see in a later chapter, the work in Peking was for many years exotic rather than native; and the Church, though it entered the city in two-fold force, both English and American, for one reason or another, has failed hitherto to strike root in the capital as firmly as elsewhere in China.

This seems to be a fitting place to try to summarize the results of the first beginnings of the Church's missionary work. In the next few chapters we shall trace it in its expansion; but before we do so it will be well to realize how very small was the seed which was destined by GOD'S grace to grow into such a goodly tree to-day.

Englishmen, and English Churchmen, are proverbially fond of grumbling, perhaps of fault-

[1] *Historical Sketch of North China*, p. 5.

finding; and it may seem that the pages of this little book have already been overfilled with both the one and the other. But it is impossible to look back on the political and commercial transactions which led to missionary work being undertaken in China without a sense of their grave injustice. And in any record of human efforts to carry out divine commands, it is well to endeavour to speak the plain truth, not only about successes, but also as regards mistakes.

Politically, England's record was certainly based on motives more than merely open to suspicion. Gladstone, who had opposed the undertaking of the second China War, but who was Palmerston's Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1859, constrained as he was to support the policy of sending an expedition to avenge the Peiho disaster in the spring of that year, sounded in the House of Commons a note of warning. His official position made it necessarily guarded in its terms, but its utterance was characteristic of the man. "I trust," he said, referring to the whole course of events since the outbreak of the war, "that we shall listen to the lesson taught us by these transactions." The Conservative leader, Sir John Pakington, put the truth more bluntly.

"Beyond all question, serious doubts have long been entertained, and are at this moment entertained, with regard to the whole justice and propriety of our policy." The *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, in a series of articles by Mr. Ridgeway, spoke more strongly still. "Our whole course upon the coast of China has been one of injustice and of unsound policy, in which for the sake of present gain we have sacrificed our future prospects, prejudicing against us a vast multitude of people, and, so far as their sympathies and good will are concerned, closing against ourselves a boundless field of operation, which will eventually prove to be one of the finest openings for philanthropic efforts and commercial intercourse which the world has ever known."[1] These are strong words, from a far-sighted Christian man; but they are undeniably as true in their condemnation of the past as they have proved to be in their forecast of the future. But, at any rate, something had been done to plant the Church in China by both branches of the Anglican communion: little enough, if compared with what the London Missionary Society had done, or with what American Societies were doing, but still enough

[1] *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, 1860, p. 98.

to show the Church her duty, to pave the way for future effort, to be the seed of a wonderfully rich harvest.

Let it be remembered that this first period of mission work in China covers but some thirty years, or a single generation; that the resources of Church Missions in men and means were much more limited than they are to-day; that the difficulties of new-comers, especially in regard to the language, were much more formidable then than now. And let it be remembered that, in spite of all these drawbacks, the Church had been planted at Hong Kong, Fuhchow, Ningpo, Shanghai, and Peking, by a band of men who would be thought but a small staff for a single diocese to-day, and by means of a language of which the dialect varied so widely in every one of those places as to be unintelligible in any other. Each of those places had become centres of work for the country immediately around them, the tiny nucleus of a native ministry had already been obtained, and schools started which were destined to train many more candidates for the same high calling. A beginning had been made at Medical Missions, which were found to exercise a great influence in breaking down prejudice and in getting

into touch with inquirers. And the missionaries had borne their part, and that a splendid part, in the translation of the Bible and the Prayer Book, as well as of tracts and hymns.

On the other hand, there was, in the English Missions at least, a serious lack of Episcopal oversight, but partially remedied by the consecration of a second Bishop in 1873; and there was another omission, less noticeable perhaps at the time, but one which might then have been more easily repaired than afterwards, the absence of any real cohesion between the English and American Missions of the Anglican communion.

Yet if, as we look back on this first period of work, there is much to sadden, much to humiliate, much that needs to be atoned for, there is likewise much for which we may thank GOD. Humility and penitence are a good foundation for effort, and the reward vouchsafed to those early labours, so lamentably circumscribed and yet so resolutely undertaken, not only proved an immediate encouragement and led in the next generation, under GOD'S providence, to great expansion, but may also serve to quicken our enthusiasm and our faith to-day.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH IN SOUTH CHINA

IN a previous chapter we traced in very brief outline the history of the entry of the English Church into China, and in another chapter that of its entry into Peking, the capital of China. In the following chapters we must try to follow out the story of its expansion. "The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which is indeed the least of all seeds: but when it is grown . . . it becometh a tree."

The order in which the different parts of the work will be presented seems to require a word of explanation. A glance at the map of China at the beginning of this volume will serve to show that, with a single exception in South Hunan, the Church has hardly *penetrated* China elsewhere than in the valley of the Yangtse and the Province of Ssuch'uan. She has attacked the borders of the country in the south, in Fuhkien, and in Chehkiang: from Shanghai her work extends far

west into Ssuch'uan; but north of Shanghai she has so far only touched the maritime Provinces of Shantung and Chihli. If we attempted to make our survey in any chronological order, we should be forced either repeatedly to abandon that order, to trace out some local development, or else to lose all idea of locality, i.e., of territorial growth, in the attempt to follow contemporaneous effort in places as far apart as Hong Kong and Peking.

It seems preferable, therefore, in dealing with the subject of Church expansion, to view it locally rather than chronologically: to endeavour to realize how far the Church has spread, rather than how fast the growth has been.

We will, therefore, begin our survey in the South, with the story of the development of Church work in the island of Hong Kong, and in the two Chinese Provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi.

It will be remembered that when, in 1849, Bishop Smith was consecrated as the first Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, his jurisdiction extended over all English clergy throughout the Far East. Work in Hong Kong had been begun in connection with S. Paul's College; but on the coast of China a foothold was first secured in Fuhkien and

Chehkiang, and in the town of Shanghai. But as that work will come before us in connection with other dioceses, we may for the present confine our attention to Hong Kong and the evangelization of the mainland in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. This last was practically postponed until the arrival of Bishop Burdon as third Bishop of Victoria, in 1875, his predecessors having found the supervision of the widely-scattered existing Missions elsewhere quite as much as they could manage.

Bishop Alford, who had succeeded Bishop Smith, was a man of great energy and enterprise, and a keen supporter of the Church Missionary Society at home. But as Bishop he found his relationship to the Society somewhat of a difficulty. He had already formulated plans of his own for putting an end to the difficulty; but when, without regard to those plans, Bishop Russell was consecrated "Bishop in North China"—a step which left the Bishop of Victoria merely the oversight of a tiny English colony and of the Mission in Fuhkien—he resigned his see, and was succeeded by one of whom we have already heard, and of whom we shall hear more in a later chapter, John Shaw Burdon.

Bishop Burdon was a man of remarkable energy and ability. He had done pioneer

work in Chehkiang, and had been the first English missionary to enter Peking. "From the first, however, Bishop Burdon felt the same difficulties at Hong Kong which had so oppressed Bishop Alford's spirit. The Church Missionary Society was the only Church Society labouring in South China, and its only important work was in Fuhkien. A Bishop could practically neither extend its operations nor start independent missionary agencies; and the colonial work in the island of Hong Kong was too small for an able and large-minded man."[1]

The above extract is quoted from the *History of the Church Missionary Society*, and it reads sadly. In the next chapter we shall see that in the Society's Fuhkien Mission there was great need of closer episcopal supervision; but apparently both these Bishops, though themselves warm supporters of the Church Missionary Society, and one of them for many years one of its leading missionaries in China, felt paralysed, as Bishops of Victoria, because "they could neither extend its operations nor start independent missionary agencies." One cannot help contrasting this state of things with that presented by another China

[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, iii. 218.

diocese. The Bishop of the present Diocese of North China superintends a diocese largely supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It is true that he cannot extend the Society's operations unless the Society finds the necessary funds: but not only has he always enjoyed absolute freedom from home control in every other respect, but there was nothing to prevent him starting an "independent missionary agency," in spite of the fact that he himself was an old missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and continued to be a loyal supporter of that Society. As a matter of fact, full half of the work that has been done in North China and Shantung has been done by the help of such an independent agency—in other words, by means of funds, and sometimes of workers, supplied by what is now known as the North China and Shantung Missionary Association.

In 1876 a clergyman, named Mr. Davys, went out to Hong Kong, taking with him six young men to be trained at S. Paul's College for work in the China Missions of that diocese. Fifteen years later, the Rev. C. J. Corfe, R.N. (afterwards Bishop in Korea), made the same experiment under Bishop Scott at Chefoo in Shantung. In

both cases it failed to accomplish its immediate object; but in neither case did the self-sacrifice of the man responsible for the experiment fail to yield the Church some fruit. Of the students from S. Paul's, Hong Kong, as from S. Peter's, Chefoo, some were afterwards ordained and did useful work, though none eventually worked in the dioceses where they were trained.

Mr. Davys was not the man to be checked by a first failure, and he proved a great help to Bishop Burdon in starting evangelistic work by Chinese catechists on the mainland in Kwangtung, in the district round Canton. Thus at last the door was opened for aggressive missionary work in close touch with the island of Hong Kong, where the Bishop's residence was fixed. The pity of it was that he had no forces to pour in and take advantage of the opportunity. In 1882 Bishop Burdon was in England, and one result of his visit was a fund for thus extending the mainland work, and, if possible, for making a fresh start in the adjoining Province of Kwangsi. But the money was useless without the men. From 1883–1886 only seven men were forthcoming for all the C.M.S. Missions in China, and during the same period the S.P.G. Mission in the North secured but two recruits.

In the face of such scanty reinforcements, Churchmen cannot but feel humbled at the thought that in the very next year, 1887, the China Inland Mission received offers of service from six hundred volunteers, and actually sent out one hundred missionaries to China.

However, after waiting for five years, Bishop Burdon was at length enabled to start a medical Mission at Pakhoi in Kwangsi (which had been opened as a treaty-port by the Chefoo Convention of 1876), and a second doctor was sent out at the same time to itinerate in Kwangtung. The Bishop's own enthusiasm for pioneering found full scope in adventurous journeys up the West River into Kwangsi, journeys which paved the way for more permanent efforts in later years.

In Hong Kong itself the Church was slowly establishing itself amongst the Chinese population under the guidance of the Rev. J. B. Ost, assisted by a native deacon. An excellent girls' school was also opened by the Female Education Society, which here, as in Foochow and Ningpo, to some extent supplied the place of women's work under the direct control of the Church Missionary Society, which in those early days was still an unknown thing. But the transfer of Mr. Ost

to the Mission in Chehkiang caused the work on the island of Hong Kong to suffer temporarily; and both there and on the mainland reinforcements were badly needed. Why they were not forthcoming is not so clear: for the barren years of 1883–1886 were not repeated some years later. From 1896–1899 fifty-three new missionaries in connection with the Church Missionary Society went out to South China, twenty-two to Mid-China, and eighteen to the newly-opened work in Western China. But of the fifty-three who came to the South China diocese, Fuhkien absorbed no fewer than forty-six, while only seven were available for Hong Kong and the mainland in Kwang-tung and Kwangsi. How great the need of men was at this time is illustrated by the fact that after his resignation in 1897, and a very brief visit to England, Bishop Burdon returned to Pakhoi in order to enable Mr. Beauchamp, the missionary there, to take a much-needed furlough.

This lack of adequate support had doubtless added to the cares of the Bishop's closing years, and he was no longer young. Accordingly, in 1897, he resigned his see, which was well filled by the appointment of the Rev. J. C. Hoare, of Ningpo; but, as we have seen, the aged Bishop

returned to China, and in spite of a heavy blow suffered through the death of his wife, he remained in China for some years. Bishop Burdon passed to his rest at Royston, on January 5, 1907, in his eightieth year.

Bishop Burdon's episcopate had probably not been the happiest years of his life. Controversies on the Term question (i.e., as to the proper Chinese terms for GOD and Spirit), on the possibility of substituting rice and tea for Bread and Wine in the Holy Communion, and on the adoption of native dress by women missionaries, though we need not go into them now, were at the time like thorns in the side of one whose real ability and goodness were counteracted to some extent by the tenacity with which he held to his own opinions. Moreover, he was never popular in the colony itself, where he had perforce to live, and where his great capacity as a missionary did not of itself secure him from criticism as a colonial Bishop. But his work in China will be judged, not by his part in controversies, nor only by his administration of a confessedly difficult diocese, but by the intrepid pioneering of his earlier years, and by the enduring value of his literary work. Probably, in his own judgment, the happiest fruits

of his episcopate were the progress made in planting the Church in Kwangtung, and the opening of work at Pakhoi, as well as the great growth of the Church in Fuhkien—which will be noticed in another place.

Bishop Hoare reached Hong Kong at the close of the year 1898, and for nearly eight years he worked as Bishop of Victoria. From the first he set himself to accomplish three objects, two of which were of primary importance from the missionary point of view, while the third was the supply of a crying want. He found within his diocese on the mainland three treaty-ports with small colonies of English residents, for whom during all the years that had passed since the diocese was first established no spiritual ministrations had been provided by the Church. Bishop Hoare realized the importance of not allowing English communities to remain uncared for, as a standing reproach in the eyes of the Chinese, who watched a Church making efforts to convert themselves while it cared not, apparently, to shepherd its own children. Accordingly, one of his first acts was to secure a clergyman to pay regular pastoral visits to Canton, Amoy, and Swatow; Fuhchow being adequately provided for by the missionaries resident in the place.

Of greater importance perhaps to the missionary future of the work in South China was the effort to relieve the Bishop of Victoria of the oversight of the great mission work in Fuhkien. During the earlier years of his episcopate the Bishop was forced to be absent from the southern end of his diocese for long periods at a time on episcopal visitations in the Fuhkien Province. The fact that the Bishop thoroughly enjoyed these tours, in spite of the language difficulty and the anxiety about the work accumulating elsewhere, made him no whit less anxious to be relieved of them as soon as might be: and after many delays his efforts were finally crowned with success by the consecration of the first Bishop of Fuhkien in 1905.

But the Bishop of Victoria, who had been for all the previous years of his missionary life in charge of the Training College at Ningpo, would have been untrue to his past had plans for the proper training of a native ministry for South China been allowed to slumber for any length of time. Consequently he had not been long resident at Hong Kong before S. Paul's College became once more the home of a band of students preparing for the sacred ministry. An attempt had been already

made to begin such an institution on the mainland, and the question of where the work might best be located was one which naturally gave rise to differences of opinion. But, so long as the conditions remain as they are now, it would seem that the wisest course is that adopted by Bishop Hoare, namely, the establishment of the college in the only place where it would be in close personal touch with himself.

But the Bishop's interest in the college was not allowed to interfere with the other work of the diocese; and during his short episcopate not only was the work of the Church in the island of Hong Kong placed on a new and better footing, but the missionary work on the mainland was pushed forward with great vigour and success. In both of these enterprises he had the experienced help of Archdeacon Banister, who had been transferred from Fuhkien to Hong Kong in 1897. The Hong Kong Church is not numerically very large, but it enjoys the distinction of having been since 1901 entirely self-supporting. One of the Bishop's last interests was the drawing up of its constitution, so as to emphasize its position as a part of the Catholic Church, while at the same time allowing it freedom from the trammels of the "Church of

England as by law established," under which the English work in the colony necessarily comes.

The following three principles are set forth in the preamble of the authorized "Regulations for the self-support and self-government of the Chinese branch of the Anglican communion in Hong Kong":—

(1) The Anglican Church in Hong Kong is in communion with the Church of England, and abides by her standards of doctrine and discipline; and is subordinate to the Bishop of the Church of England in Hong Kong.

(2) The Chinese branch of the Anglican communion in Hong Kong is united with the European branch of the Anglican Church in Hong Kong, the only distinction being that of language. Hence all who are not hindered by ignorance of language can combine in fellowship.

(3) Seeing that Hong Kong contains several churches and chapels and scattered congregations, it is feared that congregational self-support and government would be injurious to the whole body of the Church. It is therefore decided to form vestries to

administer the affairs of each church or chapel, and also a "Church Body," to administer the affairs of the whole native Anglican Church in Hong Kong.

We have dealt at some length with the Bishop's attempt to draw up a constitution for the Native Church in Hong Kong, because it marks a courageous effort to deal with a very difficult question. How far it can be considered a final solution remains to be seen; but alike in its treatment of the question in relation to the English Church in the colony on the one hand, and to the Church Missionary Society on the other, it affords evidence of one of Bishop Hoare's strongest characteristics, his splendid courage.

In Kwangsi the work has spread from Pakhoi to the neighbouring city of Liem-chow, occupied in 1902, and it is hoped shortly to establish a station at the important town of Nanningfu; while, far up in the interior of the province, some three hundred miles from Pakhoi on the south-west, and Canton on the south-east, the town of Kweilin was occupied in 1899, and a few years later that of Yungchow, which lies just within the southern border of Hunan. It will be seen how largely the work on the mainland developed during the few

years of Bishop Hoare's episcopate; but a glance at the map will reveal how, even so, the work in South China has really only been begun, and the time has surely come for greater efforts in this part of the field.

