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MISSION IN THE PERIOD 1888–1953, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
THE WORK OF AUSTRALIAN WOMEN MISSIONARIES
submitted for the degree of.....DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF AUSTRALIANS TO THE PENETRATION OF CHINA BY THE CHINA INLAND MISSION IN THE PERIOD 1888-1953, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF AUSTRALIAN WOMEN MISSIONARIES

by

Phillip Edgar Brotchie
BA, Assoc Dip Pers Admin, Grad Dip Pers Admin, Dip Fam Hist Studies, M Bus (Org Behav)

thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Arts
Deakin University
Geelong Victoria 3217

November 1999
DEAKIN UNIVERSITY

CANDIDATE DECLARATION

I certify that the thesis entitled THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF AUSTRALIANS TO THE PENETRATION OF CHINA BY THE CHINA INLAND MISSION IN THE PERIOD 1888-1953, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF AUSTRALIAN WOMEN MISSIONARIES

submitted for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this thesis in whole or in part has not been submitted for an award, including a higher degree, to any other university or institution.

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GLOSSARY

Placenames have been rendered in the old Wade-Giles romanisation throughout, as that convention (or very similar earlier postal renditions) was used during the period focused upon in this study (1888-1953), with the bulk of the literature and maps employed in the research utilising that version. The modern Pinyin spellings for the provinces and some of the major cities and districts of China are given below with their Wade-Giles equivalents. Some placenames, like Hunan, did not change with the introduction of Pinyin.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been written without the encouragement and support of many people, both within and without Australia. I am indebted to my Principal Supervisor, Doctor Ian Weeks and my Assistant Supervisors Doctor David Wetherell and Doctor Cliff Cumming of Deakin University for their patience and wise counsel over a period of many years. My thanks must also go to the staff of the Deakin Off-Campus Library for their timely location and forwarding of books and articles, often despite the very sketchy information with which I was able to provide them. I deeply appreciate also Deakin University's having granted me a travel scholarship in 1996 which allowed me to pursue research in Singapore, the UK, the US and Canada.

Additionally, I owe a debt of gratitude to the Overseas Missionary Fellowship for giving me permission to research their records at the Bible College of Victoria at Lilydale, and particularly to the BCV Librarians - Ros Devenish and her successor Cathy Caddy - who made my physical access to the Australian CIM archives possible on my weekly Wednesday morning visits to that revered institution. I also thank the OMF for allowing me to access its CIM archives in Singapore and Toronto and at SOAS, London University, and especially its staff in Singapore and Toronto who not only introduced me to the sources and saw to my accommodation and material comfort, but made me feel very much at home. Such staff included (there were several others) Marie and Harlan Wright, Gordon Gray and Maryan Garcia in Singapore and Betty and Ron Abbot, the late Dr David Michell and Shirley Snider in Toronto.
Further, I acknowledge my indebtedness to the helpful staff at the School of Oriental and African Studies Library at London University, the National Library in Edinburgh, the Day Missions Library at Yale University, where Joan Duffy's assistance with the sources was invaluable, and the Billy Graham Archives at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my wife Gina, who has borne my distractions from family life with commendable forbearance, and to our children, Stephanie, Eric and Robin, who have all suffered at times from the annoyance of an absentee father, ensconced on the computer, lost in his papers or mentally monopolised by the Australians of the China Inland Mission.
Abstract

Australians, in the main, are unaware of the role which Australia played in the evangelization of China in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Most would never have heard of the China Inland Mission (CIM), the largest of the Protestant bodies which penetrated the Middle Kingdom, and few would know of the contribution that its Australian contingent, which consistently comprised about a tenth of the CIM's numbers, made towards the Christianization of that vast country. This thesis aims to raise the level of awareness in this area.

Academic researchers have not totally neglected to examine the proselytization of China, and historians of the stature of Latourette have not let it escape their attention. However, most of the studies which have not merely fleetingly focused on the subject while viewing a larger canvas, have been North American, singling out the efforts of United States and Canadian bodies in introducing Christianity to the Chinese. Here, authors like Amerding, Bacon, Creighton, Gates, Hawkes, Ho, Ko, Mensendieck, Michell and Quale have left their mark. In the case of the present thesis, the outlook from which events played out in China are viewed is firmly based in Australia rather than North America.

Earlier Australian research has been scarce, and is dominated by Loane and Dixon. Loane, evidently primarily working from Australasian Council minutes, mainly concentrates on the efforts of the CIM's Home Council, examining its endeavours decade by decade against a backdrop of contemporaneous events in China, and briefly referring to aspects of the lives of a cross-section of Australasian missionaries, without providing much idea about what they actually did in the
field or what they achieved there. Because of its preoccupation with the Home Council, which never admitted women into its ranks, Loane’s treatise is systemically biased towards men, though the more prominent of the women, like Mary Reed and Susie Garland, are given due recognition. The current thesis looks in detail at what Australians did in the field, the level of success they achieved, and at the particular contribution of Australian women towards the evangelization of China.

Dixon took upon herself the formidable task of examining the endeavours of all missions in China which contained Australian missionaries. Because of the magnitude of her task, she could not focus to any great extent on particular missions, nor pursue in any detail the work of individual Australian missionaries. Like Loane, she was unable to explore what they actually did in the field or what they achieved there. Neither could she delve to any depth into the work of Australian women missionaries, though on the basis of the information she had accumulated, she drew the conclusion that Australian women had largely only brought about some unintended feminist consequences amongst Chinese women. This sweeping generalization failed to take into account the other very real social changes for Chinese women the Australian female missionaries quite purposely helped to bring about, and this thesis makes good that omission. This thesis studies aspects of the Australian missionary endeavour which both Loane and Dixon have neglected, thereby breaking new ground, and sets out to correct erroneous impressions which Dixon’s dissertation has left on the historical record.

One of these impressions concerned the longevity of the effect of the Australian effort in China. She had the view, writing in 1978, that the Chinese Church was
moribund (a view shared by Varg and Lacy), and that therefore the effects attributable to the endeavours of any nationality had proved fruitless, whereas the author is able to show, using modern-day sources, that the church has burgeoned in recent years thanks to earlier missionary endeavours and later neo-evangelistic efforts like Gospel radio, and now has a complement of perhaps 50 million adherents, making it second only to the United States in the size of its Protestant evangelical population.

Another impression she left was that the Australian input into the evangelization of China can be largely dismissed because no totally Australian organization emerged, leaving the direction of Australia’s effort in other hands. Contrary to that impression, the author shows that the Australian impact in China was significant and that Australians enjoyed more power than Dixon ever imagined. The author also shows that Australians were accepted as the equal of other nationalities in the CIM once they had acquired the necessary field expertise, a factor which doubtless also applied in respect of other missions with Australian components in China.

Marchant has suggested that it is a fiction perpetuated by mission periodicals that Christianity spread and progressed in a determined manner in China. This thesis establishes that within the CIM’s bailiwick, though there was some patchiness, Christianity progressed steadily and inexorably.

One mission alone, the CIM, is concentrated upon, firstly in order to render the data manageable, secondly because it was the largest mission in China and had a sizeable Australian (including female) contingent, and thirdly because it exemplified many of the problems which would have been faced by missions in
that country and their Australian components.