The Bishop whose labours we have been recording has been called away from his diocese. On his return from his last visit to England he purchased a small boat, planning to adopt at Hong Kong the method he had found so effective with his students in the old days at Ningpo. He intended to take four or five of them at a time on preaching tours among the neighbouring islands and on the coast of the mainland; and it was while engaged in the first of such tours that he met his death. He died as he would have wished to die, not only at his post, but while actively engaged in the evangelistic work he loved so well, drowned, with the students who accompanied him, in the great typhoon of 1906. His loss is one which cannot easily be measured. A man trained as he had been, the son of a saintly father, the scion of a well-known English family, was bound to bring to his work ideals wider and higher than those of other men. That he would, if GOD had spared him, have done great things for his own

diocese, may be gathered from what he actually accomplished in less than eight years. But to the student of Church development in China his loss means more than that. Like another Cambridge Bishop in China, Bishop Cassels, he was imbued with a great longing to see the "Church of China" formed by the union of the various Anglican dioceses, both English and American. It has pleased GOD to take him away just as a movement in that direction is beginning. May the same Divine Providence bestow a double portion of his spirit on his successor, and thus cause his death to help rather than to hinder the cause he had so much at heart.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH IN FUHKIEN

BISHOP Lightfoot, of Durham, once said that the study of history was the best cordial for drooping spirits; and the history of the Church in Fuhkien might well be recommended to the attention of any one tempted to despair of the ultimate success of the Church's Missions. Eleven years without a single convert, two missionaries dying in the interval, a third as the firstfruits were being gathered, and a fourth almost immediately afterwards, bitter and repeated persecutions, grave difficulties from within and from without, and yet growth! Growth from the days of early struggle to the days of later organization: growth in the force employed, from one or two lonely workers to a great band of men and women, foreigners and natives: growth in the converts won, from the first four to the twelve thousand on the roll to-day: growth in the nature of the work, from the introduction of a foreign

faith by foreigners to the spread of a native Church by a native ministry—such is the result of little more than half a century of work and effort, of which the first decade had passed away without a sign of hope! "It is the LORD'S doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

Let us glance briefly at a few of the more remarkable steps in this great development. They will serve to illustrate one or two of the principles of successful missionary work, even if we notice at the same time certain features that are regrettable but no less instructive.

When George Smith died in 1863 he left thirteen Christians and five catechumens to the care of the Rev. J. R. Wolfe, who had only been in China eighteen months. Five years later Bishop Alford paid his first visit to the province, and found ninety candidates waiting to be confirmed, one man ready to be ordained deacon, and some ten out-stations to the north of Fuhchow already occupied by catechists. That the work had grown thus rapidly seems to have been due partly to the personality of Mr. Wolfe, partly to his method. The history of the Church's work in Fuhkien is bound up with Mr. Wolfe's lifelong labours so closely that we need not dwell further

on them now. But his method calls for further notice. In those early years he received but small help from other English missionaries. In fact he had but one colleague to assist him for some years to come. But he realized, as few have done, how much help could be derived from native workers rightly used and adequately trusted. The case most parallel to that of Fuhkien is that of the Russian Mission in Japan, where a single Russian Bishop, Bishop Nikolai, practically without any other European help, has succeeded in building up a Church of over ten thousand Japanese Christians, shepherded by Japanese priests. On the other hand, we cannot but notice the delay in administering the rite of Confirmation to the Christians already baptized. No blame can rightly be attached to a Bishop whose work extended from Hong Kong to Peking, still less to the priest who had done his part so faithfully and successfully. But as we shall have occasion to notice this lack of episcopal oversight again in another connection later on, it seems right to draw attention to it here at the outset of the work.

The growth of missionary work, however, is often followed by a period of trial; and this was certainly true of the work in Fuhkien. In 1869

there was an outbreak of local persecution in the town of Lo-ngwong, and in the following year a more general outbreak through what was called the Shan-sin-fan or Genii-powders' plot. But thus the infant Church was purified, to emerge the stronger from its trial.

The Lo-ngwong persecution is thus described: "Some were beaten, some robbed of their all, some dragged before the magistrate upon false charges and compelled to purchase their liberty by heavy payments. One man had a dying thief laid at his door by a policeman, who then accused him of murder: another was kept in prison for many months and died there. . . . We cannot wonder under these circumstances that half-hearted disciples, and especially those who joined the Church to get some personal advantage, fell away. Inquirers drew back in alarm, and some even of the baptized kept aloof, not daring to suffer shame for the Name of CHRIST. Yet the majority of the little flock stood firm, and more than a hundred met Sunday by Sunday at the village of Kipo, three miles from the city, for common prayer and praise, an old convert there lending his house for the purpose." [1]

[1] *For Christ in Fuhkien*, pp. 63, 64.

In 1875, again through the agency of native preachers, the Gospel spread even further north and west, to the districts of Fuhning and Kienning; and in the following year, seven years after the visit of Bishop Alford referred to above, Bishop Burdon paid his first visit to the Mission in Fuhkien, confirming over five hundred Christians, and admitting four more men to the diaconate. One of these, Mr. Ling, had just been expelled from Kienning after a year's residence there, and his wife, who had learned English in a mission school in Singapore, wrote the following interesting account of the sufferings endured by her husband:—

"They caught Sieng-sing [i.e. Mr. Ling], his nephew, and two students; took their jackets off, and brought them to a tree, and hanged them with their tails [i.e. queues] tied up to the tree and their feet lifted up from the earth. Sieng-sing's nephew was quite afraid, so he said to him, 'To-day you must have great faith.' Sieng-sing says he did not feel a bit pain when they beaten him, he was able to sing and praise GOD. In about two hours they brought down those catechists from the tree and gave them vinegar mixed with hair. . . . They beat these men and

said, 'Now what can your GOD do?' Sieng-sing said, 'I quite pity you all because you do not know the way of salvation.' They said, 'You are in great trouble to-day because you wish to work for the English and be their soldiers.' Sieng-sing said, 'I am not working for the English, I am working for my Saviour, Whom you do not know. That is the reason I am teaching you now."[1]

The year 1878 was a marked year in the progress of the Mission. In the previous autumn reinforcements had at last arrived—Mr. Lloyd, who is still in the field at the present time supervising the up-country work in the districts north of Fuhchow, and Mr. Stewart, whose name will always be remembered in connection with the Hwasang massacre of 1895, taking charge of the Theological College in Fuhchow itself. The latter at once proceeded to erect some new buildings in connection with the college, obtaining a written consent from the British consul, who inspected both the plans and the site. Hardly, however, were the buildings finished—in fact a party of Chinese officials were actually being shown over them—when a mob collected and burned them to the ground.

[1] *For Christ in Fuhkien*, p. 113.

This is not the place to record in detail the difficulties which were experienced in securing a new site when, owing to the action of the consul, leave was refused to the Mission to continue in occupation of the old site. A full, though possibly somewhat one-sided, account will be found in Miss Gordon-Cumming's *Wanderings in China.*[1] It is a pleasanter task to put on record that at the close of this year there were a hundred out-stations, containing as many churches and chapels, while the native Christians, adults and children, numbered over three thousand. So "the Word of GOD grew and multiplied."

For the same year (1878) had witnessed a remarkable development at Hokchiang, to the south of Fuhchow, as well as amongst the places to the north of that city. The Christians in this place were a considerable body, the fruits direct or indirect of the American Methodist Mission; but they had been for several years desirous of joining the Church through the Church Missionary Society. It is always difficult in such cases for missionaries to be sure that the converts are actuated by proper motives, and that is one of the

[1] Quoted in the *History of the Church Missionary Society.*

reasons which operate in favour of the Church keeping in closer touch with other missionary bodies in the field than would be considered natural or even wise at home in England. For similar cases have occurred not infrequently elsewhere in China in the past, and they are likely to occur with even greater frequency in the future, if the Church of China becomes, as GOD grant it may, a visible reality.

In the case of the Hokchiang Christians, as far back as 1870 they had made overtures to the Church, but in vain. However, in 1872, Mr. Mahood of the Church Missionary Society, who was alone at that time (Mr. Wolfe being on furlough), visited them and baptized some sixty people. But his action seems to have met with disapproval from his senior colleague, for on the latter's return in the following year "the catechists who had been sent were withdrawn, and the converts counselled to accept the ministrations of the American Mission. This, however, they declined to do, and for some years they were left to themselves. At length, in 1878, their earnest appeals being continually renewed, Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Lloyd visited them, to ascertain if possible the reasons for their wishing to join the English

Church; and the result was that, with the acquiescence of the American brethren, steps were taken for their recognition by the C.M.S. Mission."[1]

We cannot help wondering what the critics of Missions, who are so fond of asserting that all converts are rice-Christians, would make of some of these Fuhkien districts. In the very next district to Hokchiang, that of Hinghwa, the same thing was happening, and that among Christians who had never "learnt republicanism at the same time as they imbibed the Gospel" from American teachers. "The work begun there by one of the early C.M.S. catechists had been largely self-developing, the converts themselves spreading the light with little or no guidance from any European missionary during the earlier years of its history. . . . The native Christians were entirely responsible for the pay of their catechists and teachers, the C.M.S. Committee limiting their help to a grant for the salary of the native clergymen."[2] So far did the spirit of independence reach, that when in 1887 it was resolved to withdraw the Chinese agents paid by the Church Missionary Society from the Hinghwa district, and the decision was

[1] *For Christ in Fuhkien*, p. 133.
[2] Ibid., p. 152.

made known to the converts, "they followed the men, brought back their luggage, and compelled them to return with them, promising themselves to provide their entire salaries if we would only allow the men to remain." [1]

But we have somewhat anticipated the order of events in treating of the Hinghwa Church, and we must now return to the year 1882 and the extension of the northern work.

The city of Fuhning lies not far from the northern boundary of the Fuhkien Province. It had been visited as early as 1866, and ten years later a native deacon had been sent to live there. But the real growth of the work dates from the arrival of resident European missionaries in 1882, and especially from the time (1896) when the district was put in charge of workers supported by Dublin University. In twenty-five years the roll of Christians in this one district has increased from half-a-dozen to six hundred and fifty. The opening up in force of so distant a station as Fuhning, as well as the development of the work in the districts lying between that place and Fuhchow, led to the adoption in the same year of a native Church organization on the same plan as that

[1] *For Christ in Fuhkien*, p. 147.

which had been adopted in Tinnevelly and elsewhere in India. Each pastorate or group of congregations organized its own local "Church Committee," and each district its own "Native Church Council," composed of delegates from the different pastorates. Finally, the whole province was represented at the Native Church Conference, or "Provincial Council," as it came to be afterwards called.

Some three years later, in 1885, this native organization gave striking proof of the significance of thus helping forward the *esprit de corps* of the native Church. At a meeting of the Provincial Council Mr. Wolfe gave an account of a visit he had recently paid to Korea, which greatly touched the meeting. One of the Chinese clergy and three lay evangelists voluntered to go and start a Korean Mission. The attempt was actually made in the autumn, Mr. Wolfe taking over with him two of the four laymen who had volunteered, and the Korean Mission continued to exist, if it met with no striking success, until Bishop Corfe's consecration in 1889 made such a change in the conditions that "it was felt that the presence of the Chinese was not necessary." [1]

[1] *For Christ in Fuhkien*, p. 29.

But we must now return to the work in Fuhkien itself, and its development. Space forbids us to chronicle that development in detail, but certain aspects of it demand consideration. In the year 1888 the northern station of Ning-taik was opened by native workers, and since then it has shown remarkable growth. This work is peculiar in one respect. Never since the opening of the station have any English missionaries, other than ladies, resided there. The work has been in the hands of native clergy entirely; and yet in less than twenty years the number of Christians have reached some thirteen hundred, of whom five hundred are communicants. The record of this station is no small testimony to the principle, to which we have already alluded, of working through Chinese agents rather than through foreign missionaries. At the same time, strong as the work at Ning-taik undoubtedly is, the proportion of Christians to communicants is markedly weak. The reason for this is no doubt in part the lack of episcopal oversight during the earlier years of the Church's work, and we may confidently expect that one of the results of the establishment of the Fuhkien bishopric will be to remedy what has hitherto been a grave blot on the wonderful growth of the

Church in that province. In the statistical returns for the Diocese of West China occurs a phrase which all the Missions of the Church would do well to bear in mind: "Full members" (i.e., confirmed communicants), as distinct from Christians who have been baptized but not confirmed. But if S. Paul could ask, "How shall they hear without a preacher?" may not we ask to-day, "How shall baptized Christians receive the manifold gifts of the Spirit, where no Bishop of the Church is able to visit them for the laying on of hands in the rite of Confirmation?"

In the same year Mr. Stewart, one of the oldest missionaries in Fuhkien, returnd to take up work in the Kucheng station, until in the Providence of GOD he was called to his rest. For a year or two, in spite of symptoms of trouble from a sect known as the Vegetarians, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart and a number of ladies and children were able to live and work in comparative peace. In 1895 they went for a short holiday to a hill-station known as Hwasang, and there on August 1st Mr. Stewart and seven ladies were brutally murdered, two of the Stewart children also dying afterwards from the injuries they received at the same time. Here we need only mention two points in connection

with the outbreak. It had nothing to do with any provocation offered by the missionaries themselves: they were quietly resting in the little hillside village, and their death was resolved on by lot as one of three plans, any one of which would, it was thought, strengthen the position of the Vegetarian sect as against the Chinese authorities. And secondly, it was followed not by any defection amongst the Christians, but by a large ingathering of converts in the following year.

Bishop Burdon was succeeded by Bishop Hoare, and the latter at once set himself to secure the division of the unwieldy diocese. Meantime, however, during the few years that elapsed between his own consecration and that of the first Bishop in Fuhkien, he did his best for the work in that province, and, as many of his letters showed, thoroughly enjoyed his visits thither. To one who was so whole-heartedly in favour of building up a native Church, the growth of the native ministry in Fuhkien and the independent spirit shown by the native Christians there, were things full of interest and joy. The actual stations occupied by the Mission were not much increased in number; though Sieng-in, to the south of Hinghwa, was occupied in 1901 for the

first time by European missionaries. But the work all through the province was gradually strengthened, and thus made ready for the advent of the first Bishop of Fuhkien.

In Fuhchow itself there is a considerable educational plant, consisting of a Divinity School, High School, and Union School, on the one hand, and the Stewart Memorial School for training women-workers on the other; while the Girls' Boarding School has deservedly won for itself a very high reputation. This school is the lineal successor of a girls' school carried on from 1875 by the "Female Education Society," which remained for ten years the only agency for women's work in the province. In 1887, however, unmarried women workers in connection with the Church Missionary Society were for the first time sent out: and some years previously the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society was induced to extend its operations to China. In the last twenty years women's work has grown enormously, and now a Women's Conference, at which both the C.E.Z.M.S. and the C.M.S. women-workers are represented, "gives unity and as far as possible uniformity" to that side of the work. In no diocese in China has it proved more fruitful or

embraced a wider field. The training of Bible-women, the opening of station-classes, and the organization of large and successful schools, are features shared also by other dioceses: but house-to-house visiting and village itineration have been, if not peculiar to, at least a marked feature of, the work in Fuhkien.

Even the above brief record of Church expansion in the district where it has reached far larger dimensions than anywhere else in China, reveals mingled reasons for satisfaction and anxiety. On the one hand we have the wonderful growth of later years, resulting from the no less wonderful patient perseverance of the earlier; and we have the success that attended the bold use both of native helpers, and of European women-workers. On the other hand there is the lack of episcopal oversight during the first stages of the work, which is largely responsible for the low proportion of communicants to baptized adults, still observable; and the consequent call for us to strengthen our episcopate still further, if the noble spirit of independence and self-support evinced by so many of our Mission stations is to be saved from developing into mere congregationalism, inconsistent with membership in the Catholic Church.

We may well rejoice, then, that Bishop Hoare's efforts were at length crowned with success, by the consecration of Horace McCartie Eyre Price, a missionary of nearly twenty years' experience, first in Sierra Leone and then for fifteen years in Japan, as the first Bishop of Fuhkien. The task before him is in some ways one of peculiar difficulty, owing to the very strength of the Church over which he is called to rule, in enthusiasm, and in numbers, and in traditions in which episcopal control has not hitherto had its rightful place. On the other hand, his experience in Japan peculiarly qualifies the new Bishop to evolve diocesan order out of the abundant material existing in Fuhkien; and his work will be not fruitless if he so commends his office to his flock that they may learn by a happy experience the value of that episcopate on which the Anglican communion rightly lays so great a stress. Bishop Hoare sometimes had visions of a native Bishop or Bishops working in the Fuhkien province, but assuredly the Church in that province must first learn the full meaning and value of the episcopate before such visions can be realized.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH IN CHEHKIANG

THE circumstances under which the Church was planted in the Province of Chehkiang were apparently very much the same as in Fuhkien, but, as we have seen in a previous chapter, the work seemed to take root more rapidly in the former province. There is a significant lesson in the fact that since those early days of hope it has grown far less rapidly than in Fuhkien, where the first ten years were barren of results. A glance at the map will show that, whereas in Fuhkien the stations are now scattered from Sieng-in in the southern half to Fuhning in the northern, and to Kienyang in the north-western portion of the province, in Chehkiang, with the solitary exception of Taichow in the south, the work touches only the northern fringe of the province from Ningpo on the east to Hangchow at the head of the bay of the same name, the one really inland station in the north being at Chu-ki.

The first converts at Ningpo were baptized in 1851, and six years later the number of converts in that city had grown to sixty, while a promising field had been opened up in the Sanpoh district on the coast. Work among women had also been begun by a Miss Aldersey in connection with the Female Education Society; and a ward of Miss Aldersey's, who had lived with her from childhood in Ningpo, afterwards became the devoted wife and fellow-labourer of Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Russell, one of the first pioneers. Mrs. Russell thus enjoyed the almost unique advantage of being an Englishwoman brought up with Christian Chinese girls, having a perfect knowledge of the local dialect, and an insight into the minds of Chinese women that nothing else would have given her. In later years she used these advantages to the full, and became a great power for good amongst the women and girls of Mid-China.