The methodology employed is multifaceted. The written testimony of the missionaries themselves, contained in CIM periodicals, Field Bulletins, Monthly Notes, Annual Reports, autobiographies, personal files, diaries and letters is used to illustrate various aspects of the CIM's work in which Australians were engaged. This approach is augmented by other sources such as China and Australasian Home Council Minutes, missionary conference reports, Candidates' Books, biographies, and other selected material from archival holdings in Australia, Singapore, the United Kingdom, America and Canada.

Statistics, especially ratio analyses and growth rate comparisons are used to demonstrate the relative success of different missions, missionaries and genders. Also employed are reminiscences of missionaries and descendants obtained by personal interview, and these are aggregated to provide some general conclusions.

Data from these various sources have been synthesized to serve the central objective of demonstrating the importance of the contribution of Australians to the penetration of China by the CIM in the period 1888-1953 with particular reference to the work of Australian women missionaries.
Summary

Name of candidate: Phillip Edgar Brotchie
Name of thesis: The Importance of the Contribution of Australians to the Penetration of China by the China Inland Mission in the Period 1886-1953, with Particular Reference to the Work of Australian Women Missionaries

Degree for which thesis submitted: Doctor of Philosophy
Supervisors' names: Principal Supervisor - Dr Ian Weeks
Assistant Supervisors - Dr David Wetherell, Dr Cliff Cumming

The thesis is introduced with particular reference to its relationship to previous cognate studies. The global missionary context in which the China Inland Mission found itself is then explored, and the socio-political conditions in China which the Mission encountered examined. The CIM as an organization, and its position in relation to other missions in China are next studied. Analysis is then undertaken of the types of missionary sent from Australia, the financing of their activities, and their relationship with the dominant British contingent. The special difficulties under which Australian women missionaries laboured are next addressed, various methods for assessing missionary achievement in China are outlined, and Australian CIM missionaries' contribution to geographic penetration illustrated by particular instances of notable male pioneering work. The Australian contribution to special types of work undertaken by the CIM is then exemplified in the special efforts of Australian men in different spheres including medical, educational, relief, literary, border, revivalist, prison and field managerial work. Attention is then
focused upon the contribution of Australian women, with an initial assessment of how their unique contribution might be gauged, and an outline of some considerations which must accompany comparisons with the male geographical contribution. The geographical pioneering work of selected Australian women missionaries is then examined, followed by an exploration of their contribution to certain types of CIM work including medical, educational, relief, orphanage, feminist, border and field managerial work. Neo-evangelistic activity such as Gospel radio broadcasting is then described, and relative contributions of this and earlier missionary activity to the present condition of the Chinese Church studied. It is concluded as a result of examination of the above matters that the contribution of Australian missionaries to the CIM's penetration of China was multifaceted, widespread and important, with women acquitted themselves well in a male-controlled field.
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF AUSTRALIANS TO THE PENETRATION OF CHINA BY THE CHINA INLAND MISSION IN THE PERIOD 1888-1953, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF AUSTRALIAN WOMEN MISSIONARIES

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Australians, by and large, unless they belong to that exclusive and diminishing group of former China missionaries, have no idea that Australia ever had any role in China. They are not aware that Australians laboured in China for 65 years and contributed to the spiritual, educational, medical, social and cultural development of that country over the period 1888-1953. They are not aware of the various missions in which the Australians worked, and the China Inland Mission, the largest of them, would be unknown to all but a few. They would be ignorant of the Australian personalities who were employed by the Mission and of the contribution they made to the geographical and religious penetration of China. They would be totally unaware of the special contribution which Australian women made in this area. Academics, too, with rare exceptions, would share this common lack of knowledge. This thesis aims to elevate the level of awareness about this important sphere of Australian activity. It is about the Australians of the China Inland Mission (CIM), and addresses the questions of who they were, what they set out to do, what obstacles they faced, how they overcame them, and what they ultimately achieved in China. It is about the contribution they made to the CIM's penetration of China in the period
1888-1953, which I show was a significant one, and the particular contribution of Australian women, which I demonstrate was especially important.¹

Because there has been almost no academic research even dealing peripherally with the Australian missionaries of the CIM, there is little literature in the field which one can review.

This general area of research was last touched upon in 1978, when Lesley Dixon produced her University of Melbourne PhD thesis entitled "The Australian Missionary Endeavour in China 1888-1953". Her thesis, however, attempted to embrace Australians from all missionary societies which worked in China, and because of the dimensions of her task, she could not descend into detail about the work of particular Australian missionaries, or about what they did in the field or what they accomplished there. Nor could she place any detailed focus on the work of Australian missionary women. One can read her thesis and come away with virtually no impression of how missionary work was actually carried out on the Chinese mission field or of the differences between male and female missionary roles in that country.

The latter comment is not offered by way of criticism; it is just that her focus is very wide, and she could not hope to capture much of the rich tapestry of missionary life which lay under the picture that she painted. Accordingly, there is wide scope for the researcher to explore areas of

¹ The aims of Anglican historian Janet West’s research into the history of women in the Australian church, published as Daughters of Freedom, (Sutherland, NSW: Albatross, 1997) - see her p. 431 - have some analogies with mine in writing this thesis. She talks of the talents of her subjects having been "overlooked", their work and aspirations having "been unsung for too long", and of her consequent "attempt to redress that imbalance."
Australian missionary activity which do not traverse ground already covered by Dixon. She devotes considerable attention to an examination of the kinds of Australian people the missions sent, taking in their denominational, educational level and age profiles. Her focus was more upon the kinds of people involved: mine is more upon what they actually did while they were there and what they achieved as a result of that activity. Her focus is more general: mine is more specific. Both theses are major studies in the area but the foci are different.

Another scholarly work which bears on my topic is Marcus L Loane MA DD’s "The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand 1890-1964", (Sydney: CIM/OMP, 1965). The focus here is more on the home administration of the Australasian missionaries, and like Dixon’s, less on the kind of work the missionaries performed in the field and the level of success they achieved. Loane remains, however, an invaluable starting point for any serious student of the CIM endeavour in China.

In 1990, Daniel Ho released his evaluation of the western missionaries’ contribution to China’s welfare, 2 finding that there had been important input in the fields of social rehabilitation, medical services, flood and famine relief, literacy promotion, agricultural reform including the development of rural cooperatives, and the establishment of an indigenous church throughout China which had blossomed in recent times through evangelistic broadcasting and other factors. Ho’s work is seminal, and his conclusions are

2 Daniel Ho, A Chinese Evaluation of the Western Missionaries’ Penetration of China: How they responded to China’s Problems. From 1582 to 1937. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the School of World Mission and Institute of Church Growth, Fuller Theological Seminary. In Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree Doctor of Missiology, April 1990. Thesis located in Billy Graham Center Library, Wheaton, Illinois, USA
consistent with a number of those reached in this dissertation.

In order to examine in detail the difficulties the Australians faced, their personnel, aims, methods and achievements, but still keep the data within manageable bounds, this thesis focuses on the China Inland Mission, the largest missionary society then in the China mission field and one which exemplifies the difficulties the missions faced and the level of success they were able to achieve. Other missions which operated in China are not examined in depth, but comparisons are from time to time made between their evangelistic contributions and those of the CIM in order that conclusions may be reached about the CIM's relative level of achievement.

Besides breaking new ground in examining Australian missionary life in China in detail, this thesis also sets out to correct some erroneous impressions which Dixon's thesis leaves behind.

Her thesis is dismissive of Australia's input on the grounds that no totally autonomous Australian organization emerged so that the direction of Australia's effort lay in other hands. As a consequence, she makes little attempt to assess the impact of the Australian effort in China. I set out to correct this omission.

She also takes the view that with the Communist takeover from 1949, the Christian Church there became moribund, an opinion shared by Varg 3 and by Lacy 4, and that there

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3 As he put it, "Chinese nationalism, expressing itself in a Marxist ideology, snuffed out Chinese humanism and Christian idealism. An uncompromising power struggle has finally triumphed over the best of Confucianism and the more profound insights of Christianity." - Paul A Varg, Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China.
were, accordingly, no noteworthy long-term effects attributable to the missionary endeavour of any nationality. I show that that was not the case. In demonstrating that, I have, however, the benefit of hindsight. Dixon was writing at a time when the Christian Church in China had been driven underground or had become corralled within the often stifling political confines of the Three Self Patriotic Movement. \(^5\) I am writing at a time when the Chinese Church is increasing in leaps and bounds both within the TSPM and without it and despite, or perhaps because of, rampant and ubiquitous persecution.

Her thesis does not penetrate to the level of analysing in any depth the particularly noteworthy contribution to the Australian evangelistic effort of its women missionaries in China. I demonstrate that their work was effective and valuable.

While she acknowledges that Australian women missionaries

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\(^4\) Creighton Boutelle Lacy examined the question of how Protestant missions had fared in China after the Communist takeover in 1949. Writing in 1953, he observed that "A negative, or fatalistic, conclusion is seldom appreciated, never popular, yet that is the net result of this survey. To those who inquire "Why have we failed?" ... the experience of Protestant missions in Communist China offers no constructive reply." - Creighton Boutelle Lacy, *Protestant Missions in Communist China*. A Dissertation submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate School, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, USA, May 1953, p. 642. Located in Billy Graham Center Library, Ref. No. BV 3415.2.L33 1967 (microform), Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA

\(^5\) This movement, based on the principles of self-government, self-support and self-propagation for the Christian churches in China, came into being soon after the Communists assumed power, went into hiding during the Cultural Revolution, and did not substantially re-emerge until 1980. It has been criticized from time to time for politicizing the church, particularly by house church members who operate independently of it. For more detailed explanations of its underlying concepts and aspects of its recent status see Philip L. Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China’s United Front*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1988), pp. 36-42 and 185-195, and G Thompson Brown, *Christianity in the People’s Republic of China*, (Atlanta: John Knox, 1983)
may have produced some unintended feminist consequences among Chinese women, she does not explore to any great extent the social changes for Chinese women which Australian female missionaries quite consciously helped to bring about. I explore this issue and find that Australian women contributed in a not insignificant measure to a number of the social changes which impacted on Chinese women in the period under study and continue through to the present day.

It should be said at the outset that a study of the China Inland Mission, or, for that matter, any other Mission which operated in China, presents unique difficulties because of the paucity of primary source material produced by the missionaries themselves, such as letters, notes and diaries. The principal reason for this scarcity is that when the Communists took over China, these sorts of record were purposely destroyed by the missionaries under Mission orders, to obviate Chinese Christians being persecuted by the Communists because of a documented relationship with foreigners.  

By early 1951, the CIM policy of burning any records which might in any way connect missionaries with Chinese Christians was well understood. In a letter of 17 February 1951 to "Dear Morry" [seemingly, Mr J M Rockness, CIM HQ, Shanghai], Gilbert Vinder of the CIM station at Chengtu in West China wrote as follows:

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6 There was also some destruction of records in connection with the Japanese attacks on China during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-45. Quite apart from records burnt by bombing and other acts of armed aggression, there were some which the missionaries destroyed themselves. Marie C Hill (1908-88) reported in her unpublished MS entitled Shanghai Again, completed 8 December 1988, that "Previous to our actual internment behind barbed wires ... we had either left behind or destroyed the personal diaries the mission had requested us to keep." - MS held in CIM/OMF Archives and Library, Toronto, Canada
You may feel like kicking me for sending this on to you! I am clearing out my files again, and I have decided not to keep a copy of this letter even, for I guess I shall have to burn the copy soon, but the little bits of information contained in this envelope might possibly be of use one day and so I am sending it onto you. If you feel like burning it [,] then do so!  

Evidently these papers survived because they were not adjudged by the CIM to be incriminating for Chinese Christians.

At other times documents were judged dangerous; when I interviewed the former Australian CIM missionary Ken Budge and his wife, the former Canadian CIM missionary Barbara Phillips on 18 March 1996, I asked them, inter alia, whether they had any sort of written mementos of China - letters, diaries etc. Mrs Budge indicated that they didn’t, as all written material like that had had to be destroyed on CIM instructions before they left China in May 1951. Some of the CIM Directors had actually visited them and burnt some of their documents in their toilet, feeling able to do that without detection because the Budge’s toilet window faced inwards, and the Communists could not have seen the smoke. This was done in defiance of a Communist directive that nothing of that sort should be destroyed. The Mission felt obliged, nonetheless, to take such action to protect Chinese Christians with whom it had had an

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2 AR 5.1.4, Box 1, Property Letters 1950-51: 2, "Correspondence regarding Property 1950-1951", folio 215, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore
association.  

In taking such action, the Mission could in no way be accused of paranoia. As the American CIM missionary Helen Western reported in relation to Fenghua, Chekiang after "liberation" by the Communists,

Chinese friends did not dare to come to my place and I was afraid to go out on the street lest some one speak to me and thus be taken and executed for having pro-American sentiment ... I have heard of a Ningpo pastor who had been executed for no other reason than that he has had some thirty years association with foreigners. ... Chinese still friendly to the foreigner were accused of being ... anti-communistic. This has meant death for many.  

Helen Anderson, reporting from Fengsiang, Shensi on 1 June 1951 noted increasing executions and warnings to Christians that further association with missionaries would be dangerous.

To make up for the lack of this sort of primary source material, there is fairly heavy reliance in the thesis on letters, diary excerpts and notes published in China's Millions, the vehicle by which the CIM made known what it

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6 Transcript of interview with the former CIM missionaries Mr Ken Budge (Australian CIM) and Mrs Barbara Budge née Phillips (formerly Canadian CIM), Monday 18 March 1996, 7.30-8.45 pm, Nunawading, Victoria, p. 20

9 AR 5.1.4, Box 1.2 Correspondence, etc. Zhejiang China 1950, 'Exodus' report 1951, CIM/OMF Archives, CIM HQ, Singapore

10 AR 5.1.4, Box 1.11 Correspondence etc. Shaanxi 1950, 'Exodus' report 1951, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore
was doing in the field, though there are some diaries and letters which reached home and have been kept by relatives or the CIM's Melbourne Headquarters and have been accessed by the author. There are some missionary biographies and autobiographies which also help to make up the shortfall, and the author has corresponded with or interviewed several surviving missionaries or descendants to gather their recollections of various aspects of missionary work in China as a further measure to overcome this problem. The result is that though much material of inestimable historical value has been destroyed, a detailed picture still emerges of what the missionaries actually did and achieved while in China.

It is possible, thanks to the author's having had access to the working papers of the British CIM missionary Arthur Moore, for comparisons to be made between the excerpts from his letters which appeared in China's Millions, and the carbon copies he kept of the originals. On all occasions the excerpts are faithful to the original, warts and all, the only amendments made having been the excision of personal chit-chat and salutations not of particular interest to readers. This comparison, though admittedly based on a minute sample, provides some basis for the conclusion that material submitted to China's Millions was not systematically censored before it was published, and adds a measure of confidence to a researcher using articles published in China's Millions that the published versions accurately reflect the originals.