In 1858 the Mission was strengthened by the arrival of the Rev. G. E. Moule, destined to work in the field for fifty years, and for half that period to rule the Diocese of Mid-China as its Bishop. In the same year Bishop Smith, of Victoria, visited Ningpo, and an interesting conference was held,

at which the few native workers were allowed to be present and to make proposals, which led eventually to the opening of Hangchow as a Mission centre. Once the capital of China (under the Sung dynasty), Hangchow has remained "a great and striking town," though robbed of something of its old glory. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century described it as "without doubt the noblest and finest city in the world"; and we cannot but appreciate the patriotism of those early Chinese Christians who felt that if the Gospel was to be preached in Chehkiang province at all, an immediate effort should be made to plant it in the city of which that province was so justly proud. In consequence of their representations, the Rev. J. S. Burdon made an effort to gain a footing there forthwith; but the outbreak of hostilities between England and China, and the spread of the Taiping rebellion, for a time made the effort of none effect.

The last-named cause for some years grievously interfered with the Church's progress. Such disturbances from without were bound to affect not only the progress of mission work amongst the heathen but also the steadfastness of the converts already won. We need not be surprised,

therefore, that four divinity students, preparing for ordination, were so shaken in their allegiance, that they had to be suspended for a time, or that even so trusted a catechist as Mr. Bao [1] should have been temporarily unsettled.

His case is so typical of one of the commonest difficulties which the missionary in China has to meet that it deserves further notice, the difficulty arising from the extraordinary importance attached to "face," i.e., something between reputation and personal pride. Charges were brought against Bao to the effect that he and his family had appropriated to their own use spoils left behind in the city by the Taipings, when they were driven out by the British sailors. These charges, brought in a most public manner by a native Christian, were inquired into, with the result that nothing was proved against him beyond a certain want of judgment. The Rev. G. E. Moule made known the result of the inquiry as clearly as possible to the native Christian community; but the mere fact that such inquiry had been deemed necessary appeared to the catechist a serious affront. He threw up his work, separated himself from the

[1] See *The Chehkiang Mission* for the story of Mr. Bao's conversion.

Church, and resumed his original trade of tailoring.

It is pleasant to know that some years later he repented and humbled himself, and was able once more to be employed as a catechist: but the incident serves to illustrate a very common difficulty. In the Mission in North China, some thirty years later, a very similar case occurred.

The close of the Taiping rebellion was the signal for carrying out a forward movement for which the missionaries had long been waiting. In 1865 the Rev. G. E. Moule occupied Hangchow, where he has since lived and worked for over forty years, as priest and Bishop. A year or two later Bishop Alford, of Victoria, visited Ningpo—episcopal visits were in those days so few as to be regarded as great events—and ordained two English deacons to the priesthood: but the total number of Christians was only about one hundred and fifty. Still the work was pushed on, and Mr. Gretton reoccupied Shaohing, and on the first anniversary of the Day of Intercession, in 1874, he baptized seven converts there; while in Hangchow the hospital and opium refuge, which has since became famous under Dr. Duncan Main, was first opened by Dr. Galt, in 1871.

Fortunately for the Mission, this period of development was coincident with the consecration of one of the senior missionaries, Mr. Russell, as first Bishop of North China.[1] His arrival was followed by a series of Confirmations in all the stations of the Mission, and in 1875 and the following year he ordained four Chinese deacons and one priest. Altogether, during the first five years of his episcopate, Bishop Russell confirmed three hundred candidates; a significant fact when it is remembered that seven years before there had only been one hundred and fifty Christians.

In 1876 Joseph Hoare landed in Ningpo, and the Bishop at once set about the erection of the first Theological College, with which Mr. Hoare was for so many years identified. But to that we shall return later; for the moment let us follow out the beginnings of work in the district south of Hangchow, since known as Chu-ki.

It was in December, 1876, that the Rev. Arthur Moule rented a small room in the south suburb of Hangchow "at a cost of fivepence a week, with £1 for caution-money and £1. 10*s.* 0*d.* for fittings." The inscription over the door, "The Holy Religion

[1] His jurisdiction extended over what is now Mid-China and nominally over all China to the north of latitude 28°.

of JESUS," caught the attention of a Mr. Chow, a native of the Chu-ki district, and he soon became an earnest inquirer. In the following September he was baptized by the name of Luke, and in the following month nineteen of his fellow-villagers were baptized. All went well for over a year, but early in 1878 persecution broke out in the village, directed especially against Luke Chow, as the leader of the little band of Christians. Archdeacon Moule in *The Story of the Chehkiang Mission* gives an intensely interesting account of this trouble, in all its details so typical of much that has happened since in every part of China; but it is not everywhere that the Church emerges so strong as it did in "The Happy Valley" at Chu-ki. For in May Bishop Russell confirmed twenty-seven Christians there, and within a year the Christian roll contained a hundred names, the Gospel having spread to no less than fourteen villages in the neighbourhood.

But the revered and saintly Bishop was not allowed to pay a second visit to this promising station; on October 5, 1879, after thirty-two years of faithful and devoted labours in the cause of CHRIST, he passed away from the scene of those labours to his rest. Two brief testimonies

to Bishop Russell's character may fitly be quoted here. One of the strongest missionaries of the Church in China said of him "that he was so good a man that it seemed wrong ever to differ from him"; and one of his native clergy, after dwelling on his exceeding sympathy and courtesy, added, "In whatever he did, he trusted in the power of GOD."[1]

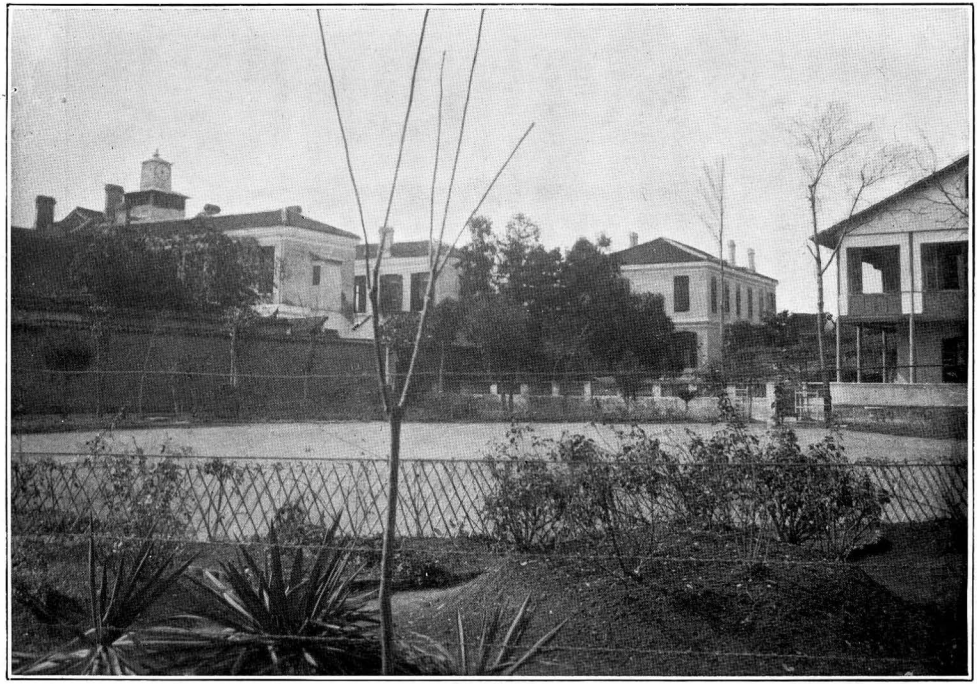
The Rev. G. E. Moule was consecrated as his successor on October 28, 1880, the Rev. C. P. Scott being consecrated at the same time as Bishop in North China, strictly so-called, i.e., with jurisdiction over the six northern provinces. Bishop Moule's jurisdiction extended over Kiang-su, Chehkiang, Nganhui, Hupeh, and the greater part of Iz-chuan, as well as parts of Kiangsi and Hunan, no notice being taken by the authorities in England of the presence of a Bishop of the American Church in Shanghai. But we are, for the present, concerned only with the work in the Chehkiang province, where the work developed steadily along certain marked lines. The medical work of the Mission has grown very much in importance during the last twenty-five years; its evangelistic work is typified by the successful

[1] See *W. A. Russell, a Brief Sketch*, p. 14.

opening of the southern district of Taichow; the educational side has been mainly represented by the Ningpo College; and diocesan organization and development have been marked both by the increasing numbers of native clergy and by the institution of the Diocesan Synod, side by side with the usual C.M.S. Conference of missionaries. Each of these points merits a brief notice here.

Mention has already been made of the opening of medical work at Hangchow [1]; but it was in the first years of Bishop Moule's episcopate that Dr. Main was able to develop it to its present importance. In 1886 a large hospital was erected, with a separate building for women-patients, another for lepers, and a school for leper-children; and since then a convalescent home, lecture-rooms and 'students' quarters, and a special hospital chapel have been added. The hospital contains about two hundred beds, and receives over a thousand in-patients every year, while the out-patient roll exceeds fifty thousand. Nor has medical work been confined to Hangchow. The hospital at Ningpo has for years done a growing work, and there is yet another English doctor working in the Taichow station, in the south of the province.

[1] See p. 102.



THE HOSPITAL AT HANGCHOW.

To face page 106.

But we must pass on to note the striking episode of the evangelization of the Taichow district.

It will be remembered that during the earlier years of the Mission the work spread north-west from Ningpo to Izuki, and Sanpoh, and later on to Shaohing and Hangchow, the extension to Chu-ki some fifty miles south of the last-named city coming ten years afterwards. The development we are about to notice, which was in a new direction altogether, followed at another interval of ten years.

Taichow stands on the river of that name, now distant some twenty miles from its mouth, though formerly it occupied the site of Hai Meng which is now its port. It is, therefore, more than a hundred miles south of Ningpo, and quite outside the sphere of the other Chehkiang work But it affords a good instance of how missionary operations to-day are overruled by the same Spirit which guided S. Paul in his journeys long ago.

A band of students from Mr. Hoare's college at Ningpo had been preaching in the Chu-ki district, and had mentioned the opium cures effected at the Ningpo Hospital. This news, carried home by a casual hearer to his native village, came

to the ears of an opium-smoker living in the hills near Taichow, who forthwith visited Ningpo to see for himself whether the report was true. There, in the hospital, he was not only cured but converted, and his father, who also had come to Ningpo at his son's suggestion, was baptized at the same time.

The immediate results were tragic. The father returned home, fell ill with cholera, and died. The clan, attributing this calamity to the just anger of heaven, thought to propitiate that wrath by destroying the family-home. The son, on his return, found his father dead, his home a ruin, and himself an outcast from his clan. But he stood firm against all threats, and teachers were sent from Ningpo to help him in his evangelistic work, with such good results that on a single day (the Eve of S. Andrew's Day), in 1888, Mr. Hoare baptized seventy-seven adults, and five years later Bishop Moule confirmed nearly a hundred candidates at one time. There are now more than a thousand Christians in the district, and the Church is strongly planted there.

To the end of his life Bishop Hoare was wont to refer to Taichow as the best example he knew of the spread of the Gospel through native agency

and preaching. The work had been begun through the preaching of some of the students from the college at Ningpo; the first preacher in Taichow itself had been the man who had listened to those students; and for many years it was carried on entirely by native evangelists and clergy, with annual visits from Mr. Hoare himself during the holidays of the Ningpo College.

To the work of that college, as the keystone of the educational work in Chehkiang, we must now turn.

School work has always been a most fruitful field of missionary effort, but in former days, at least, its results were often weakened through lack of organization. In the case of the Chehkiang work this was foreseen and guarded against, as soon as Mr. Hoare assumed the headship of the Ningpo College. Day schools were gradually planted over all the Mission area, staffed very largely by teachers trained at Ningpo. From each school the best boys were afterwards drafted into the high school at Ningpo, from which, in due course, selected students passed into the college. That institution was truly fortunate in its first principal.

The method which Mr. Hoare adopted may be

stated in his own words: "In the spring of 1884 I was joined by the Rev. W. L. Groves. This set me more free for carrying on the work of the theological class in the method which I had originally proposed to myself, viz., by taking them into the country, and living either in boats or in native houses, and combining lectures with aggressive evangelistic work. In this way we made many expeditions, with much profit to the members of the class. We had three spells of some two months each in Chu-ki, and several others in boats in the Ningpo district."[1]

The object of the college had been defined from the first as being "to give to Chinese youths, the sons of native Christians, a sound religious education, with a view to their future usefulness either as ministers, catechists, or schoolmasters"; and this object has been kept steadily in view. The students have not been taught so wide a range of subjects as has been found possible in other institutions, such as S. Stephen's College at Hong Kong, or S. John's College, Jessfield, which we shall notice in a later chapter; but, both under Mr. Hoare and under his loyal successor, the

[1] *Faithful Men: a record of twenty-five years in Trinity College, Ningpo*, p. 5.

Rev. W. S. Moule, they have learnt to set the highest value on Christian earnestness and a thorough knowledge of their own Chinese Bible.

And at least Mr. Hoare's method has given Mid-China many faithful Bible-teachers, both within and without the ranks of the native ministry. Of nineteen clergy ordained since the founding of the college, all but two passed through it; and about one-third of the boys who have been educated at the school are in the Church's service to-day.

The last feature of Bishop Moule's episcopate which calls for notice is the organization of the native Church. The three key-notes of such organization—self-support, self-government, and self-extension—are all to be found in the Chehkiang Mission. The Diocesan Synod is fully representative of the Chinese and European clergy and laity, and it "tends strongly towards self-government and the corporate life of the Church." The contributions of the native Christians are steadily increasing, and it is now an essential condition of "foreign" help that there should be some Chinese help forthcoming to meet the grant-in-aid. Two native evangelists are supported entirely by Chinese subscriptions, and are at work on the

Tsientang River, at the mouth of which Hangchow is situated.

The progress of the Church's work in Chehkiang may seem to have been slow when compared to that in Fuhkien, but it has been on sound lines, and it has the promise of further developments in the future. One name, in recent years, stands out as typical of the loving devotion which has marked the work, a name borne by several of the missionaries in the diocese. For fifty years George Evans Moule has worked in Chehkiang as priest and Bishop. His brother Arthur has been with him through the greater part of that period, and has done much by his eloquent pen to forward the missionary cause. Four of the Bishop's children are, or have been, at work in the mission-field, and three of the archdeacon's sons are working in Ningpo or in Shanghai. Such a record is hardly to be paralleled anywhere or at any time; and we may well close this chapter with an expression of thankfulness to GOD for the inspiration and example which it affords to all who have been privileged to work in the same field.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH IN THE YANGTSE VALLEY

THE great rivers of China are the most striking geographical features of the country. The Yellow River, known as the "Scourge of China," is almost as famous for its floods and the changes of its bed as for its length; but it cannot compare in importance with the magnificent highway of Central China, the Yangtse-kiang, or River Yangtse. Ocean-going steamers to-day, like the great tea-clippers a hundred years ago, can find their way right into the interior of China, passing within a few miles of Shanghai, which lies up a short but deep tributary, the Whampoa, at the mouth of the Yangtse, and calling if need be at ports such as Chinkiang, Nanking, Wuhu, Nganking, and Kiukiang, before they reach the twin towns of Hankow and Wuchang, which face one another across the river nearly seven hundred miles from its mouth. Above Hankow naviga-

tion is much more restricted, but small steamers can get some hundreds of miles farther at certain seasons of the year, past Hsinti, Yochow, and Shasi to Ichang, and boats of special design have even reached Chungking, some five hundred miles above Hankow. It is to the development of the Church's work along this highway that we must now turn our attention.

Shanghai, the greatest commercial port in China, was the first point of attack by the English Church, Mr. McLatchie, as we have already noticed,[1] taking up his residence there in 1845, a few months before Bishop Boone, of the American Church, returned from the United States to reside there also as the first Bishop of the Anglican communion. But the Church Missionary Society have never grappled with the work there on any large scale, much of what has been done having been really connected with a congregation of Ningpo Christians settled in Shanghai, rather than with indigenous converts. It is not improbable, therefore, that hereafter what work now exists in connection with the Diocese of Mid-China will pass under the rule of the American Bishop, who not only lives but a mile

[1] See page 28.

or two out of Shanghai, but whose work already includes several congregations of Christians in Shanghai itself.

Before turning to the work of the American Church, however, a word must be said about the work in the English community at Shanghai.

With a liberality not unworthy of its wealth, that community has from the first supported its own church and chaplain. The original church was pulled down some forty years ago to make room for a fine brick church built from designs by Sir Gilbert Scott; and—perhaps not unnaturally—it was suggested that Bishop Russell, on his arrival in China after his consecration as Bishop, should be enthroned in the Shanghai church as his cathedral. Into the difficult question of jurisdiction thus raised—the American Bishop living hard by, and Bishop Russell intending to live at Ningpo—we need not now enter. It is sufficient to say that the Church has ever since been called a cathedral, rather by courtesy than by right; and the senior priest attached to it, though appointed by the trustees, is often known as the Dean. To Dean Butcher,[1] who was chaplain for many years and who was in many ways

[1] Afterwards Archdeacon of Cairo, till his death in 1905.

a very exceptional man, the Shanghai Church owes much; and the Rev. H. C. Hodges, who followed him, did a great deal of quiet work in various directions. But under the guidance of the present chaplain, the Rev. A. J. Walker, there has been such marked development, that the work of his predecessors has already become somewhat "ancient history."

Growing congregations, increased opportunities of worship, the help of additional clergy, and a choir school, mark the development in the cathedral itself; while the active prosecution of the Seamen's Mission, in connection with S. Andrew's Church, is only one of the many directions in which the Church is successfully doing her work amongst the foreign community of Shanghai.