While no doubt the editors were selective in what they chose to publish, and had in mind the fact that the magazine was responsible for keeping donors and potential donors informed of missionary progress, the magazine carries articles describing failure as well as success,
though the latter, whether because of statistical preponderance or strategic desirability, predominate. Marchant has warned of the pitfalls in relying heavily on mission journals and reports, criticizing the renowned historian, Latourette, for having done so. He pointed out that

Latourette, in the absence of other sources, relied heavily upon the published journals and reports of the different societies for his information about Christian missions in China, and these are not the 'veritable' records of the societies. Missionary publications and, in particular, the periodicals with few exceptions were produced to keep donors, benefactors and friends of missions informed and interested in the group which they supported. Invariably the editors of these works, in order to maintain that interest and patronage, carefully selected material for publication with that purpose in mind, and in so doing they created the impression that Christianity, once it was established, spread and progressed in a determined manner; the missionary was pictured as being planted among the heathens with his cross, where he struggled against a variety of obstacles and hazards from which he finally emerged triumphant, as did Bunyan's Christian. Such an interpretation is not historically correct as far as China is concerned. 11

The point is well made, and this thesis accordingly attempts to utilise to the maximum extent possible, the scant sources beyond the missionary magazines to give a rounded picture of CIM progress in China. What is found, however, contrary to Marchant's view, is that, while there was some patchiness, Christianity did spread and progress in a determined manner, leastways within the CIM's bailiwick.

The missionaries tended to apply their own censorship to the material they sent in to Headquarters, which found its way into the magazine, so that matters "best not described" are not discovered to have been homosexuality or venereal disease until one reads a book like the missionary descendant Linnet Hinton's Never Say Can't, written in more liberal times (1987). Nonetheless, in cases of obvious censorship, there seems little doubt that the China's Millions articles are merely recording verbatim what the missionaries actually wrote, so that, again, they are true to the originals.

Whilst it is acknowledged that there exists a large body of secondary sources which deal with the history and impact of Christian missions in China, this study has mainly drawn upon primary sources of the types described above. It does this for several reasons.

Firstly, many of the sources used in this thesis have been neglected by earlier researchers, and the dissertation is accordingly able to bring new information to bear on the topic, which gives it an original rather than a derivative flavour.

Secondly, a good deal of the secondary source material available is flawed. Not much has been written on the
subject in China itself, and what has been, has frequently carried strong political biases which have clouded the authors' analyses and judgements. Further, there is often a wide hiatus between the rhetoric and the practice of regimes in power, a point often overlooked or glossed over by these writers. 12 Within the missions themselves, works have often been triumphalist in nature, 13 exaggerating the successes and minimizing the failures. This study has striven to attain a balanced view.

Thirdly, other secondary sources, which do not suffer from these defects, are too general to have much relevance to a CIM-specific study, though some 14 have been employed to help construct the broad background against which the endeavours of the Australian CIM contingent are played out in this dissertation.

Fourthly, some of the secondary sources rely on other secondary material or on primary material which is selective and limited in scope, with the result that conclusions reached are questionable, having been based

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12 Donald E MacInnes, for example, in his Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China: A Documentary History, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972) and his Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1989) brings to the reader's attention a wealth of original documentation addressing Chinese Communist policies on religion. It is worthwhile bearing in mind the possibility of divergence between the vision and the reality when reading these documents in isolation.

13 Works by Marshall Broomhall (see Bibliography part "(g)") typically fall in this triumphalist category.

upon an impoverished or skewed body of data.  

Fifthly, a number of secondary sources have their roots within a denominational and/or nationalistic framework, which diminishes their relevance to an interdenominational mission like the CIM.  

For such reasons, this thesis has strongly focused on primary sources to inform its arguments.

This thesis is a foundation document, because it draws together data derived predominantly from primary sources which have been seldom consulted or brought together before in relation to an area of research which has been little explored in the past. It also provides indexes, listings and biographies which should be of significant value to subsequent researchers in the field. These appear as appendices in Volume 2. They respond to a current paucity of reliable secondary reference material dealing with Australian missionaries in China.

Volume 2 commences with the comprehensive bibliography, categorizing the varieties of document consulted in constructing the thesis, much of it primary source material.

Appendix I is derived from interviews and correspondence with surviving Australian CIM missionaries, their relics,

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15 For example, Foster Stockwell's *Religion in China Today*, (Beijing: New World Press, 1993), relying on interviews arranged by Chinese Cultural Bureaus and investigations conducted at the invitation of the editorial board of the New World Press in Beijing, arrives at a more benign view of the Protestant Three-Self Patriotic Movement than has been reached by many other reviewers.

spouses and descendants. Many surviving CIM missionaries are now elderly and frail, and opportunities to explore their memories are rapidly diminishing. This appendix accordingly taps a source which will never be as complete again, recording for posterity reminiscences and thoughts which will not be directly available to subsequent researchers.

Appendix II, derived from the 1891 version of the Principles and Practice of the CIM, sets out in minute detail the content of the different courses studied by men and women after entry into China, allowing some interesting comparisons and conclusions to be made about the Mission’s attitude towards its women missionaries. It is a landmark document in this area.

Appendix III is based on Loane’s 1965 history of the Australasian Branch of the CIM, but it contains occasional corrections and embellishments derived from primary sources. It presents the information in a form which is much more useable by researchers than the basic chronological presentation from which it was drawn. In addition to information about Australians, it contains some basic details about New Zealand CIM missionaries which may be of assistance to researchers in that sphere. It includes spousal details which can be used in conjunction with Appendix IV to locate biographies which are under maiden names.

Appendix IV contains detailed biographies of 236 Australian missionaries, and 64 less comprehensive. All 300 Australian CIM missionaries who went to China (1888-1949) have been included, but there is little available data for some of them. A variety of sources has been consulted to construct these vignettes, including China’s Millions, family
histories, interviews, correspondence, autobiographies, biographies, Loane, establishment tables, diaries, candidate books and personal files. The resulting biographies accordingly bring together information, most of it from primary sources, which should provide good reference points for later researchers.

Appendix V has been built up from establishment tables published in annual reports, China's Millions, and as discrete listings. It should prove an invaluable tool to future researchers.

Subsequent researchers utilizing data in the appendices will have the assurance that the bulk of the information contained in them has a solid primary source base.

Now in order for the reader to appreciate the Australian missionary achievement, it is necessary that s/he understand the situation in which they found themselves in China, and, particularly, the difficulties they faced. Accordingly, to assist the reader's comprehension, I set out in Chapter 2 to describe the global, Chinese, China Inland Mission and Australian CIM contexts in which the missionaries laboured. In the thesis I use the Wade-Giles romanization, as it is in accordance with the contemporary sources used and also allows easy comparison with later works on the subject like Loane's and Dixon's. I have provided a glossary at the end of the thesis which gives the Pinyin equivalents for the names of the provinces and some of the major towns mentioned in the body of this

17 In addition to using mission histories referred to elsewhere, this portion of the dissertation is informed by China-specific articles in such publications as (Ed) Philip W Goetz's The New Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 15th Edition (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Brittanica Inc, 1987), and in general histories of China such as Loren Fessler's China, (--: Time-Life International (Nederland) N.V., 1965).
work.