The first American Bishop, whose arrival in China was noticed in a previous chapter, died in 1864 and was succeeded by Bishop Williams, who was entrusted also with the oversight of the American Church Mission in Japan. In 1874 he elected to leave China and remain Bishop in Japan, but the ten years of his episcopate in China left its mark on the Mission in the opening of work at Hankow and Wuchang. In the latter town Bishop Williams started the

"Boone School" in memory of his predecessor, a school which has of recent years developed very largely, and which is now an educational institution of very high merit.

This development of the work far up the river was more than matched under Bishop Williams' successor at Shanghai. Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, who had lived in Peking for several years laying the foundations of a deep knowledge of the Chinese language, was elected Bishop of Shanghai in 1875, after Bishop Williams' withdrawal to Japan. He declined the bishopric at first, but yielded his wish when elected a second time in 1876. He was one of many remarkable men who came to China in those early years of mission work. By birth a Jew, by training a student, by nature an accomplished linguist, it was only natural that the bent of his mind should be towards translation work. He had done much while in Peking, but it seemed possible that the claim of his episcopal work would put a stop to his literary activity. His brief episcopate saw the founding of one of the best-known missionary institutions in China, namely, S. John's College at Jessfield, close to Shanghai, and the kindred institution of S. Mary's Hall, for women and girls.

But hardly had these institutions been opened, ere their founder was laid aside by sunstroke, resulting in paralysis. To many men such an affliction would have been the signal for retirement from the mission-field. The Bishop, however, was a man of a different stamp. He relinquished the episcopal burden which had been laid upon him against his will, only to take up again the work of translation which he had been forced to lay aside for a few years. With indomitable courage and energy, paralysed as he was, so that he could only use a typewriter with one finger, for sixteen years he persevered with his work, completing a translation of the entire Bible under circumstances which fairly entitle his labours to be called heroic.

The second Bishop Boone, who succeeded him in 1884, had been born in China, though educated in America. In 1869 he had returned to China as a missionary, and ten years later had been appointed by Bishop Schereschewsky as the first head of the theological department at S. John's. Within a week of his own consecration (which was remarkable as the first consecration of an Anglican Bishop held in China) he was able to admit five of his old students to the Diaconate. For seven years he presided over the American

Church's China Mission, and under his wise rule it developed slowly and steadily. Work was begun at Wuhu on the lower Yangtse, and also at Shasi and Ichang, ports on the river above Hankow. The staff of the Mission was strengthened throughout; amongst others who came out during Bishop Boone's brief episcopate being Mr. Graves, now Bishop of Shanghai, Mr. Partridge, now Bishop of Kyoto in Japan, and Mr. Ingle, who was afterwards the first Bishop of Hankow.

In 1891 Bishop Boone died, and Bishop Graves succeeded him two years later. Writing ten years after, the Bishop looked back on the year 1893 as a day of small beginnings. "Ours was a small Mission. We felt as if the Church had sent us out here and then forgotten about us."

We cannot record in detail the progress of the work since then; but another quotation from the Bishop's own account of the Mission will give some idea of the development seen in ten years. In 1903 he says: "We have now two Bishops, and two missionary districts, and the work in either of these two districts is stronger than the whole Mission was then. We were working in three of the provinces of China then: we are working in

five provinces now. Our foreign missionaries resided only in three cities then: they are resident in eight now. Our Mission staff consisted then of seven foreign clergy, and seven lay workers: it has now grown to two Bishops, twenty-one foreign clergy, and twenty-five lay workers. We had but few baptized Christians in addition to the 818 communicants then; we have now 3,600 baptized Christians and 1,309 communicants. Our boarding scholars were 203 then: they are 556 now, and they would be more if we had the room."

Such a record of advance is in itself worthy of note. But the lines on which the advance was made are no less worthy of careful consideration.

In 1902 the work which had hitherto been carried on under a single Bishop was divided, and the Rev. James Addison Ingle was consecrated at Hankow as its first Bishop. For the second time in the history of the Anglican Church in China, a Bishop was consecrated in China itself. In both cases, the Bishop was an American. We in England are much given to talking about the necessity of cherishing the "native" spirit in "native Churches": about

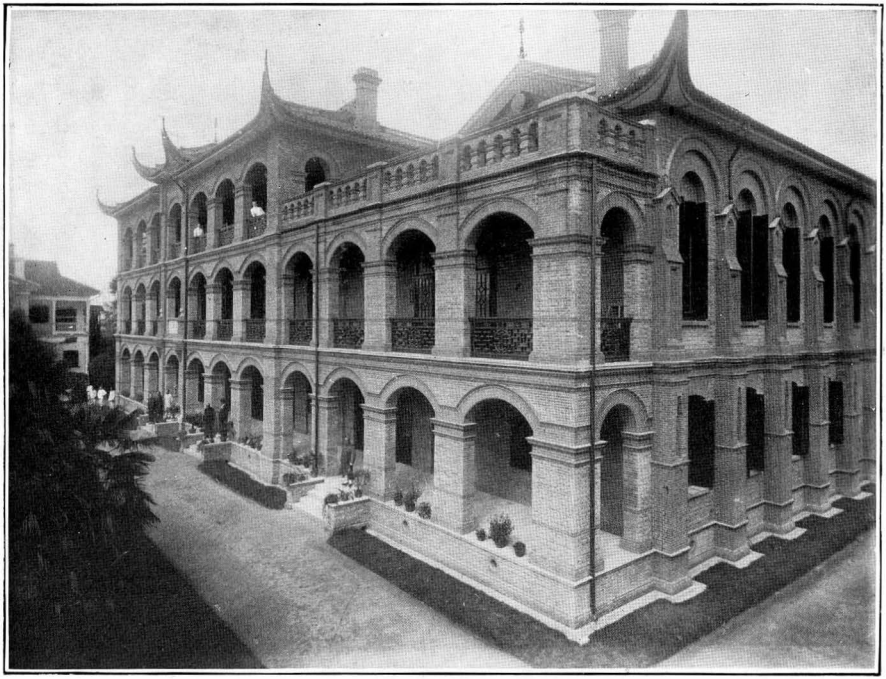
the doubtful expediency of introducing foreign customs: about the need of convincing converts from heathenism that Christianity ought to change their hearts only, and not their nationality. And yet, in a point of the utmost importance such as the consecration of a Bishop, there seems to be some mysterious but insuperable obstacle to his being consecrated in the mission-field, if it happens to be outside our Colonial Empire.

Bishop Ingle's episcopate was but brief. The hopes raised by his appointment were well set forth by his successor in his primary charge: "He was the leader and friend of us all. Why he should have been taken away, just as his ripe judgment, his wide sympathy, his sober enthusiasm, were beginning to tell in manifold ways at home as well as in China, is a question far too deep for us to answer." For it was but two years after his consecration that Bishop Ingle died at Hankow, to the grief of his own flock and of all who had known him in China. He was succeeded by Bishop Roots, who was consecrated in 1905.

The first feature of the American Church Mission, which cannot fail to impress every student of Missions, is the attention given to *education*.

Education seems to be, if not the prerogative of American Missions, at least their speciality; and the Church Mission is no exception to the rule. We have already noted the foundation of the two colleges round which this branch of the work centres. The Boone College at Wuchang has of recent years been so greatly developed that it is now quite independent of S. John's College at Jessfield; and its students bid fair to rival those of S. John's in proficiency as well as in numbers. In both colleges, as in the boarding and day schools belonging to the Mission, heathen students are admitted side by side with the Christian students, thus, as it has been said, "bringing under Christian teaching and influence those who are not Christians." That is one side of the question, certainly, and the side which presents itself most strongly to all American Missions. But there is another, the seriousness of which needs to be borne in mind. The success, however, of the American college has to a great extent justified the bold policy adopted; and the colleges owe much of their prestige and not a little of their financial prosperity to their heathen students.

Another mark of American courage is the



S. John's College, Jessfield, Shanghai.

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endeavour to make the curriculum in all their schools as closely conformable to modern educational ideas as possible. That this involves a comparative slight upon the Chinese Classics is certain; and it may be doubted whether the latter will not have to secure greater alteration in the future than they have done hitherto. There has been some temptation to think that the reign of the celebrated Classics is already over; but signs are not wanting that they will come to take their place even among such modern subjects as mathematics, science, English, and the like, as firmly as English literature has taken its place with ourselves. There has been a reaction from the old traditional view which confined all education to the Classics: but patriotism and a knowledge of their native language alike demand that the students of to-day should not altogether ignore the literary treasures of their own land.

Both S. John's College at Jessfield and the Boone College at Hankow have now established themselves securely in the forefront of educational progress. At the former, of which the Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott has been for many years the head, there are some two hundred students, a third of

whom are Christians. The Boone College was little more than a Mission boarding school until, in 1899, its present Principal, the Rev. James Jackson, took charge. He is only one of several men whom the American Mission has first borrowed and then appropriated, with conspicuous success. The Science Professor at S. John's, and the Treasurer of both dioceses are Englishmen; and two clergy of Scandinavian birth are working under Bishop Graves in the Anhui province. Mr. Jackson was not only an Englishman, but originally a Wesleyan missionary. His peculiar capacity for educational work had been long noticed; and when Mr. Partridge left Wuchang for Japan, the post of Principal of the Boone School was offered to him. For himself, one of the consequences of coming into closer contact with the Church was that he became a convinced Churchman; for the school in his charge, the results have been no less marked. Within three years of his arrival, a college course was begun; and in 1906, when seven students graduated, three remained on to enter the Divinity School under the Rev. L. B. Ridgeley, and four joined the college staff.

We have dwelt at some length on these two

colleges, because they represent a side of the Church's work which has been too much neglected in China. The English Church Missions have hitherto been too much hampered by lack of funds to do anything in this direction, except in the very recently started S. Stephen's College in Hong Kong. In Peking especially there was a real opening for such work; but as we shall see when we come to record the work in North China, the Mission there has been far too starved in men and means to make such work possible. The importance of the work lies in the fact that the denominations, especially various American Missions, have not been so backward. The result is that they possess to-day schools and colleges where not only a large number of students are educated for lay professions, but where also their own evangelists and pastors can receive a good training on broad lines. If the clergy of the Anglican communion are to be an educated class, the time has surely come when this problem of educational work must be seriously faced. It means, of course, money and men. But the fruits of such work are likely to be permanent; and the opportunity for doing it is one that will pass away speedily if it is not grasped without delay.

Naturally, a Mission which has attached so much importance to educational work amongst boys and men has not been backward in developing schools for girls. S. Mary's Hall at Shanghai, and S. Hilda's School at Wuchang are both doing excellent work; while at Shanghai there is also an Orphanage for girls and a Training School for Bible-women. To illustrate the results of the latter, we may quote the following translation of a passage in an address given by a Bible-woman to the women under preparation in the Training School. Mrs. Sung had been dwelling on some of the difficulties which she knew by experience, and she proceeded to explain how she had learnt to meet them. "One way is to establish little day schools, and then to visit the parents and relatives of your pupils. Invite them to visit you in return, and ask them to bring their neighbours and friends. When they come, be polite to them and make them feel that they are welcome. Call on your own neighbours and visit them frequently." The stress laid by this Chinese Bible-woman on "hospitality" reminds one of the New Testament; and it is a lesson which needs to be perpetually borne in mind in China. Almost all the women employed in this work are widows,

and thus again we are reminded of the primitive Church with its Order of Widows given to good works.

Before we leave the subject of education, a word must be said about the theological classes connected both with S. John's College and with the Boone College at Wuchang. In Bishop Graves' retrospect of the first ten years of his episcopate, from which we have already quoted, this feature of the work was not noticed. But the native clergy of the American Mission have been from its earliest days one of its strongest points. Mention was made in a former chapter of one or two of the most distinguished Chinese priests; but of late years their numbers have grown considerably, and, as we have already remarked, their standard in the matter of education is a comparatively high one. In point of numbers they compare not unfavourably with Fuhkien and Mid-China, which number between them thirty-six priests, while the American Church boasts twenty-six; but the latter are intellectually better equipped for their work, and in this respect set an example which the English dioceses would do well to follow.

To record in any detail the medical work would

require more space than remains to us. It must suffice to mention that probably no Mission in China is better provided in this respect. Some seven or eight doctors are in full work, with several admirable hospitals which are the envy of less fortunate medical missionaries. But the medical work has never been allowed to be divorced from the evangelistic work; and not a little of the spread of the Gospel in the Yangtse Valley has been due to the preaching in dispensaries, and the even more valuable work done among the patients in the hospitals.

As we bring to a close this brief record of the work of the American branch of our communion in China, one or two points stand out in such marked prominence that we may well call attention to them.

The policy of the Mission from the first has been to establish what Archbishop Benson described as "red hot" centres at important places. Such were Shanghai and Hankow, six hundred miles apart, but connected by the River Yangtse. From these the work has spread; but the foreign missionary has always been planted at places of importance. In the Shanghai district to-day—apart from S. John's, Jessfield, with its large com-

munity, and Shanghai, which accounts for seven or eight more—missionaries are now at work in such cities as Wusih and Soochow; in the Hankow district, apart from Hankow and Wuchang, there are stations at Hanchuan, Hsinti, Ichang, and Shasi, as well as at Kiukiang and Nganking and Wuhu, on the Yangtse below Hankow.

Such centralization seems to have tended to greater strength, and has made communication not only between the missionaries, but also between the native Christians, easier and more effective in building up the Church. It is evident, of course, that the work which has been accomplished has owed much to the liberal support received from America, which has been on a scale that no English diocese dare expect to receive. But this fact, while it explains much in the way of "plant" which excites our admiration, if not our envy, has been due not a little to the definiteness of the appeals presented, and the courage of those responsible for making such appeals. One of the lessons to be learned from the American Church Mission is surely to be found here. Is it not possible that if our English Missions could learn

to plan with the same bold foresight, they would find a readier response in material help, as well as in offers of service, than they have met with hitherto?

CHAPTER X

THE CHURCH IN WESTERN CHINA

FOUNDED by the genius and inspired by the enthusiasm of Mr. Hudson Taylor, the great China Inland Mission may be said to have sprung into fame only when it was joined by the "Cambridge Seven," of whom two at least were already famous. From 1865 to 1872 it had sent out but thirty missionaries, and during the next ten years its numbers continued to grow comparatively slowly, for the Mission was having a hard struggle to maintain its existence. Nothing but indomitable faith supported its founder under the storm of criticism his methods evoked from without, and the harrowing anxiety as to funds which must have been a heavy burden from within, even to so unworldly a man as Mr. Taylor.

However, in November, 1882, Mr. Moody paid his memorable visit to Cambridge, and in the autumn of 1884 it was announced that the captain

of the Cambridge cricket eleven, and the stroke-oar of the Cambridge boat were going out as missionaries to China. This decision on the part of men so well known as C. T. Studd and Stanley Smith naturally had important results. Five other Cambridge men joined them; and, the China Inland Mission being confessedly open to members of all denominations, it is perhaps not surprising that amongst the Cambridge volunteers were a London curate, the Rev. W. W. Cassels, Montagu Beauchamp, a nephew of Lord Radstock, and a Churchman, and Arthur Polhill, a Ridley Hall student, who had intended to offer himself to the Church Missionary Society. The other two members of the band were both officers in the Army, D. E. Hoste, of the Royal Artillery, and Cecil Polhill, of the 6th Dragoon Guards.

The Churchman who holds most strongly the divine ideal of the Church, will naturally seek an outlet for his enthusiasm in supporting definitely Church work; the more nominal Churchman, and the Churchman who claims to hold "wider views," are as naturally repelled by anything which looks like narrowness or selfishness. But they will be moved to help Church work, as readily or even more readily than any other work, when the

appeal in its behalf is made to their Christianity rather than to their Churchmanship, when it is recognized that Churchmen are the brethren and not the rivals of other GOD-fearing Christians. It is not one of the least results of missionary work, that it has a clear tendency to promote Christian unity. If the friends of Missions will bear in mind that such unity does not mean and need not mean necessarily outward uniformity, they will find in this wider basis of appeal, in this CHRIST-like breadth of view, an inspiration for themselves and others which shall not in the providence of GOD prove barren of great results.

The subject of this chapter, as has been said, has seemed to justify this digression from the record of work to the consideration of the principles of work. But we must now turn back to explain how the Church in Western China came into being as a separate diocese, under a Bishop drawn from the ranks of the China Inland Mission.

As we have seen, one member of the "Cambridge Seven," the Rev. W. W. Cassels, was already in Holy Orders; and another, Mr. Arthur Polhill, was reading for Orders when he volunteered for China. On their arrival in China both

these men and Mr. Montagu Beauchamp were sent up by the China Inland Mission into the Western Province of Ssuch'uan, where others of the same Mission were already located. Mr. Cassels held Bishop Moule's licence, the district being within the Mid-China jurisdiction, and Mr. Polhill was before long ordained both deacon and priest by the same Bishop. It naturally followed that the work was in some measure conducted on Church lines, at least where the C.I.M. missionaries belonged to the Church of England.

Not long after the arrival of these C.I.M. Churchmen, the Rev. J. H. Horsburgh, of the C.M.S. Mission in Mid-China, was enabled to put into execution a plan formed by himself in 1888 after a pioneer tour in Ssuch'uan. At the close of 1891 Mr. and Mrs. Horsburgh, the Rev. O. M. Jackson, three laymen, and six single women missionaries, entered Ssuch'uan as the first band of C.M.S. missionaries to take up work in that province. By a friendly arrangement with the China Inland Mission, aided by the influence possessed by the latter with other Missions that were or might be desirous of opening work in the district, a large part of the province was set apart for work on Church of England lines, and

a definite district was assigned to the C.M.S. workers as well as to those of the China Inland Mission. The former district lies mainly to the north of the capital, Chengtu, the latter lies to the east of the C.M.S. district. In this respect the diocese is in some ways beginning under conditions almost unique. When it is remembered that the denominations, including the non-Church members of the China Inland Mission, are practically leaving this part of the field to the Church, the urgency of giving the Bishop whole-hearted support will become more evident.

When Mr. Horsburgh's party first arrived, they were unable to secure or rent any houses in the principal towns of what was to be the Church's district of the future; and they were at first the welcome guests of their fellow-workers of the China Inland Mission. However, they did not wait long before beginning itinerating work, staying for days or weeks in native inns; and even such short sojourns were by no means fruitless. One of the leaders in this work was a woman possessed of exceptional gifts, Miss Entwistle, to whom the opening of the important town of Miencheo was mainly due. She resided there in an inn alone for some time before she

was joined by another missionary; and her companion had not been with her long before an attack of smallpox cut short Miss Entwistle's work just as it seemed about to bear fruit. But, as is so often the case, this apparent loss was at once followed by corresponding gains. Town after town was occupied successfully, sometimes only after much opposition and misunderstanding, and the Church Missionary Society alone can now claim eight stations in a district about one hundred and fifty miles square.

Meanwhile the C.I.M. workers were also breaking ground to the east, from Paoming, where the Bishop now has his headquarters, eastward to Kurifu on the Yangtse, not far above Ichang. But the very fact that the work was spreading so rapidly filled some of the workers with a longing to see the Church's organization completed by the consecration of a Bishop who should live amongst them. Bishop Moule, of Mid-China, living some 1,600 miles away, could hardly be expected to be able to visit a district so far distant from Chehkiang, and yet Christians were being baptized without any prospect of being confirmed; and the natural results of the lack of a common leader were being aggravated

by the fact that the Church was represented by two Societies on the field.

Consequently, steps were taken for the formation of a new diocese; and when Archbishop Benson, after consulting with both the Societies interested, announced his intention of consecrating Mr. Cassels as the first Bishop in Western China, it was felt to be an admirable choice. The Church Missionary Society came forward with an offer to guarantee the Bishop's support, and Mr. Cassels was consecrated on October 18, 1895, "coming on to the roll of C.M.S. missionaries while fully retaining his position in the China Inland Mission."[1]

Very touching is the account of his first message to his diocese, sent from Shanghai at the end of the year. "I am but a little child. JESUS called a little child unto Him, and set him in the midst. A little child shall lead them."[2] And very striking has been the result of the Archbishop's courage in consecrating a priest connected for some years with a Society confessedly "undenominational"; for his work has

[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, iii. 579.

[2] The Bishop's feeling may be compared also to that of the Emperor Ching, as given in two Odes in the

been done from the first with a child's confidence in his FATHER, and with a child's single-mindedness, if with a strong man's tenacity and power. Gradually the whole work has been drawn together and organized on common lines: the "C.I.M. missionary" has proved himself a staunch Churchman where Churchmanship has been needed, and a no less liberal-minded Christian where there was room for sympathy and breadth of view. As a proof of the confidence he has inspired, the fact that the C.M.S. staff was strengthened during the four years subsequent to his consecration by as many as eighteen recruits is no less striking than the fact that the China

"Shi-King" (see "The Wisdom of the East" series, published by John Murray, *Book of Odes*, pp. 25–27).

The foliowing lines may be quoted as a specimen:—

"It is but as a little child I ask,
Without intelligence to do my task,
Yet learning month by month, and day by day,
I will hold fast some gleams of knowledge bright;
Help me to bear my heavy burden right,
And show me how to walk in wisdom's way.
A little child,
Only a little child, I am too frail
To cope with the anxieties of state
And cares of king-craft."

The whole of the two short Odes would be well worth quoting if space allowed: they are admirably translated by Mr. Allen Upward.

Inland Mission has continued to repose implicit confidence in him as the effective leader of their work in a district so far removed from Shanghai, where they have their headquarters.

The diocese, however, suffered a blow in the retirement of the Rev. J. H. Horsburgh, who had been the first pioneer of the Church. But the strengthening of its staff from home, and the ordination of several laymen working in the field, have more than made up its losses. It is worthy of note that yet another member of the famous Seven has at length seen his way to be ordained, in the person of Mr. Beauchamp, who, after twenty years' service as a layman, was ordained while at home on furlough, in 1906, by Bishop Moule of Durham.

The spread of the work in the diocese has been remarkable. A glance at the map will show a fairly compact area more or less covered with Mission stations. If the course of the Yangtse River is traced a short distance above Ichang, the city of Kurifu will be seen on its northern bank. Some six hundred miles west-north-west, on the edge of the province, is the important frontier city of Sang-pan, formerly occupied by the China Inland Mission, but made over by them to the

Church Missionary Society in 1899. South again of Sang-pan, some two hundred miles, is the provincial capital of Cheng-tu, which lies just outside the sphere of the Bishop's work. But within these three points, which form, as it were, the angles of a triangle, there are some score or more of stations occupied by Churchmen and Churchwomen, sent out under the auspices of one or other of the two Societies. The Church Missionary Society, as has been said, work the western portion: the China Inland Mission the larger eastern portion. But the whole work is now being more and more co-ordinated under the guidance of the Bishop.

Probably no part of the Church's work in China can show greater results in proportion to the money spent. In the last chapter we were viewing the work of the American Church, and the contrast between the two districts is significant. The lines on which the great work of the American Church is conducted presuppose the resources which have not been, and are never likely to be, at the disposal of the Diocese of Western China. But there is surely room for both methods; and if the Western China work can boast no great educational institutions as yet,

it must be remembered that the Gospel has been spread with a zeal and a success which many financially more prosperous Missions might well envy. That there is pressing need for further support is evidenced by the testimony of the Bishop himself, no less than by the abundance of the opportunity to which all who are at work there bear witness.

Bishop Cassels' headquarters are at Paoningfu, right in the centre of the work; and in 1905, at the annual meeting in London of the China Inland Mission, he spoke of his needs as follows: "In my own district, i.e., around Paoningfu, in the last seven years our central stations have increased threefold, our out-stations more than tenfold, and our opportunities certainly more than a hundredfold. But what increase of workers have we had? a net increase of three men to work three stations, to look after all these out-stations, and to seek to avail themselves of the scores of opportunities." [1]

The above quotation leads us irresistibly to quote another passage from the immediate context in the same speech. "It is sometimes said, 'I have no guidance.' . . . Now GOD guides the

[1] *China's Millions*, June 1905, p. 79.

going man as you guide a boat. You cannot steer a boat that has not got any way on it. Make a move, make an effort; step forth in some way or another, and GOD will certainly give you guidance." These words contain a truth which is applicable not only to individuals but to the missionary policy and work of the Church as a whole. Whether in the mission-field or at home, we need GOD'S guidance, and the Bishop's words remind us of a primary condition for receiving it, namely, that we should "get some way upon us," not only as individuals, but as a Church.

Let us close this chapter with a brief notice of one or two points connected with the work in Western China.

We said just now that there were no great educational institutions connected with the Mission. A proposal has, however, been made which merits the attention of Churchmen at home. There is in existence in Western China an inter-denominational Board, called the "West China Advisory Board." This Board has proposed the foundation in Cheng-tu of a University on Christian lines, made up of colleges founded by various denominations. If such a proposal is carried into

effect, is there not a definite call to the Church to take its part? It need not be supposed that any extravagant scheme is contemplated. The Church college might be the humblest of all, little more than a "hostel" under the guidance of two or three men. But it would be essential that such men should be able to hold their proper place on the staff of the University, and that they should be wholly free to devote themselves to this work. The present staff of the diocese is, as we have pointed out, inadequate for its evangelistic work, and there are as yet no funds that can be applied to this object. But it would seem to be a great opportunity for Churchmen at home, and one that must not be lost, to strengthen the Bishop's hands so that the Church may do her part, and the diocese reap the benefits of a share in this educational scheme.

At Paoningfu there is also a hospital, and schools for both boys and girls. The work has taken strong hold there, not only in the city itself, but also in the surrounding district.

It is partly in the hands of Mr. Ku, the first Chinese deacon ordained in the diocese, and remarkable as a convert from Mohammedanism. Such converts have hitherto been few, although

the number of Mohammedans in China amounts to many millions.

But, without doubt, the most striking feature of Western China to-day is the abundance of the opportunity. Elsewhere in China missionaries are feeling that there is a critical time before them, that openings unknown and unsuspected heretofore are presenting themselves daily. But it is even more than true of this far inland diocese than of those on the coast which began to open up while Ssuch'uan was practically a closed province. We have already quoted Bishop Cassels' testimony on this point, that opportunities are multiplying a hundredfold. We will only add that of another missionary of equal experience, Mr. Montagu Beauchamp, who ended a stirring speech at the same annual meeting of the China Inland Mission, in 1905, with the words: "There are encouragements and there are dangers. But the greatest danger of all is that we do not make use of the opportunity—for now is the time."

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH IN SHANTUNG

WE have already noticed in an earlier chapter the part played by the opium traffic in rousing the consciences of Churchmen to efforts for the evangelization of China.[1] As we shall see, the same cause was responsible for the opening of Church work in Shantung, and for the establishment of the Diocese of North China in 1880. But it is pleasanter to remark on the part played by another cause, as good in every way as the opium traffic was evil. In 1872 the Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions was first instituted, to call the Church to prayer for *men* rather than for *means*: for those who supported it most heartily felt that the great marvel is the subjection of man's will to the Will of GOD, and that, when this has been accomplished, all else will follow. That first Day of Intercession was observed with whole-hearted earnestness in the great

[1] Chapter ii.

parish of S. Peter's, Eaton Square, then under the inspiring guidance of George Wilkinson, who was afterwards Bishop of S. Andrews and Primus of the Scottish Church.[1] It bore immediate fruit in an unconditional offer for foreign service from one of the assistant clergy, Charles Perry Scott, nephew of Bishop Perry of Melbourne, and in an offer of support for two missionaries to China from a layman who owed part of his large means to a past share in the opium trade.

As a result, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were enabled to send out two missionaries in 1874 to Chefoo, a treaty-port in the Province of Shantung, and thus to make some amends for the fiasco of 1863 in Peking. Unfortunately, the Society felt obliged to require its missionaries to reside at the treaty-port—only one of many instances where one cannot help thinking its claim to a semi-official character has hindered rather than helped its missionary work—and in consequence, Messrs. Scott and Greenwood were obliged to begin their work in a little seaport town where American missionaries had already been long established, and where the dialect had peculiarities so often noticeable at the coast.

[1] At rest December 11, 1907.

Dr. Nevius, of the American Presbyterian Mission, was, however, the last man to be jealous of newcomers, and from the first he did all in his power to help the English clergy. Hospitality, advice, companionship in evangelistic tours, were freely offered and gladly accepted; and it was under his guidance that first one and then the other made acquaintance with the interior of the province.

If the selection of Chefoo as their headquarters was in some ways unfortunate as regards work amongst the Chinese, at least it enabled the missionaries to be true to the first principle of the Society which they represented, and to begin at once ministrations to the English residents, which have been carried on for more than thirty years without intermission. The services were at first held in the "Union Church" (or undenominational chapel for English services), and afterwards, pending the building of a church, in a rented warehouse. Meanwhile, the missionaries set themselves to struggle with the language; and, either with Dr. Nevius or alone, made long tours in the interior of the province, prospecting for a future sphere of work unoccupied by others.

Such a sphere was found in the western part of the province, in the city of Taianfu, at the foot

of the sacred mountain of T'ai-shan. But hardly had this been decided on, before Mr. Scott (who had been made an Honorary Canon of Shanghai by Bishop Russell) was called away to take part in famine-relief work. Accompanied by Mr. Capel, a new arrival, he made a long and arduous journey through the Provinces of Honan and Shansi, leaving Mr. Greenwood alone at Chefoo. On his return from this tour he had only time to pay one brief visit to Taianfu before he was summoned to England to be consecrated first Bishop of the new Diocese of North China. The Church Missionary Society were withdrawing from Peking, as the American Church had already withdrawn; and the new Bishop's jurisdiction embraced the six northern provinces of China, Shantung, Chihli, Honan, Shansi, Shensi, and Kansu.

It might have been thought that the decision to create a new missionary bishopric, for which the funds had been mainly provided by the same munificent layman who had so far found the money for the Shantung Mission, would have been the signal for fresh efforts on the part of the Church at home to develop the work in North China. Few things in the history of the Church in China, or indeed elsewhere, are sadder than this

failure of the Church to rise to her opportunity. Leaving out of consideration the needs of Peking, and of Chihli—not to mention the four provinces in which work had not yet been begun—what did Shantung gain by Bishop Scott's consecration? Mr. Capel had been invalided home, not to return. Mr. Greenwood, who had come out in 1874, was hoping to go home on furlough; and yet nothing was done to supply the place of either. Was it the fault of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, or of the Church, or of the Church's almost haphazard way of creating a new diocese in response to an isolated if generous offer, without taking any adequate steps to arouse public interest and thus secure support for the new diocese?

Again, we cannot but ask whether the capital sum set apart for the endowment of the new bishopric might not have been better employed, if part of it had been available to support the work for the first few years, leaving the question of a permanent endowment to a later day. For it is hard to see why the Missionary Bishop should be more assured of his income than the clergy who work under him; or why the money which might be used to strengthen the Bishop's staff of clergy at the outset, should be tied up to provide

the income of a see which will one day, it is to be hoped, be filled by a Chinese Bishop of a Chinese Church.

Above all, why should the Church at home be content to leave the decision as to the founding of new missionary bishoprics to any individual or Society, and not entrust such questions to a representative Board of Missions? And, if there is no prospect of the Bishop being adequately supported with men and means, ought he to be consecrated? Is it fair to him, to the Church at home, or to those amongst whom his work will lie? Such questions as these cannot be answered in these pages: but they are inevitably suggested by the story of the Church's work in North China, and therein lies the justification for raising them.

Fortunately for Bishop Scott, he had in his former Vicar, Mr. Wilkinson, and in his brother, Canon John Scott, then Vicar of S. Mary's, Hull, two allies at home who were bent on securing for him such help as they could. The formation of another separate Missionary Association for the North China Mission[1] may seem *now* to have been a mistake in policy: *at the time* it appeared

[1] The Association had been formed originally in 1874; but it was reorganized after Bishop Scott's consecration.

the only means of ensuring that the new diocese should not be left to starve.

The immediate result of the reorganization of the North China Missionary Association was, that funds were forthcoming to enable the Rev. C. J. Corfe, R.N. (afterwards Bishop in Korea) to try the same experiment at Chefoo, which had been tried by Mr. Davys in Hong Kong a few years before.[1] Mr. Corfe arrived in Chefoo soon after the Bishop got back thither, at the end of 1881, and he and his students were established at S. Peter's Mission House, to which, in the following year, a little chapel was added, and which is now the home of the Diocesan Training College and Clergy School. We need not linger over this effort to train young English students on the spot. It failed, as Mr. Davys' effort in South China had failed: but that it was fruitless, none dare say. Mr. Corfe served his apprenticeship to missionary work, and learnt, partly perhaps by the failure of that first attempt, lessons which were to bear fruit afterwards in Mr. Kelly's work in Kennington, and at Kelham. But for that experience at Chefoo, Mr. Kelly might have brought his first students out to Korea, and the

[1] See chapter vi.

Society of the Sacred Mission might never have come into existence.

For years afterwards the work at Chefoo was practically confined to the carrying on of English services, the reinforcements sent out through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel proving wholly inadequate. Mr. Greenwood, was, however, set free for several long visits to the interior, where his self-denial and patient prayerful waiting laid the seeds of future development. From 1891 to 1900 various efforts were made to establish native work in Chefoo,[1] but the work was always rather exotic, and there were never proper resources for pushing it to a successful issue on any permanent lines. At the other end of the province, however, greater encouragement rewarded the labours of the missionaries, and we may pause for a moment to recall its first beginnings.

Miles Greenwood was a man whom illness and delicate health had robbed of much of his natural ability as well as of his strength; but he retained that single-mindedness which is so near akin to the poverty in spirit to which our LORD attached

[1] Especially by the Rev. H. J. Benham-Brown and the Rev. H. Mathews.

His blessing. He felt the call to missionary work while still a curate at Padiham, near Burnley, and having put his hand to the plough he never looked back. Whether in what was to him the peculiarly ungrateful task of struggling to master the difficulties of the language, or in long spells of lonely sojourn in the interior of the country amid all the discomforts of a native inn, he was always constant to his task, while his loyalty to the Bishop and even to younger colleagues knew no bounds. During the latter years of his life his usefulness, as men count usefulness, was very limited; but his one interest was the welfare of the Mission, and when in 1899 he passed to his rest at Chefoo, he left behind him twenty-five years of service, during which, with single-minded devotion, he had truly "done what he could."