Part 2.1 explains the motivation of the missionaries to go to China and indicates how they fitted into the great Protestant evangelical upsurge towards the end of the eighteenth century which went hand in glove with the voyages of discovery of Cook and other explorers that placed new obligations on evangelists to preach the Gospel to new-found peoples, but more particularly gave them a sense that taking the Word of God to folk the world over was now becoming feasible because better communications were improving access to those who had been hitherto unreached by the Bible and its message. Also explored here is where missionaries fitted into the great tide of more markedly philanthropically-based British imperialism which swept the world during the reign of Queen Victoria.

Part 2.2 describes problems which missionaries faced in China, including the difficulties of supplanting a deeply entrenched syncretistic local religio-philosophic tradition with an imported foreign one, of dealing with a civilization whose people considered themselves culturally superior to the missionaries themselves, of working with a Government whose advancement examinations were rooted in Confucianism, one of the religions the missionaries had come to supplant, of coping with Chinese anti-foreign feeling, much of which derived from the high-handed imperialistic and commercial actions of the very European nations from which the missionaries largely came, of using exceedingly primitive transport, of reaching, with relatively few missionaries, the enormous number of Chinese who had not heard the Gospel before, of exposure to a plethora of virulent diseases in an environment of poor hygiene and inadequate access to medical treatment, of being placed in a country frequently racked with wars and
riots, and of learning Chinese, one of the most difficult languages on earth.

In Part 2.3 I look at the CIM itself, which imposed its own peculiar limitations upon what its missionaries could achieve, including its policies, strategies, practices, organizational structures and its attitudes toward and relationships with other Missions in China.

Part 2.4 examines the further constraints imposed on the missionaries by the Australasian CIM Council, including its recruitment processes, training arrangements, promotional system and monetary difficulties. It also looks at the missionaries' own backgrounds, elements of which placed further restrictions on their effectiveness as missionaries. Here I deal with geographical origin, religious background, conversion details, age, sex, marital status, occupation and social status, education, and subordination to the British contingent, the latter an aspect which Dixon raised as one which significantly detracted from the worth of the Australian effort, but one which I demonstrate did not have much practical significance once the Australians had gained a few years' experience in the field.

In Part 2.5 I explore some unique difficulties which faced Australian and other CIM women, specifically their inferior training and the paternalistic attitudes to which they were exposed. I show that they were able, to an extent, to overcome these obstacles.

Chapter 3 sets out to assess the contribution of Australian missionaries to the CIM effort in China. Because, in attempting to decide whether the Australian contribution to the CIM was a significant one, it is necessary to be able
to measure performance in some way, I explore in Part 3.1 some possible yardsticks, including walled cities occupied as a proportion of total walled cities, inter-mission conversion rate and evangelistic effort comparisons, noteworthy individual efforts, difficulties overcome and the extent to which the missionaries fostered and left behind an independent Chinese Church.

In Part 3.2 I look at the Australian contribution to the geographic, social, intellectual and evangelistic penetration of China, exemplifying the Australians' input by citing some memorable Australian "firsts" in geographical and evangelistic pioneering, and describing instances of their contributions in the literary, medical, educational, administrative, tribal and welfare fields. In all these spheres of operation I show that the Australians provided valuable and significant input.

Chapter 4 sets out to examine the specific contribution which Australian women made to the CIM missionary effort. In order to assess the importance of that contribution, it is necessary to establish some means of measurement of their achievement, and this issue is taken up in Part 4.1. Firstly, conversion numbers are explored, and some Kwangsi station comparisons are used to indicate that women could run stations at least as well as, if not better than, their male counterparts in terms of producing baptismal results, with Australian women producing better than average results in that Province.

Next, communicants in fellowship statistics are studied, and these show that the rate of communicants in fellowship per female missionary worker is superior to that per male missionary worker.
Moving on to difficulties overcome as a measure of success, we find that women faced similar hardships as the men and were equally successful in overcoming them. Difficulties examined include weather extremes, problems with food, travel and armed conflict.

The point is then made that considering that women were at times arguably over-protected, patronized, less well-trained than the men and often came off a lower education base because of stereotyping back home, their achievements must be considered more remarkable than those of their menfolk, as they had more to overcome from the start.

In Part 4.2, to exemplify the quality of the work contributed by Australian CIM women, instances of pioneering achievements of many of them are then described, including examples in the geographical, medical, educational, social, tribal and administrative fields. Here, while the geographical aspect was of considerable importance, the medical input was possibly even more so, particularly with regard to nursing, where the Australian female contribution was especially notable.

Chapter 5 deals with the aftermath of the missionary effort. Contrary to Dixon’s stated belief that the missionaries left little imprint long-term, I show that the Christian Church in China has expanded in a remarkable way since the Communist takeover, with church membership today thought by some analysts to number in the vicinity of 50 million. 18 Analysis of the cause of this expansion is

18 A statistic to be treated with caution. See Anthony P B Lambert, ‘Estimates of 50 Million or More Christians in China are Unrealistic’, OMF China Ministries Department, Kent, UK, 19 September 1994. In that paper he estimated 30 million. In a letter to the author of 31 July 1995 on the subject he indicated that his earlier estimate may have been too low, and stated, “I am prepared to admit 50 million as an upper limit.”
undertaken, encompassing the endeavours which have been made since the missionaries left by evangelistic radio broadcasting, Bible smuggling, conversion of Chinese students returning to China from overseas etc. The conclusion is drawn that a significant part of this extension is attributable to the original input of the Protestant missionaries, including the CIM and its Australian contingent. I show that after their exodus from China, many Australian CIM missionaries continued to serve the cause of evangelism both in Australia and in the new fields opened up by the CIM/OMF in South-east Asia, Taiwan and Japan, so that the expertise they gained in China was not lost, but was able to be employed to good effect in these new spheres, which involved, amongst other things, bringing the Gospel to overseas Chinese.

Chapter 6 summarizes the thesis and reaches a number of discrete conclusions based upon the content. These conclusions establish that the Australian contribution to the penetration of China by the China Inland Mission in the period 1888-1953 was a significant one and that the work of its female contingent was particularly important.
CHAPTER 2

THE CONTEXT

2.1 THE GLOBAL MISSIONARY CONTEXT

There had been a long history of Catholic missionary activity stretching back for centuries when Protestantism, newly emerged from the Reformation, began to establish its own missions. A French Protestant colony was attempted in Brazil in 1555 but resulted in failure, and Gustavus I of Sweden (ruled 1523-60) organized some work among the Laplanders but was also unsuccessful. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company sent a few missionaries to its colonies, but the conversions accomplished were mostly nominal only and little real progress was made except in Java, where evangelism was assisted by translation of the Scriptures into the local languages.

Missions tended to appear when there was a demonstrable need, a measure of geographical accessibility, and political opportunity. The American colonies fulfilled all these criteria, and the mid-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw a number of associations formed in Great Britain to encourage the extension of Protestantism in those colonies. John Eliot (1604-90), working in colonial Massachusetts among the Indians around Roxbury from 1632 until the end of his life and translating the Bible into an Alonquian Indian language in the process, managed to gain the support of the English Parliament, then under the domination of Oliver Cromwell and, as a consequence, the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was established in 1649. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was set up within the Church of England in 1698 and its work was supplemented in 1701 by the establishment of the Society for the
Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In 1742 the Scottish SPCK appointed David Brainerd as a missionary to the American Indians.

In 1705 Denmark sent to the East and West Indies the first Lutheran missionaries and in 1732 members of the Moravian Church sent out their first missionaries to St Thomas in the West Indies. They had, before 1760, secured representation in all the continents then opened up by exploration.