Those lonely visits to Taianfu and P'ing-yin were not to be without fruit. Fifty miles to the west of Taianfu, close to the south bank of the Yellow River, lies P'ing-yin, the City of Peaceful Shade; and here, in an inn, Mr. Greenwood spent several winters. It was here that he won the first two converts, who, unlike the earliest converts in Fuhchow, remained for many a long year earnest members of the Church. It was not till 1887 that

the work could be taken up by resident missionaries, when the Rev. F. H. Sprent and the Rev. H. J. Benham-Brown went to live at Taianfu. Mr. Sprent had come out as a young layman from S. Boniface's College, Warminster, in 1883. He had a wonderful facility in acquiring Chinese, and great enthusiasm; and, when a student from S. Paul's College, Burgh, arrived, in the person of Mr. Benham-Brown, the Bishop ordained Mr. Sprent priest, and Mr. Benham-Brown deacon, and sent them together to Taianfu to take up their residence. Premises were secured after much patience and some trials, and a small school, composed chiefly of orphan boys, was started. The missionaries owed a good deal in those first years to the help of Chinese Christians from Peking, especially to an old Peking schoolboy named Shih, of whom we shall hear more hereafter. He was almost from the first put in charge at P'ing-yin, and he remained there for ten years, doing excellent work.

In 1890 the arrival of Mr. Iliff (afterwards consecrated as the first Bishop in Shantung) was the signal for enlisting the help of medical work, in breaking down prejudice, and winning the sympathy of the local people; and Mr. Iliff soon

acquired considerable renown as a "foreign doctor," though his medical training had been anything but thorough before he left England. A few years later, after Mr. Benham-Brown had been transferred to Chefoo, the work was divided into two districts, Mr. Sprent remaining at Taianfu, and Mr. Iliff going to live at P'ing-yin, from each of which places the Church gradually spread to various outlying villages.

Shantung was for so long within the jurisdiction of the Bishop in North China that it is natural to compare the conditions of work there with those obtaining in Chihli. The mountainous region of West Shantung contains a population second to none in China as regards physique and independent spirit. The discontented populace of a country town has been known to seat its newly-arrived magistrate in his own sedan-chair, and carry him straight back to the capital, Chinanfu, as "not wanted"; and many other stories of a like nature could be told of the Shantung peasantry. Whereas the lazier rustic of the great plain of Chihli is apt to lean on any one but himself—petitioning the missionary or the authorities for relief whenever threatened with a poor harvest, and pleading poverty as an excuse for

utterly neglecting the education of his children—the Shantung farmer, with poorer soil and scantier crops, will struggle to hold his own by hard work, and take a pride in enduring hardness, sooner than incur obligations which he sees no likelihood of discharging. It is this which has made the Church's work there so peculiarly attractive, and, in spite of difficulties, so successful (as compared with the work in Chihli), and it is this which has made Shantung the nursery of more than one secret society.

In 1899 the Taianfu station was occupied by the Rev. H. J. Benham-Brown and his wife, with the Rev. F. Jones; P'ing-yin being worked by the Rev. H. Mathews, and a brother of Mrs. Benham-Brown, Sidney Brooks, a deacon of some two years' standing. The Governor of the Province, Yü-hsien, was a bigoted anti-foreign official, violently opposed to the foreign encroachments in China. To such a man, the formation of a secret society which might be used, for example, against the Germans, was more than welcome, however illegal it might be. Certainly the conduct of the German Roman Catholic Mission, no less than the outrageous action of the German Government in seizing Tsing-tau, gave very strong provocation.

The murder of two German priests—as a protest against the seizure of certain land for a cathedral—had been made the excuse for the seizure of Tsing-tau, and for the extortion of rather nebulous "rights" throughout the whole of the Shantung province. Parties of Germans started on tours of investigation, and by their overbearing conduct fanned the flame of discontent to a dangerous point. The removal of the Governor, at the demand of the German Minister—to be given another post in Shansi, where he speedily attained an infamous notoriety—was the signal for the first dramatic *coup* of the "Big Knife Society."

Sidney Brooks had been spending Christmas with his sister in Taianfu, and was on his way back to P'ing-yin, where he had promised to rejoin Mr. Mathews before the end of the year. A small band of "Big Knives" were out on a marauding tour, when they fell in with the unarmed and unattended foreigner. It was nothing to them that he was not a German nor an official. The calamitous association of the Roman missionaries with politics—recently so frankly illustrated by the seizure of Tsing-tau—has often been responsible for the vicarious sufferings of non-political missionaries, and this was a case in point. Sidney

Brooks was set upon and killed, simply because he was a foreigner, in revenge for injuries received at the hands of other foreigners. The new Governor, Yuan-Shih-kai, who has since become famous as the great Viceroy of Chihli, a man of a very different stamp from his predecessor, made short work of the disturbance, drove the "Big Knives" into hiding or else across the border into Chihli, and arrested and executed the actual murderers.

But the energetic action of a single official could not arrest a movement which had behind it the smouldering discontent of years, and considerable reasonableness. Shantung peasants used to go to Manchuria every summer to work, and they brought back wonderful tales of Russian aggression in the North: German aggression in their own province had served to drive the lesson home: and Great Britain's assumption of the lease of Weihai-wei appeared to corroborate the general suspicion that the Manchu Government was betraying China to the foreigner. After all, the Manchus were really foreigners themselves; so that, however lamentable, their action was considered not unnatural; and the cure was easy to find, if the existing régime could be ended. "Down with

the Manchu, and up with the Ming" (i.e. the old Chinese dynasty which came to an end in 1644) accordingly was adopted as the motto of the Big Knife Society, and was inscribed upon its banners, as it developed its organization in the southern borders of Chihli. It was necessary, however, to change its name, and a new name was found which expressed the objects of the Society in the approved Chinese fashion. As the fingers of the hand are gathered for action in the closed fist, so the members of the "Fist of Righteous Harmony" [1] gathered themselves together to promote the restoration of the old Chinese rule. A witty newspaper correspondent promptly nicknamed them "Boxers," and by that name they will apparently be known to history.

Their influence on the development of the Church's work in Shantung was comparatively small, thanks to the Governor's energetic action; but the year 1900 saw the enforced withdrawal of all missionaries from the interior to the coast, and the churches at Taianfu and P'ing-yin were left unshepherded for many a weary month, during

[1] The Chinese title was *I-ho-ch'uan*, pronounced Ee-her-chwann: the last word was altered after the troubles began to *t'uan*, which means a ball, or lump.

which the Christians suffered much anxiety and some persecution. A year or so later Mr. Jones was able to return; and, single-handed, undertook the task of reorganizing the scattered work.

The Bishop in North China's visit to England at the end of 1900 was the signal for a further step in Church organization, the Province of Shantung being made a separate diocese, to which the Rev. G. D. Iliff was consecrated in 1903. Mr. Iliff had laboured in West Shantung from 1890 to 1897, and had done a great deal of work at Tientsin from the end of 1898. During the few years of his episcopate he has already laid the foundations of considerable advance: and we may well close this chapter with a brief survey of the work as it is to-day.

The control of Weihaiwei by Great Britain called for the establishment of an English church there, and in 1906 a parsonage and little church (dedicated to S. John the Baptist) were erected. The work includes an Anglo-Chinese school under the patronage of the Government[1]; and though it has suffered from frequent changes in the incumbency, it is to-day well maintained by the

[1] Successfully started during the incumbency of the Rev. H. J. Benham-Brown.

Rev. A. E. Burne, who was formerly for some years at Chefoo.

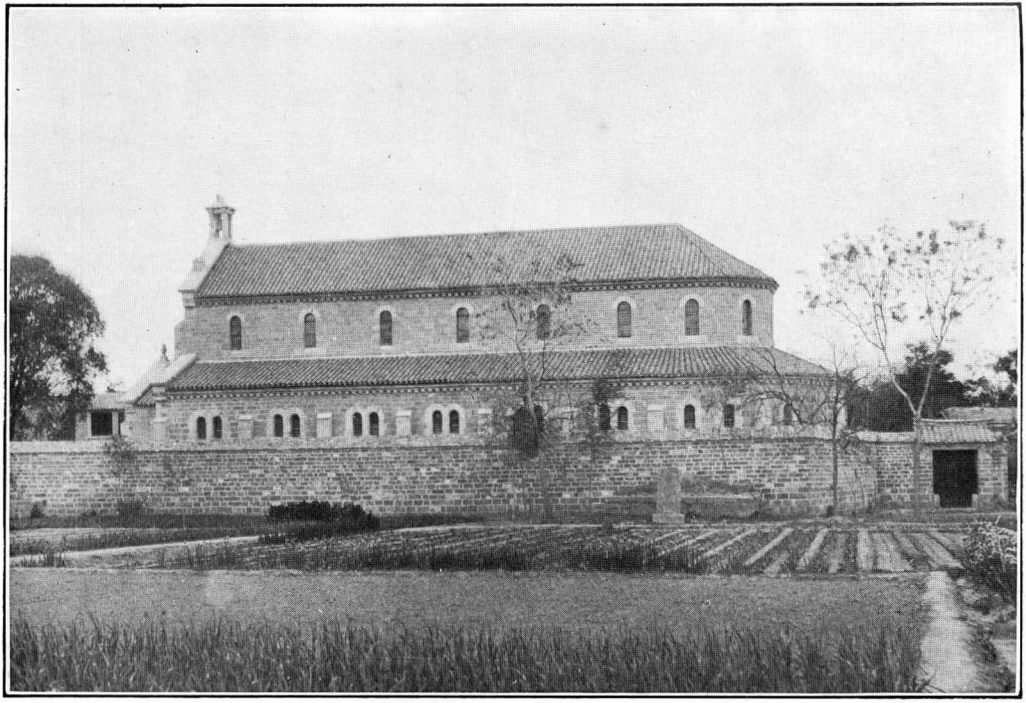
At Chefoo an important step has been taken. The English work is still maintained, though the decreasing number of English residents has made it of less importance; but it has been found possible to combine the Incumbency of S. Andrew's [1] with the Principalship of the Diocesan Training College and Clergy School which has been started at S. Peter's at the other end of the beach. The Rev. F. Jones gives his Sundays mainly to the former, while he works throughout the week at S. Peter's. Here students, no longer, as in 1881, Englishmen, but Chinese, gathered from the stations at the other end of the province, are free from all distraction and able to give themselves whole-heartedly to their studies.

S. Peter's College is laying the foundation for a staff of trained native workers and clergy: but the Bishop has also been able to add considerable reinforcements to his English staff. The work in the interior still centres round Taianfu and P'ing-yin, but it will not be long before more stations will have to be opened.

[1] A pretty little stone church on the beach in the centre of the settlement.

At P'ing-yin, where an English lady-doctor is at work with her hands fairly full, a large stone memorial church has been erected in memory of Sidney Brooks. The funds for its erection were supplied by Yuan-Shih-k'ai, when he was Governor of the Province; but the task of erecting such a church, of simple but stately design, in a small country town in the interior, where no such building had ever been erected before, was one to appal a less enthusiastic master-builder than Mr. Brooks' former colleague, the Rev. Henry Mathews. Three years of constant toil, embracing the elaboration of all working drawings, the purchase of all materials, and the supervision of every carpenter and mason employed, have raised a monument to the skill and devotion of the builder no less than to the memory of him whose early death has sanctified the P'ing-yin Mission.

But the future of the diocese, which has laid such good foundations for prosecuting its work as far as the workers are concerned, is full of anxiety financially. It will perhaps astonish our readers to know that the amount of the S.P.G. block grant does not amount to £1,000 a year, and does not even suffice to pay the staff of missionary clergy. Fortunately the North China and Shantung Mis-



THE BROOKS MEMORIAL CHURCH, P'ING-YIN.

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sionary Association is able to supplement this to some extent (about £500 a year), but it is surely not right to expect a Bishop to develop new fields of work, to organize fresh departures, and to extend the Church's responsibilities in the mission-field, when the Church at home leaves him under the load of financial anxiety. And yet he cannot sit still: work makes work; and self-support is yet a long way off. To a great extent the blame for this state of things must lie not with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but with the Church on whose behalf the Society acts. It is often said that the Society starves its Missions. That they are starved is obvious to any one who knows the facts. But the blame cannot be put off from the Church on to any Society. Missions are the responsibility, not of Societies, but of the Church; and whatever the faults of Societies may be, they are usually only the reflection of the failures of the Church. In a word, the responsibility for financing a missionary diocese ought not to rest upon its Bishop, or on a Society or an Association, because it essentially belongs to the Church herself.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH IN CHIHLI

IN 1880, when Bishop Scott was consecrated Bishop with jurisdiction over the six northern provinces of China, the only Church work existing in that vast area, besides the English work at Chefoo, was the former C.M.S. Mission at Peking and its two tiny out-stations. For twenty-three years the Bishop was responsible for the work in Shantung, and the growth recorded in the last chapter owes much to the loving care of one who had during his first years in China himself been a missionary in Shantung. It might have been expected that during these years the work in Chihli would have grown and developed even more than in Shantung, even if it did not spread to some of the other provinces; especially since the Bishop, after taking the advice of those best qualified to judge, determined to make Peking his headquarters.

But for reasons which we shall make clear in the following pages, the Church's work amongst the Chinese in Chihli has shown less growth than anywhere else in China.

It is but the bare truth to state once more what has already been said in writing of Shantung, viz.: that the first reason for this slow development has been lack of men and of means. When the Bishop arrived in his diocese he found the Rev. W. Brereton in Peking, a former C.M.S. missionary who had volunteered to remain, and whose offer had been gratefully accepted. Between 1883 and 1887 Mr. Sprent was able to give a little help at intervals; but except for that, Mr. Brereton remained alone until 1889. Between 1889 and 1900 five recruits were forthcoming, two of whom laid down their lives in the latter year. From 1900 to 1905 one man was added to the staff. The bare recital of these figures will be sufficient to justify the statement made above as to the lack of men, especially when it is realized that four of the six who joined since 1889 have died or retired. Of the lack of means we need say no more than that this part of the diocese has suffered at least *pari passu* with Shantung.

It is a pleasanter task to turn to the second reason. Just as in 1874 the English work at Chefoo had been the first care of the S.P.G. missionaries, so when the Bishop arrived in Peking and found himself with but one priest to help him, he felt that the work at the Legation Chapel must not be neglected, but rather be better done than before. Many a member of the Diplomatic and Consular services looks back with affectionate remembrance on the converted Chinese hall in the Legation, which has served as its chapel almost from the very first, but which owes so much of its reverent adornment to the Bishop's skill and taste. It has been a pleasure to more than one of H.B.M. Ministers to afford material help, especially to the late Sir John Walsham and to Sir Claude Macdonald; but they would have been the first to acknowledge how much time and care the Bishop spent upon it as his share in the work.

Again, no sooner had the staff been strengthened by the new-comers in 1889 and 1890, than the Bishop felt that he was justified in detaching his one experienced priest, Mr. Brereton, to undertake the difficult work of building up the Church in the treaty-port of Tientsin. Here the first

services were held in a converted stable. But in 1894 a parsonage and church-room were built, and nine years later the first half of a really noble church was consecrated, just before Mr. Iliff, who had held the incumbency for nearly five years, went home for his own consecration. A great deal of money has been spent at Tientsin, on the land (which was originally a pond granted free to the Church on condition that it was filled in), on the parsonage house, and on the church. But it is satisfactory to know that with the exception of the £1,000 from the Marriott Bequest towards the church, and the annual salary of the incumbent, the money has all been provided locally; and the greater part, if not the whole, of the salary will shortly be provided also from the same source.

Connected with Tientsin by the railway are several places where one or more English families reside, such as Tangku, Tangshan, Peitaiho (the seaside summer resort of Tientsin residents), and Shanhai-kwan, and at all these places efforts are made to provide occasional ministrations, while at the last two there are church-rooms in the possession of the Church.

Further along the railway, outside the borders

of Chihli, is the now well-known port of Newchwang, in Manchuria, which was within the jurisdiction of the Bishop in Korea until 1901, when it passed under that of the Bishop in North China. Here there has been a church and parsonage, with a resident incumbent, ever since 1890; and for the last six years it has absorbed, and will presumably continue to absorb (until the Manchurian Bishopric is founded), one of the clergy of the North China Diocese.

It is on the whole a good record for the diocese, to be able to say that wherever English Church people have gone to reside within its borders, thither the Church has followed them, and at least done its best to provide them with the means of grace. But it will be recognized how heavy a drain upon the Bishop's staff this English work has been. Perhaps it has never been felt quite so severely as since 1900, when the *only missionary* available, besides the Bishop himself, for the native work was necessarily also in charge of the Legation Chapel services, and the rest of the staff were tied to the treaty-ports. Under such circumstances it is perhaps not wonderful that the native work has made but a slow recovery from the events of 1900. To the

history of that work we must now turn our attention.

For convenience sake it will be well to divide it into three periods, which may be called the period of waiting, the period of growth, and the period of trial: extending roughly from 1880 to 1890, from 1890 to 1900, and from 1900 to the present time.

The first period was one in which the burden of the work lay, as we have seen, very largely on the shoulders of one man, the Rev. William Brereton. At the outset, in Peking itself, and in its out-stations at Yungch'ing and Lung-hua-tien, there were less than a hundred Christians, many of them communicants, but none of them confirmed. So far had Church order been forgotten, that, for years previous to the Bishop's arrival, "joint communions" shared with other non-Roman missions had been a regular feature of the Peking Church! There was, therefore, much need for the Bishop's presence, to set in order the things that were wanting, and to correct some which were amiss. He was also able to pay flying visits to the out-stations, or to enable Mr. Brereton to do so from time to time. But the real fruit of this period is to be found in a few

of the old students of the Peking Boys' School. When Mr. Sprent first went to Taianfu he had the help, in one capacity or another, of three such Peking boys; and two or three others did useful work afterwards in Peking and Chihli. We shall have occasion afterwards to speak of some of these; but the work that they have done adds one more testimony, if such were needed, to the importance of schools in the mission-field.

The Church owed a great deal also to the two leading men amongst the Peking Christians in 1880, Chang Ch'ing-lan, and Ch'en Pao-kun. The former was an exceptionally able man, and a good preacher; and though his six years' diaconate was overshadowed at the end by an unproved accusation of a very serious kind, he was a real help in Taianfu during his visits there, as well as for longer periods in Peking itself. The latter was a man whom to know was to love. Full of faults, of which he himself was almost pathetically conscious, he was by nature a gentleman; and his genuine humility, his unfailing courtesy, no less than his obvious sincerity, endeared him to every one. He had no idea of the value of money, and lived and died in debt;

he could not rule his own house, and his son still lives as a reproach to the Church in his native town of Yungch'ing; he was not at all a remarkable preacher, and he was quite unable to teach successfully. But with all these drawbacks, his death, in 1905, came as a great sorrow to the Mission as a whole, and not least to its oldest members, both English and Chinese.[1]

But yet this period was at best but a time of waiting. Occasional visits from Mr. Sprent to Yungch'ing did something to increase the number of Christians there, but the growth was very small; and in Peking itself the Church wholly failed to strike any effective root. There was hardly a single Christian, of those who worshipped Sunday by Sunday in Peking in 1889, who was not in some way dependent on the Mission, and there was hardly one who did not belong to Yungch'ing or to Lung-hua-tien.

In 1888 the Bishop went home to attend the Lambeth Conference, and at the end of the following year he was able to return with some small reinforcements, a priest, a layman, a lady doctor, and a lady teacher. Another layman also from S. Augustine's, Canterbury, followed in the

[1] See *Land of Sinim* for 1905, for further details.

spring of 1890, and remained in Peking, whereas Mr. Iliff, who came in 1889, was transferred to Taianfu. Mr. Brereton, as we have already noticed, left Peking to take up work at Tientsin, and his loss was a greater one than was perhaps suspected at the time. For as we look back on the history of the Mission, one thing seems to stand out conspicuous by its absence, namely, an indigenous native congregation in Peking; such congregations have been successfully gathered by every other Mission, and of course the Romans, with their four large cathedrals, have a very numerous body of Christians, some of whom have been Christians for many generations. But in the Church of England Mission as yet no such success has been attained, possibly because no very persistent effort has been made. Practically speaking, since 1890 there has never been a missionary in Peking able to devote himself wholly to the Peking work. The Legation Chapel, or the engrossing claims of teaching work either in school or college, or the necessity of visiting country stations fifty or a hundred and fifty miles away, have all shared in the one man whom it has hitherto been possible to retain in Peking. The old preaching-rooms, of

Church Missionary Society days, were carried on for a time and then for one reason or another closed, mainly owing to the lack of preachers; the school, which continued until 1896, consisted almost entirely of scholars from the country; and Dr. Alice Marston's medical work, though a step in the right direction, was not likely to be very effective by itself.

But while Peking was in a sense only a depôt station where Christian boys and girls from the country came to be taught, and that in no great numbers, the same lack of funds which operated to keep Peking understaffed was bearing some fruit in the two country stations at Yungch'ing and Lung-hua-tien. If the Mission had possessed well-trained native workers, the work up-country might have grown in spite of the non-residence of an English missionary; but that not being the case, a marked difference was felt when in 1891 the Bishop sent one of his priests to Yungch'ing to live, though the growth was more rapid later on.

In 1895, after a somewhat troublous year owing to the China-Japan War, the diocese received two notable recruits; and one missionary, already in the field for some years, "found himself," i.e. had attained a working knowledge of the language.

The recruits were the Rev. Roland Allen, a former scholar of S. John's College, Oxford, and Miss Jessie Molyneux Ransome, a woman who had held responsible educational positions at home, and who possessed not only great devotion, but exceptional abilities. The work before Miss Ransome, or as she was afterwards better known, Deaconess Jessie, was the organization of S. Faith's Home as the centre of all the women's work in the diocese. The work before Mr. Allen, as soon as he had acquired some knowledge of Chinese, was the establishment of a Training College and Clergy School in Peking, to take the place (and the best scholars) of the Peking Boys' School. The man who "found himself" was the Rev. H. V. Norman, whose memory will live long with the men and boys who came under his influence, as well with those whose privilege it was to work with him.

While the deaconess and Mr. Allen were still studying Chinese, Mr. Norman was getting more out of the Peking School than ever before; teaching this boy to play the harmonium in church, that one to be a carpenter, and two or three more to master the intricacies of a foreign printing press. Like Bishop Iliff, in those days

Mr. Norman was a natural doctor, if the expression may be allowed; and in Peking, as well as on his visits up-country, he saw and treated successfully a large number of patients. He tried—with wholly inadequate means—to reopen a preaching-room in Peking itself; and if he had been able to remain there, the old reproach to which we have already referred might perhaps have been soon rolled away. But the claims of Yungch'ing and Lung-hua-tien were urgent; and consequently Peking was once more sacrificed. The school was rightly converted into a training-class under Mr. Allen, and Mr. Norman in 1897 went with a young colleague to take up his residence at Yungch'ing.

It was now that the growth began which, small in comparison with that elsewhere, was yet remarkable in the history of the Church's work in Chihli.

S. Faith's Home in Peking became a real power on the side of women's work. The girls' school was improved and developed, and women from the country were brought in for teaching, and to be prepared for baptism or confirmation. Mr. Allen's class of students, though small in numbers, began to do excellent work under their

able and devoted teacher; and under the same guidance a small day school was started, and efforts made to reach the heathen around. It was, of course, regrettable that no second priest could be spared to help Mr. Allen, on whose shoulders rested the Legation Chapel and the English congregation there, as well as the supervision of the printing press. But things were certainly looking better than at any previous time, when the course of events was rudely interrupted by the troubles of 1900.

Before we come, however, to record the events of that fateful year, we must for a moment pause to note the results of Mr. Norman's three years' residence at Yungch'ing. These may really be summed up as growth; growth which events seem perhaps to have marked as less sound than it really was, and in GOD'S providence would have proved to be, had Mr. Norman been spared to foster it for a few more years. Where a man of such marked personality was concerned, it was natural that, suddenly deprived of the inspiration of his presence, those whom he had gathered round him should waver under the stress of persecution, and fail to do justice to his work or to themselves and their own sincerity.

His last journey in April, 1900, was made to visit with the Bishop a place named Ch'i-chou, where he hoped to begin regular work, some one hundred and fifty miles to the south-west of Yungch'ing.

Man however, only proposes, and the good GOD sometimes disposes very differently.

We have already said something, in the previous chapter, of the origin and causes of the "Boxer" movement, which was destined for a time to paralyse all the work in Chihli. However blundering and short-sighted the policy of the Manchu Government had been in the past, however foolhardy it was destined to prove in the actual event, no one can rightly assume that the suppression of the Boxer movement would have been a very easy matter. It has to be remembered that the motto of the Boxers was originally revolutionary—"Down with the Manchus and up with the Mings." It was a bold step, and one based on crass ignorance of the strength of Western nations, to convert that motto into one which contained no threat against the dynasty; but it is possible that the Manchu rule was—for some years at least—preserved thereby, even if it seemed at one time to have been jeopardized far

more seriously at the hands of the foreigner than at those of the Boxer leaders.

What happened was this: Prince Tuan, the father of the heir-apparent, a strong but ignorant man, persuaded some of the leading Manchus in Peking, and a Mohammedan general named Tung-fu-hsiang, to join him in making common cause with the Boxers. The price of this support was an agreement on the part of the Boxers to substitute the "foreigner" for the Manchu, and "China" for the name of the old Chinese dynasty. It was artfully pointed out that the objects of the movement would be fully safeguarded if the foreigner—Russian, German, Roman Catholic, and, for that matter, every one else of all creeds and nationalities—were either massacred or "driven into the sea"; and certain incidental advantages in the way of prospective plunder, and Government patronage and favour, rendered the change by no means unpopular.

This is not the place to try and fathom the depths of mystery which even now surround the development of the movement. But to avoid misconception one or two further remarks may be made. First, the movement was in no real sense religious; it was, or became, anti-foreign,

and Christians suffered primarily as "secondary devils"—i.e., followers of the doomed "foreign devils." Secondly, the movement was not only not general throughout China, but its forces, even in the northern provinces, were immensely increased by terrorism, and for the most part called out little enthusiasm except where plunder was in question. Thirdly, in a great many cases in Chihli — the province with which we are immediately concerned—it afforded an opportunity for wreaking private vengeance, and on the other hand for shielding friends and relations by what may be called almost "going bail for their good behaviour," i.e., for their nominal adherence to the movement.

Bearing these things in mind, we may try to sum up the effect of the movement on the handful of Christians belonging to the Anglican Church in Chihli.

In Peking, after a time of great anxiety, in May the Christians were gradually dispersed to their homes; and the Mission staff, consisting at the moment of two priests and three ladies, with one or two homeless Chinese women and girls, took refuge in the British Legation early in June. The whole of the Mission premises, bought and

built with funds provided by the North China Missionary Association, were utterly destroyed and their contents plundered. About eight or ten of the Christians lost their lives sooner or later; but there were, as we have seen, very few actual Pekingese Christians connected with the Church.

At Yungch'ing, Messrs. Norman and Robinson had been spending several months of anxiety before the storm actually broke. Mr. Norman's principle in remaining at his post was a perfectly sound one: viz., that, if he left it, his Christians would be at once persecuted, if not worse; while it was possible, by remaining, at least to postpone if not to avert, the evil day. He could not, as events proved, postpone it very long. On the 1st of June the Mission premises were attacked, Mr. Robinson was killed at once,[1] and Mr. Norman himself was only spared for twenty-four hours of cruel suffering, before he was done to death in the Boxer headquarters a mile or so from the town.[2] Out of a hundred Christian families very few individuals suffered death, almost all escaped with their lives on payment of various sums of money and a nominal compliance with Boxer regulations.

[1] June 1, 1900. [2] June 2, 1900.

At Lung-hua-tien the same thing happened a little later. Two things, however, deserve to be recorded in connection with this little Christian station of the Church. The one is that the *local* Boxers began by promising protection to the Christians and to the Mission premises, on the ground that the Roman Catholics alone were to be the object of attack. They even went so far as to execute two Boxers from elsewhere who attempted to plunder the little church. Later on, when the movement assumed larger proportions, this protection failed; but the fact that it was offered proves at least the endeavour of our Christians to live blamelessly in the eyes of their heathen neighbours. The other point is that when all the other Christians were saving themselves by compromise, a Christian girl with her two young cousins, all three children of our Christians, though she herself owed her religion to the Presbyterian school where she had been educated, refused to have any share in such compromise, and preferred to take refuge in the fields and trust in GOD for safety—a trust which was not in vain.

Such were the experiences of the Church during the crisis of 1900. The "plant" of the Mission

in Peking, at Yungch'ing, and at Lung-hua-tien, was almost wholly destroyed; the staff, or such of it as had been engaged in Chinese work, was for the moment reduced to one priest, remaining in Peking, whose time was almost wholly taken up by his temporary duties as chaplain to the forces of occupation. Two of the clergy had been killed; Dr. Alice Marston and Mrs Scott had died, the one in May, the other in September, on their way home to England; the Bishop, Mr. Allen, and Deaconess Jessie had gone home on furlough; Deaconess Edith and Miss Lambert had gone to Chefoo and Fuhchow to recruit. Further, the political outlook was full of uncertainty as to whether the Chinese Court would ever return to a desecrated Peking, or establish itself elsewhere; and the conditions of life in Peking were such that it would have been a serious mistake to attempt to reorganize work on the old lines immediately.

Another grave difficulty in the situation lay in the position of the surviving Christians. As we have said, in most cases, either personally or by deputy, they had compromised themselves by money payments, and by at least a nominal adhesion to Boxer regulations, including in many

cases some form of incense-burning. Were they to be treated rigidly as apostates, or were they to be regarded as men who had at least suffered —for suffered they had, in many cases very severely—for their following of the foreigner, if not exactly for their faith in JESUS CHRIST?

It is impossible here to discuss at any length the arguments which presented themselves on the one side and on the other. The situation was not a little complicated by the treatment accorded to other Christians; and still more by the impossibility of getting into touch with our own Christians at once. Eventually a kind of compromise was adopted, very faulty, and often very unsatisfactory. The fines paid by the Christians were repaid in the form of compensation; and the Holy Communion was generally withheld for a period of eighteen months.

If what has been said seems to reflect very gravely on the character of the Christians, there is at least something to be said in fairness on the other side. Almost without exception, if they had sinned, they had also suffered; and when the tide turned, and not a few of their Protestant brethren, and the great mass of Roman Christians, were enriching themselves unlawfully, the Chris-

tians of our own Mission with very few exceptions abstained from all retaliation. Moreover, it must be remembered that when the storm broke they were as sheep without a shepherd ; not only were they cut off from their foreign leaders, but they possessed practically no Chinese leaders. Before we dare pass a rash judgment upon their conduct, it is well to remember these things ; they may make us diffident, if not humble.

But sooner or later the work of reconstruction had to be faced, and on January 1, 1902, the Bishop, back in Peking, took counsel with his clergy. Plans were not lacking ; but the power to carry them out was sadly wanting. During the last five years, apart from S. Faith's Home, the staff in Peking has consisted of one man, responsible for the Legation chaplaincy, the Chinese work in Peking, and, except for a short period, for all the native work up country. One recruit joined the Mission at the end of 1903 in time to let the Incumbent of All Saints', Tientsin, go home on furlough early in 1904 ; but no one came to take the place of Messrs. Norman and Robinson until 1905, five years after their deaths.

A timely grant of £2,500 from the S.P.G. Bicentenary Fund enabled the Bishop to buy

premises in Peking sufficient for the present needs, the cost of rebuilding on the old site being altogether prohibitive. And the return of the Rev. R. Allen at the end of 1902, though his health only allowed him to stay a few months, did great things for Yungch'ing. Mr. Allen's keen enthusiasm to some extent infected the Christians, and the results were immediately apparent in several directions. First, there was a real revival of personal religion; secondly, a beginning at least was made in the direction of self-government by the establishment of a district council; and thirdly, an effort was made by the Christians themselves to take up the work at Ch'i-chon which Mr. Norman had just begun before his death.

The year 1905 was a marked period in the Mission's annals. Mr. Benham-Brown, of whom we have heard at Taianfu, at Chefoo, and at Weihaiwei, reached Peking in June to take charge of the native work there, without any distraction in the way of English or country work; and he brought with him a Warminster recruit, the first to take Mr. Norman's place—for both Mr. Norman and Mr. Robinson had been Warminster men. Dr. Graham, as planned, had arrived a month or

two earlier to take charge of the medical work, the first doctor the Mission had ever had, except Dr. Alice Marston. In the autumn of the same year two former students under Mr. Allen in Peking were ordained to the diaconate, as also was Mr. Shih, of whom we heard in the last chapter as having done ten years' good work at P'ing-yin, but who had returned to his own home at Yungch'ing in 1901. Hardly had the joy of this great event—for the only previous ordination had been that of Mr. Chang in 1887—come to encourage the diocese, before it suffered an almost irreparable loss in the sudden death of Deaconess Jessie Ransome. Space forbids us to dwell on her work or on her character. The one is being continued by her sister, Deaconess Edith, and the members of S. Faith's Home, which owes its existence to her courage and devotion; the other remains as an abiding memory to all who were privileged to know her.

At the present moment the diocese may almost be said to be waiting for developments. We must be pardoned if we have devoted undue space to the record of what is still, if judged by results, the smallest part of the Church's work in China. But we have to remember how miserably inadequate

has been the support afforded to Bishop Scott through all the years of his episcopate.

The object of this little book is not to appeal for money, nor even for men. But no record of the Church's work abroad can be fairly judged by the Church at home unless the limitations imposed by the Church's apathy be borne in mind. The opportunity in Chihli is at least as great as anywhere else in China. It rests with the Church at home to seize it, or to let it pass into other hands.

CHAPTER XIII

INTER-DIOCESAN ORGANIZATION

WE have tried in the last seven chapters to convey some idea of the work which the Church has accomplished in the various Anglican dioceses in China. But no such record of detached efforts would be complete without some notice of the attempts already made to promote inter-diocesan co-operation and organization. The subject of the present chapter follows naturally, therefore, upon what has been already said; but it gains a far greater importance in view of the future development of the Church's work.

The first movement towards any kind of co-operation was due largely to Bishop Scott, of North China, and Bishop Graves, of the American Church Mission; and these two Bishops may claim a large share in the developments which have since taken place. Conferences of Anglican Bishops were held in Shanghai in April, 1897, in October, 1899, and in October, 1903; and a

larger Conference in which the presbyters were represented by elected delegates, was held in April, 1907.

A glance at the list of Bishops taking part in each Conference will serve to mark very clearly the developments of the last ten years. In 1897 there were four China Bishops (Mid-China, North China, Western China, and the American Bishop of Shanghai and the lower Yangtze Valley—Bishop Burdon, of Victoria, being absent—with Bishop Corfe, of Korea. Two years later the same Bishops met, with the addition of Bishop Hoare, of Victoria. In 1903, though Bishop Cassels and Bishop Corfe were unavoidably absent, the Conference welcomed, for the first time, a Bishop of Hankow, to which jurisdiction the American Church had recently consecrated the Rev. J.A. Ingle. In 1907, the Bishops of Fuhkien and Shantung were present for the first time, and though the vacancy in the See of Victoria (through the death of Bishop Hoare) robbed the episcopal representation of completeness, the other seven Bishops were all able to be present.