Protestant missionary endeavours to this point had, however, been patchy, and it was not until towards the middle of the eighteenth century that a new missionary spirit was aroused in Great Britain by the evangelistic zeal of John Wesley and George Whitefield, bringing in its wake a great surge of missionary activity.

Missions abroad had to be supported and replenished by converts at home, and the evangelistic foundations laid by Wesley and Whitefield were carried forward on both sides of the Atlantic by such charismatic religious figures as William Wilberforce (1759-1833), Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875), Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-99), William Booth (1829-1912) and Adventists like William Miller (1782-1849) who came into prominence from 1831 and, later, Joseph Bates (1792-1872), Ellen Harmon White (1827-1915) and her husband James White (1821-1881).

The nature of this evangelistic upsurge is described by Latourette in the following terms:

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The movement placed its greatest emphasis upon an individual religious experience - conversion, following usually a period of unhappiness and conviction of sin - a joyous sense of forgiveness, victory over temptation, and new life through faith in Christ. It had much to say of Christ's sufferings, death, and resurrection, and it was in part a return to Paul, with his emphasis upon the Cross of Christ, and a new and eternal life begun here through repentance, faith, and union with Christ ... Those who had experienced the new life were encouraged to lead others into it: by its very nature the awakening was missionary. With the emphasis on individual conversion was usually associated an active desire to help others, not only by introducing them to a new spiritual and moral life, but by promoting their welfare in intellectual, physical, and material ways, by removing and redressing social injustices, and by educational and philanthropic enterprises.

A not surprising outcome of the evangelical movement at home, then, was the founding of missionary societies which sustained a flourishing missionary movement abroad.

The Baptist Missionary Society was established in 1792 and William Carey went out to India under its auspices shortly after its founding, subsequently publishing the Bible in several Indian vernaculars. Warren 29 saw him as a pivotal missionary figure of the time, claiming that "Carey's book, ... entitled An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians

to use Means for the conversion of the Heathens" "can fairly claim to have ushered in the missionary movement in modern history."

Warren notes that Carey's imagination was captured by the Life of Columbus and Cook's Voyages, and he makes the further claim that

Carey ... more than any other man, gave to the modern missionary movement its geographical perspective ... It was William Carey who saw the 'interdependence' of the Gospels and the voyages of Captain Cook and the obligations of the missionary enterprise, and who not only saw it but insisted upon the relevance of this interdependence for Christian practice.  

The gospel message which propelled Hudson Taylor to China six decades later inspired Carey, whose book begins with the words - "Our Lord Jesus Christ, a little before his departure, commissioned his apostles to Go and teach all nations; or, as another evangelist expresses it, Go into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Gairdner later embellishes this view -

it is because the world has at last come to be realised as a single whole that the enterprise of carrying the gospel to all the world is gradually being invested with a new realisableness in the minds of men. And it is because that enterprise is being thus invested with a new realisableness that a World Missionary Conference met in
Edinburgh in the year 1910. 22

Gairdner was writing at a time when the world was "every day more and more closely and organically knit by the nerves of electric cable and telegraph wire; more richly fed by the arteries and veins of railway-line and steamship ocean-way" 23, Carey at a time when the world was still being opened up by major exploration - but it was the same sense of all the world becoming accessible and affording new opportunities for missionary endeavour in needy countries which helped fire the missionary imagination in both periods.

Professor Latourette is of like mind to Warren and Gairdner. He describes the sudden surge in missionary activity thus:

The primary cause of this renewed expansion was the Industrial Revolution. Growing scientific knowledge brought increased mastery of man over his physical environment. Machinery, factories, railways, steamboats, and, later, telegraphs and telephones, airplanes and radios, worked startling changes. Populations multiplied, great migrations of peoples flowed into the vacant spaces of the earth, wealth accumulated, education became widespread, the globe was searched for raw materials and markets, commerce and travel increased to enormous proportions, the governments of the Occident controlled nearly all the planet, and every non-Occidental people began

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the shaping of its culture under the influence of the civilization of Europe and America ... in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, in the lands most affected by the Industrial Revolution, the Church was to experience a great re-awakening. 24

Warren sees a nexus between Christianity, commerce and Imperialism, and this connection is clearly demonstrated in the case of China, of which more later.

Shortly after Carey's leaving for India, the interdenominational Missionary Society of London (later the London Missionary Society [LMS]) was founded (1795), laying the foundations of South Sea Islands missionary work from 1797, later extending its work into South Africa, India, China (with Robert Morrison in 1807), Madagascar and New Guinea. Among the Anglicans, the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East was set up in April 1799 and in 1813 the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. The movement swept through Holland, Germany, Switzerland and France where missionary societies were also organized in this period. It also shook the United States in the early nineteenth century. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was founded in 1810, the American Baptist Missionary Union in 1814, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1819 and the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1820. Although it had begun its work considerably earlier, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions was not officially constituted until 1837. Presbyterian Missionary Societies were also founded by the Irish in 1840 (sending missionaries to India) and the English in 1847 (sending

missionaries to China).

The Melanesian Mission was set up in 1849 by Bishop G A Selwyn in New Zealand, the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) founded in 1860 following Dr David Livingstone's Senate House address at Cambridge on 4 December 1857 and publication of his Cambridge lectures in 1858.

Specialization in medical and educational work as an avenue to open the way for spiritual ministry emerged. Such medical work in India started in the mid-nineteenth century with doctors sent by the London Missionary Society and The American Board, while, with the work of Alexander Duff in India in 1830 a new enterprise in missionary effort on educational lines was launched.

The China Inland Mission (CIM) was formed in 1865 and the Friends' Foreign Missionary Society in 1867, the latter operating chiefly in Madagascar but also extending to India, Ceylon, Syria and China.

The Edinburgh Conference in 1910 stimulated co-operation amongst the principal Protestant Missionary Societies and, after the First World War, such Conferences became even more international, with the focus shifting to the development of indigenous churches, as far as possible self-governing.

James Morris, in his insightful and enlightening historical triptych depicting the rise and fall of the British Empire, has described a new wave of British imperialism, centred in the reign of Queen Victoria, and marked not so

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25 *Heaven's Command; Pax Britannica; Farewell the Trumpets*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982)
much by economic exploitation, though this was doubtless still present, but by a new sense, driven by a strong evangelistic element in the British Parliament, that the Empire existed to enhance and protect the welfare of nations less fortunate than the richly blessed monarchy of Britain.

Harbingers of this new aspect of an old phenomenon were abroad before Victoria’s ascension to the throne. As early as about 1813, William Wordsworth was advocating

not ... conquest but ... emancipation - Britain using her power and technology to promote independent constitutional governments all over the world.\(^{26}\)

but it was not until many years later that this humane suggestion was successfully pursued by Prime Minister Palmerston (in office 1855-58, 1859-65) and others.

Queen Victoria ascended to the throne in 1837, and her reign, until her death in 1901, witnessed more than a rise in philanthropic imperialism. As Owen Chadwick has indicated,\(^{27}\) the period of about 40 years which began in 1859 with the publication of Darwin’s *Origin of Species*, and John Stuart Mill’s essay *On Liberty*, and the emergence of new national newspapers from 1860 onwards, also marked a time of growing secularization throughout Europe, illustrated by a decline in churchgoing statistics first obvious in the 1880s, but continuing to be strongly evident.

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\(^{27}\) *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)
throughout the remainder of Chadwick's four decades and, indeed, up to the start of World War I, by which time the parameters within which current expectations of per capita church attendance had probably been well and truly laid down.

There is little doubt that most Australians, with mind sets fashioned in the ethos of the day, identified with the British Empire and noted with pride the prevalence of pink on the atlases and globes of the time. They also absorbed through the media of that era at least a psychological sense of responsibility for the welfare of overseas people less fortunate than themselves, though most were not moved to convert that feeling of collective guardianship into any physical action, content to leave that aspect in the hands of British administrators at those far-flung outposts of Empire.

The rising secularization which Chadwick noted in Europe was by no means confined to that continent; its effects were also felt in Australia. Many Australian missionaries were wont to contrast their congregations in China with what they would have expected back home and were delighted with the comparison. So much was this so that it is difficult to forbear posing the question as to whether the missionaries, in heading overseas, were actually choosing the line of least resistance. Facing mounting apathy at home, the prospect of taking the Gospel to races less enlightened than their own in a mysterious and romantic oriental setting must have had considerable appeal. Whether or not this were a cause, emigrate they did, and carried the trappings of paternalistic imperialism with them.

While they perforce carried this imperialistic baggage, perhaps largely unconsciously, amongst their other
intellectual goods and chattels, there is little evidence that this sentiment ever became superordinate in individuals or groups of missionaries: time and again the missionaries state that their primary allegiance is to a spiritual, not a secular kingdom. At the time of the First World War, they were apt to contrast the enthusiasm with which men volunteered to fight for the flag with their reticence to volunteer to fight for Christ in heathen lands. This was a sore point with them because they saw spiritual warfare as so much more important.

There was a pragmatic aspect to all of this, too. Some of the CIM’s Associate Missionaries were drawn from Germany, and in order to maintain amicable relations with them during the conflict, which they did, missionaries from nations engaged in fighting the Germans did well to concentrate on a paramount spiritual goal. Despite this, a number of missionaries resigned from the Mission in order to fight in the War, but they were relatively few. For example, the Australian CIM missionary Herbert Stubbs went to France with a Chinese labour battalion during the First World War and was killed there in 1917. At least one worked clandestinely behind the scenes. The British CIM missionary George Findlay Andrew, while remaining a CIM missionary, conveyed military intelligence to the British during the First World War and was decorated with an O.B.E. for his efforts. 28

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28 Similar attraction to the call to arms occurred during the Second World War. For example, the Australian CIM missionary Rev Captain Francis White accepted a commission in the armed forces in Chungking on 1 February 1944 and saw service in India, Burma and Malaya prior to his release from the military in Shanghai on 30 September 1946. In the case of the Australian missionary Rowland Butler, he worked with the Australian Legation in Free China during the Second World War while still maintaining a pivotal role in the CIM, but he did it more to maintain an active CIM presence there than for militarily motivated reasons. As Butler put it (CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LVI, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1945, p. 61), “I know nothing of the details of the Legation job, but it will, at least, let me remain in China to keep an eye on things and maintain contact with the field—a most valuable thing if all missionaries are to be sent out of
The CIM had little day to day contact with the British colonial presence in China, which was exercised through Consuls in some of the larger Chinese cities. They had to communicate in relation to passports, births, deaths and marriages, but they otherwise tended to live completely separate lives. The Consuls regarded the missionaries as rather a nuisance, people who had to be protected in times of crisis. For their part, the missionaries shared a somewhat similar view of Consuls. Consular decrees to evacuate posts were questioned and only reluctantly obeyed. If the call for evacuation was discretionary rather than mandatory, it was usually ignored. Missionaries did not like to leave their stations, as fragile churches could disintegrate without a missionary as a focal point and driving force. What had taken years to build up could disappear virtually overnight. Strong churches usually benefitted from missionary absence, becoming more independent; the weaker ones could go to the wall. During furloughs absences could usually be covered by colleagues; in cases of general evacuation this could not happen, and churches were left to their own devices.

Missionaries and Consuls did not mix socially to any great extent. The missionaries tended to fraternize with their own kind, whether from the CIM or from other Protestant missions, and the consuls with people in the diplomatic and trade communities. Such contacts as they had were generally business-like and needs-driven. With the notable exception of George Findlay Andrew, there is nothing in the literature which would indicate that they connived together to achieve military or imperialistic ends.

By the time that the Australian CIM missionary Dorothy China. So far it is not as sweeping as that, but that is what the Mission fears may happen."
Clare Cornelius was assessed for her Junior Missionary Certificate (which was granted on 14 May 1952, shortly afterwards) the standard CIM Junior Missionary assessment pro forma contained a question as to whether the candidate showed any tendency towards a superior nationalistic complex, and it is certain that the question had been formulated with a view to identifying perpetrators of an attitude at once extant and reprehensible. This shows evidence of the Mission’s active discouragement of missionary motives based on secular rather than spiritual grounds, with those who had displayed superior nationalistic attitudes standing in jeopardy of being at least reprimanded and not being granted their Certificate.

Leslie Lyall, a British CIM missionary and author, was probably talking of similar attitudes when he spoke of missionaries ensconcing themselves within their compounds and failing to fraternize with their Chinese churchfolk in a social framework. ²⁹ He meant, of course, except where master-servant relationships were involved, for many of the missionaries’ converts came from amongst their own servants, and their paths crossed habitually, albeit on an uneven social base, because of propinquity.

There was undoubtedly some condescension by the missionaries, who often referred to the ignorance, superstition, dishonesty and illiteracy of the Chinese, but this appears to have been based more on feelings of academic, moral and spiritual superiority than on beliefs that they belonged to some matchless earthly empire.

On the whole there seems to have been little evidence

amongst the missionaries of attitudes of imperialistic superiority. Indeed, the boot was rather on the other foot: one of the early missionaries' constant complaints was that they were almost invariably treated as barbarians by the literate class of Chinese, who considered their own empire to be vastly more culturally developed than any other.

The missionaries certainly believed in "helping" the Chinese, but not as an outcome of their belonging to the British Empire but rather because of the Biblical exhortation to evangelize all the creatures of the earth. Notions of imperialistic benevolence came a very poor second to Biblical directive amongst members of a Mission which held firm views about the literal truth of the divinely inspired Bible and would have no truck with modernism.

It is not surprising, however, given the evangelistic impetus for philanthropic imperialism, that missionary endeavour was often seen, though erroneously, as nothing more nor less than an element of imperialistic expansion. In China the two streams of activity ran in parallel, but there were few connections other than the initial reliance of the missionaries on gunboat diplomacy for opening up the country to their penetration and some reliance of diplomats on the Missions having pioneered the interior and broken down resistance to their advent. These were examples of opportunism though, and collaboration towards penetrating the country by diplomats and missionaries was basically non-existent.

2.2 THE CHINA CONTEXT

Missionaries in China from all missionary societies represented there laboured under many difficulties, many of
them unique to that country. Not least of these was the fact that they encountered here not primitive savages, but a people with a rich historical, cultural and religio-philosophic tradition, amongst whom it was difficult to implant western belief and value systems. There were also difficulties inherent in the topography and demography of the country, and there were communications and health problems. These obstacles to missionary endeavour are sketched below.