The resolutions passed by the first Conference call for little remark. An attempt was made, which proved abortive, to provide an adequate Chinese

name for the Anglican communion[1]; and although the desirability of a common version of the Prayer Book was recognized, action in the matter was postponed in view of the great difficulties attending it. The Committees appointed by the Conference, however, did much useful work, in connection with a common formula for Holy Baptism, common terms for the three Orders of the Ministry, and Church discipline. At the ensuing Conference in 1899 these Committees presented their reports, and resolutions were passed on the last two subjects. It was further decided to adopt a transliteration of "Anglican" instead of the term proposed at the previous Conference, and an important series of resolutions on Christian Marriage was passed.

At the Conference in 1903 two resolutions of considerable importance were passed, one forming an appeal to the Church at home, the other having reference to the organization of future Conferences. The first of these resolutions may be quoted here, as nothing has occurred to alter its propriety or to affect the wisdom of its recommendations:—

"We earnestly urge the Church at home to use

[1] "The Church that follows antiquity" was the name proposed.

greater efforts to extend the work of the Church to all parts of this Empire.

"In carrying out the above object we consider that the Church should bear in mind the following points:

"1. It should be made an aim to occupy strongly one or more stations in each province, rather than to establish many weak stations.

"2. The men sent out should be thoroughly well qualified men.

"3. No men should be sent to establish new stations unless they have had adequate experience in existing stations, or can be sent under the guidance of experienced missionaries.

"4. Women-workers should also be called for, but should only be sent to established stations in which they can be under proper protection."

It is to be feared that this earnest appeal has so far met with little response at home.

The other resolution of the 1903 Conference to which we have referred, suggested the enlarging of the scope of the next Conference by securing representation of the presbyters, details being left to

the Standing Committee. It derives its importance from the fact that it proves that such a step, actually taken in 1907 in answer to a memorandum from the presbyters themselves, had already commended itself to the judgment of the Bishops. Events led to the temporary suspension of the Standing Committee appointed after the 1903 Conference; and it was this fact which led the priests to move themselves in the matter in 1906.

The result of a joint letter to the Bishops, signed by fifty-three clergy, was the summoning of a Conference in the spring of 1907, at which not only, as has been said, were the seven Bishops of our communion all present, but two representative priests from each of the eight dioceses. It is impossible here to deal at any length with the important subjects which came up for discussion; but some of the resolutions passed by the Conference call for special remark, because of their peculiar bearing on the subject of this book.

Reference has already been made in these pages to the peculiar difficulties and dangers arising from lack of intelligent co-operation in the past between the English and American branches of our communion in delimiting the areas of episcopal jurisdiction in China. When adjustments

have to be made, in matters of this kind, it is only natural that strong feeling should be engendered and considerable sacrifices called for on both sides, before a satisfactory conclusion is reached. If the one element existed to a considerable degree before the Conference met, it is no less true that the spirit which made the other possible was no less in evidence at the Conference itself; and if nothing else had been accomplished, the resolution which "loyally accepted the ruling of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Presiding Bishop of the American Church" on the question of jurisdiction which had arisen in connection with the Chinese Church in Shanghai, and which urged the forthcoming Lambeth Conference to take steps "to bring into harmony the principles and practice of the various branches of the Anglican communion in this respect," would in itself have made the Conference memorable.

But much more was done. A series of resolutions was passed dealing with the organization of the Anglican communion in China, three more dealt with the next meeting of the Conference, others with joint action in matters affecting the Church, and four more with our relations to other Christian bodies. Another resolution dealt with

a matter which may prove of very great importance, namely, an invitation to the Church of Canada to establish a missionary diocese of our communion in one of the unoccupied provinces of China, an invitation which there is reason to hope will be cordially acceded to in the near future.

But the resolutions passed with reference to Anglican organization in China, may, under GOD'S providence, lead to no less important results. The Conference agreed that the time had come to take definite steps for the formation of a General Synod, and appointed a Committee to consider and formulate a plan for the formation of such a Synod, the Committee to report to the next Conference—to be held in 1909—at which the Chinese clergy and laity should be represented. Thus the first steps have been taken towards that goal, which has been so often referred to in these pages, the establishment of a Church of China in full communion with the other branches of the Anglican communion. No more need be said on the subject here; but reference must be made to what may prove a courageous attempt to solve a great difficulty.

Scattered up and down the coast of China, from Hong Kong, in the South, to Newchwang, in

the North, are communities of foreign residents, mostly English people, and many of them Church people. What is to be their relation, and the relation of their chaplains, to the Church of China? A Committee has been appointed to consider, amongst other questions, that of episcopal jurisdiction over such chaplains and congregations; and the suggestion was made that they might be put under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Victoria, who, as a Colonial Bishop, would be to some extent outside the Church of China, and yet in full touch with local needs.

The last point that calls for notice is the action of the Conference in regard to other Christian bodies at work in China. The appointment of a Committee on Unity, and the instructions given to it, resulted in the issue of an open letter on Unity at the time of the great Centenary Conference in Shanghai, in a proposal for a common prayer to be used by all Christian congregations in China every Sunday (which was cordially accepted), and in a helpful conference with representatives of several other denominations. That nothing definite has immediately resulted is a matter for satisfaction rather than otherwise; but it may be claimed at least that the action of our

communion in this respect made a very real and deep impression on our brother-missionaries at the Centenary Conference, and has thus paved the way for the exercise of that influence on others, which we feel that the Anglican communion is meant in GOD'S providence to exert.

Thus, both within and without, this last effort to realize its own unity has equipped the Anglican communion in China with new strength and power for the furtherance of its own work, and for the fuller realization of the Will of GOD.

CHAPTER XIV

THE OPEN DOOR

THE heading of this chapter has been a catch-word in the mouths of politicians speaking or writing about China for more than ten years past, in reference to trade. As regards the Gospel, the door has opened gradually, until to-day it stands wider for the Gospel than for trade; and were there only the same eagerness to press in, the Chinese nation would at least be not without preachers, though all her many millions would not necessarily be amongst those that "have ears to hear." But our present concern is not simply with the Gospel, but with the Church, i.e., the Anglican communion, and the opportunity which awaits her to-day in China.

In trying to estimate the reality of this opportunity and its urgency, and to suggest the most obvious steps which may be taken towards meeting it, we shall do well to bear certain points in mind. These points fall under two heads, the one

political, the other religious. Under the former, we must take into consideration the internal and external conditions of the Chinese Empire at the present time: under the latter, we must take note of the position and prospects of other missionary bodies as well as of our own communion. It is, of course, impossible in these pages to treat these questions at any length: but any attempt, such as has been made in the foregoing pages, to review the past inevitably leads on to thought and questionings about the present and the future; and this is especially true in connection with a country such as China, at a time like the present. A few words seem, therefore, called for on the points which, as we have said, need to be borne in mind.

What, then, is the internal condition of China to-day? There are those whose expectations of progress, reform, and development have been so often disappointed in the last half-century that they have grown sceptical of any signs which point in that direction; and they are certainly not without grounds for such scepticism. But there are signs to-day which have always hitherto been wanting, which make strongly for the opposite view. Let us, if we will, give all possible weight to the reactionary tendencies which are constantly

making themselves felt as a check to reform: let us rate the difficulties in the reformers' path as high as possible: let us take, as, alas! there is much reason to take, a very low estimate of the Government's sincerity, and of its efforts at education, at the suppression of opium smoking, at the reform of the penal code. It nevertheless remains an incontestable fact that there is a spirit of reform working like leaven in what may be called "Young China," and an advance in education sufficiently real, and sufficiently widespread, to make checks only temporary, to attack and eventually somehow to surmount difficulties, and to supply from the main body of the nation the sincerity and the vigour which may be lacking in the existing Government. Reform from above may be out of the question: but it may be confidently asserted that there are signs to-day that it will come, somehow and sometime, and that at no very distant date, by the irresistible pressure from below.

Again, though it is proverbially unsafe to prophecy in China, the life of the present dynasty seems to be drawing to its close. The Empress-Dowager is old, and, if rumour is at all credible, often seriously ill: the reigning Emperor is childless: and since 1900 there has been no recognized

heir to the throne. The Manchus are obviously nervous, and yet have shown no signs of being able to strengthen their position: the Chinese are apparently waiting for the hour and the man, as they have waited before without being disappointed. And, lastly, not only are the famous secret societies in full activity, but the people are openly comparing the signs of the times to-day with those that preceded the fall of the Ming dynasty.

If the internal conditions of China are ominous of change, her external position fully corroborates their significance. The upheaval of 1900, instead of completing the disruption of the Empire, as was confidently expected, put an end to all talk of "spheres of influence"; and the sudden rise of Japan, with the consequent influence which that country gained in China, has not only set an example to which the Chinese are not blind, but has rendered the rise of China in some form and degree an almost inevitable corollary. The point needs no emphasis here: every student of Far Eastern politics will corroborate it.

But these things constitute a crisis, not only political but religious. As was pointed out in an article on "The real Yellow Peril" in a recent

number of the *Church Quarterly Review*,[1] the menace of Asiatic power to European Christendom lies not in its power but in its heathenism. It is hard to see how Europe and America could, harder still to see on what Christian or even moral ground they should, attempt to hold down the awakening energies, the nascent resources of the Chinese Empire. But it is not (at least for Christians), hard to see that if Christendom allows such a force to develop itself, without straining every nerve to make it Christian, the results to Christendom may be as fateful as they will have been deserved.

But crisis spells opportunity; and obviously that opportunity is temporary, in proportion to the imminence of the crisis. The powers of the world, Japan especially, are alive to this in the field of politics: the merchants of the great trading countries are alive to it as far as commerce is concerned. How far are the forces of Christendom alive to it on its religious side?

Let us consider first the position and policy of the Church of Rome in China to-day. She is vigorously extending in every province her already widespread organizations: and she is adopting

[1] For January, 1907.

new methods to secure rapidity of extension. The Roman Church in China has been not inaptly termed the largest "secret society" now in existence. We have more than once referred to certain aspects of her work which correspond with that description, such as the hold she maintains over converts who are often in no sense converted, and the protection she offers, and often successfully affords, to her members when engaged in law-suits. This last feature is perhaps a little less in evidence than it was: but it remains an ominous fact. The Roman Missions have no great colleges or educational centres, they have no preaching-rooms or hospitals, save here and there, though dispensaries are carried on in connection with many of their sisterhoods. But their Church adds to its members constantly, if unobtrusively; and of late they seem to have been making special efforts by means of winter schools for adults. The most remarkable feature in the latter, and quite a novel feature, in one part of China at least, is the practice of baptizing those attending such schools *after only forty days'* instruction, before dismissing them to their homes. And lastly, in Chihli at least, they make no secret of this boast that when, if ever, the time comes, they will be strong enough to make

themselves felt, or to defend themselves against attack.

We are not asserting that there is no Christianity, no religion, behind this movement. The congregations in their great cathedrals, and the constant presence of individual worshippers at all hours and seasons in their little country churches, refute any such assertion almost as strongly as the known piety and zeal of many of their Bishops and clergy, and of their great sisterhoods. Rather, what we are trying to make clear is that they are putting forth efforts to seize the opportunity which they recognize, but that those efforts are in great measure on lines other than those which our own Missions could feel justified in following.

Let us glance next at the Protestant societies, English or American, at work in China, where the latter very largely preponderate, and inquire whether they are recognizing any such opportunity, and what efforts they are making to meet it.

The recent Centenary Conference at Shanghai [1] was deeply impressed with the necessity of making heroic efforts at once. Schemes of vast magnitude, such as the establishment of a great common

[1] Held at the end of April, 1907.

University, were discussed at some length. Stress was laid on making the whole educational plant of the various Missions more up-to-date, and the education itself more efficient: the claims of the already-existing medical work to largely increased support were earnestly pressed: and in many other ways the critical importance of the present time was emphasized. These things in themselves serve to indicate the lines on which the Protestant bodies propose to advance. There is not to be less preaching, but more: but it is to be done more and more by Chinese preachers, whom the foreign missionary will devote himself to training. Education is to be no less Christian than before, but it is to be on a vastly wider scale: the old village school, where the Bible and a few hymns and catechisms were taught side by side with the repetition of the Chinese classics, is to be replaced by a school under teachers trained in modern "pedagogy" (a strange and awesome word which one only learns to value because it expresses so real a need in China!), and the Christian teaching is to be made more effective, while the general curriculum is based on that of the Middle or High School. The latter in like manner is to prepare scholars for an Arts course in Christian

colleges; and to all this teaching heathen as well as Christian scholars are to be admitted. Lastly, there is to be far more co-operation than heretofore, because only so can the needs of this critical time be adequately met. Such co-operation is to be effected, if possible, between the missions and Chinese churches of various denominations; but especially between the several missions of each several denomination.

And so we come back to the subject of the last chapter, the organization of the Anglican communion in China. As was shown there, the Bishops in China and their clergy are strongly in favour of such organization, and there is good reason to suppose that it will be welcomed by our Anglican Christians with at least as much enthusiasm. How is this organized Anglican communion in China going to avail itself of the present opportunity?

Before we attempt to answer the question, let us realize the present position, and that first geographically. The Diocese of South China has driven a wedge, however weak as yet, into Kwang-tung and Kwangsi, its base a line from Pakhoi on the west to Canton on the east, its apex at Kneilin in Kwangsi or Yungchow, just over the

Hunan border. The Diocese of Fuhkien is co-terminous with that province. But four large, and some of them important, provinces are practically almost untouched—Yunnan, Kueichow, Hunan, and Kiangsi.

The Diocese of Mid-China, like that of North China, bears a title lamentably out of proportion to its practical extent; for its work is almost confined to Chehkiang. Away to the west, in Ssuch'uan, there is a fairly compact area under the Bishop in Western China; while the energetic Mission of the American Church serves to link Chehkiang and Ssuch'uan together along the line of the Yangtse. In a sense we may say, then, that the Provinces of Hupeh, Nganhui, and Kiangsu are touched by Anglican work, though far from being occupied.

It is when we get to the North that we find a repetition of the great blank spaces still left in the South. Of the six northern provinces which were originally assigned to Bishop Scott, only Shantung and Chihli have so far been entered; and how weakly the Church is represented there, we have already made plain. But Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, and Honan are still untouched; Shansi, one of the richest, if not the richest province, in

the Empire, and Honan, a province of considerable importance. Last, but not least, there is the great Viceroyalty of Manchuria awaiting its Bishop and a Mission of the Anglican communion

Secondly, let us examine the position as regards the possible development of existing resources. It is no want of faith which makes us feel that the three great blanks already described can never be filled, or even attacked, from the existing dioceses. Assuming for the moment that a great impetus is given in the near future to the Mission work of the Church in China, the share that may fall to the existing dioceses will but make them a little more able to do their duty where they are already at work. It is conceivable that Fuhkien might overflow into Kiangsi; but even that is exceedingly unlikely.

And yet the opportunity waits! Let us try to define its nature. The Anglican communion holds, as has been often said, a position as it were between the Church of Rome and the many Protestant bodies; circumstances not altogether of its own choosing have attracted it in China rather to the latter than to the former, but its position really is unchanged. We are tempted

to think that position one of great importance at home; surely in a country like China, under the probable conditions of the future (i.e., of the development of the Missions of the Church of Rome and of the Protestant bodies side by side), the importance of the Anglican position can hardly be overestimated. Circumstances have led to the relations between the two bodies of Christians just specified being already far from harmonious. Rivalry perhaps is not the right word, but mutual dislike and suspicion are often sadly in evidence; and these feelings are likely to grow rather than to pass away when the Chinese Christians become more independent of foreign restraint. For the sake of the future Christianity of China, Chinese Christians brought up in the Anglican obedience should be scattered far and wide throughout the country, should be at least as well educated as their Protestant brethren, and as conscious of their historical position as their Roman brethren, that they may make their influence felt, in the direction of mutual tolerance and Christian charity.

This means first the creation of more dioceses, and much increased support for existing dioceses.

But the Church at home should avoid repeating the mistakes of the past. The Church of China through its Synod must define the relative importance of different spheres of work, and new dioceses should be founded only where it calls for them, and in the order of which it has approved. Secondly, the founding of new dioceses, while not necessarily calling for endowment, perhaps rather deliberately rejecting such, must be accompanied and followed up by adequate support. This may sound a truism; but it is not meant to refer to actual supplies of men and money so much as to the real support of the Church at home as a whole; a new diocese must be in more than name a colony founded by the Church, and not by a society within the Church, though such a society may be the direct means of supplying its needs.

Thirdly, the existing English dioceses must be strengthened, on lines already suggested. South China would certainly be the better if severed from the British colony of Hong Kong.[1] Fuhkien and Chehkiang need more independence, side by side with undiminished or even increased

[1] See the suggestion referred to in the previous chapter, page 195.

support from the home Church; and the Bishops' incomes, wherever endowments are non-existent, should be paid to them not by any society, but by the Boards of Missions, however the money may be raised. We have already defined a great need in Western China, viz.: the establishment of a Church college. In North China and Shantung the most urgent need is to free the Bishops from financial anxiety, and to develop the educational side of the work with a view to a better educated native ministry. But any development in these two dioceses means men and means; and these must be forthcoming somehow, if the Anglican communion in the North is to take its rightful place.

Such are some of the thoughts which the history of Anglican Missions in China suggests in view of the critical opportunity now before us. May GOD grant to the great branches of the Anglican communion, and especially to our own English Church, such wisdom, zeal, and a spirit of obedience, that the branch of that communion in the Chinese Empire may be securely, strongly, and speedily established.

GENERAL INDEX

INDEX TO NAMES OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

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N.B.—Those marked with an asterisk are specially useful.