2.2.1 Existing Chinese Religions

From the beginning, the CIM and other Christian bodies faced an uphill battle in spreading the gospel amongst the Chinese. They may well have hawked their religious wares under the slogan of ‘New Religions for Old’, since China had a tradition of Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism which went back in the order of two millenia and had long since intermingled, against which the western religion had to contend. On to this syncretistic mixture of traditional

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30 As Alan Burgess puts it in The Small Woman, (London: The Reprint Society, 1959), p. 116, “In China three religions have met, and become embedded in the daily ritual of life: Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. A household will worship in the ancestral hall where the tablets to the honourable dead are placed in accordance with the precepts of Confucius; they will also burn incense on the shrine of Buddha; and for a propitious day on which to start a new scholar at school, to hold a marriage, a celebration or a funeral they will consult a Taoist priest.” In addition to ubiquitous adherents of the traditional Chinese religions, there were also pockets of Mahommedans and Jews. For a detailed account of the religions of China see John R Hinnells (Ed), A Handbook of Living Religions, (London: Penguin, 1984), Chapter 9 - "Chinese Religions", pp 344-364

31 There was a vast difference between Christianizing what missionaries tended to regard as ignorant, superstitious 'savages' and adherents of well-established and organized religions. This was not only an obstacle to the acceptance of the Gospel in China, but was a global difficulty. For example, the missionaries working among the indentured Indians in Fiji found that these people believed "that Christianity is the religion for Europeans and Hinduism is for the Indians." The missionaries noted "that the Indian has an old religion, can quote from his own sacred books, and the thousands of subtle influences of his culture give him arguments by which he could combat the reception of Christianity,... These are difficulties which are far greater than the savagery of a cannibal people." - Morven Sidal, Hannah Dudley - Hamari Maa: Honoured Mother, Educator and Missioner to the
Chinese religions was often grafted a collection of deified ancient heroes who functioned like patron saints. The particular skew within the syncretistic mixture and the specific selection from among the ancient heroes differed from community to community, constituting what is now termed "Chinese folk religions", and these were what the missionaries frequently encountered.  

History showed that earlier attempts to introduce Christianity into China by the Nestorians in the 7th Century and the Jesuits in the 16th Century had encountered serious problems because of entrenched pre-existing religions. A feature of both these missionary enterprises had been a failure to cope with the ever-present threat of syncretism, which swallowed up Nestorian Christianity and was at the heart of the so-called "rites issue" which brought about deep divisions within the Catholic Church and finally resulted in bans being imposed on Christians performing ancestral and Confucian rites, which had the effect, in the mid-18th Century, of strangling the Catholic missionary endeavour in China. Protestant missions like the CIM were wary of falling into the syncretic trap, and would have no truck with any doctrinal compromise. This kept their religion pure but it severely narrowed their chances of effecting conversions. The CIM, including its Australian component, followed this uncompromising line assiduously, and it was to plague their efforts to spread

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the Christian faith throughout their period of operation in China.

2.2.2 Culture

China is a country which has a rich cultural tradition, with written records dating back in excess of 3,300 years. In fact it arguably has the longest continuous history of any nation on earth. 34

Before the advent of writing there, legend had it that the country was ruled by a dynasty known as the Hsia during a period extending from about 2,200 to 1,700 B.C. This dynasty was immediately followed in time by the Shang dynasty (c 1700-1100 B.C.), known to have been an agricultural society which even at that time, already had a highly developed writing system and used wheeled chariots in warfare. In turn this was succeeded by other major dynasties, the ChOU (c 1100-256 B.C.), the Ch’ in (221-206 B.C.), the Han (202 B.C.-220 A.D.), the Sui (590-616), memorable for having built a great transportation network, the T’ang (618-906) which experienced a great cultural flowering in its latter years, the Sung (960-1279) which produced fine porcelains and landscape paintings and included the invention of block printing, the use of paper money and the utilisation of coal to smelt iron, the Yuan (1279-1368) when the Mongols controlled China from Peking, the Ming (1368-1644) which again was a time of flowering of Chinese culture, and, finally, the Manchu (1644-1912) which ultimately fell through popular democratic rebellion.

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This rich cultural heritage, linked with geographic isolation, had convinced the scholarly Chinese that theirs was the most superior civilization on earth and that foreign nations must, ipso facto, be inferior. They went on to reason that they had nothing to learn from barbaric people like the Westerners, who were ignorant of the Chinese classics and whose empire was chronologically as nothing compared with theirs. They saw the missionaries as uneducated (there was often an element of truth in this) and superstitious, and the level of conversion amongst educated Chinese, partially as a consequence of this, was infinitesimal in comparison with the inroads made by missionaries amongst the Chinese lower classes. Australian CIM missionaries experienced the haughtiness of the literati and obstruction to their work caused by this group.

2.2.3 Government

Government under the Manchus (and earlier dynasties) was grounded in a Confucian-based examination system, and officials from the highest to the lowest throughout the land were accepted and advanced by virtue of this system. The educated were those who had been successful within this system, and they commanded power and respect in their local or provincial communities by reason of these scholarly attainments. The literati saw the missionaries as a threat to both the belief systems they espoused and the prestige they enjoyed. They also despised them because they came from a culture they perceived less advanced than their own. With rare exceptions, they became implacable foes of the missionary groups, and did everything within their power (which was often considerable) to make the missionaries’ lot as difficult as possible. In particular they were the authors of much anti-missionary literature which they used
to whip the local people into violent activity against the missionaries including looting, destruction of property, physical abuse and sometimes murder. There are Australian CIM missionary anecdotes regarding their having suffered physical abuse because of the reluctance of Chinese officials to observe their legal obligation to protect missionaries in times of crisis.

2.2.4 Politics

Following the First Opium War (1839-42), the Second Opium War (1856-60), the Boxer Uprising (1900) and other armed conflicts, a series of treaties, heavily favouring the trading nations victorious in these outbreaks of hostility, progressively opened up China to foreign penetration. In the wake of gunboat diplomacy, and behind the musketry and bayonets of their countrymen, came the missionaries. The Chinese drew no fine distinctions between particular groups of westerners but saw them as all tarred with the same brush. Accordingly the missionaries were seen as imperialists and, with odd exceptions, they met strong resistance to their presence throughout the length and breadth of China.

Further, because the earlier treaties imposed the opium trade upon the Chinese, with devastating social consequences, and those treaties also helped open up the country to missionaries, the Chinese tended to associate the missionaries with this traffic in death-dealing drugs. This belief had the effect of further entrenching the resistance to the missionaries arising from their being

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25 The missionaries were keen students of treaty provisions and had some idea of the extent to which they were likely to be enforced in the field. See, for example, Marshall Broomhall's *The Man Who Believed God: Hudson Taylor*, (London: CIM/OMF, 1965), pp. 168-169.
perceived as an arm of imperialism. 36 Australian and other CIM missionaries found it difficult to make evangelistic headway as a result of Chinese attitudes in this connection.

2.2.5 Communications

Transport in China was primitive when the Australians first arrived in 1890, and in many areas had only improved marginally, if at all, by the time they left. 37 Roads, if they could be called such, were quagmires in wet weather, dustbowls in the dry, and railways were virtually non-existent. While the chair, the barrow, the wagon and the occasional mule were used by missionaries as land transport, they also undertook long journeys on foot. On the rivers, steamers could be used on the more navigable parts and smaller craft thereafter. Boats also plied the Chinese canal system. There were dangerous rapids on the Yangtse 38 and other rivers, and several missionaries lost belongings and almost their lives negotiating lethal white water. Reaching stations far inland could take three months, and reaching safety when trouble broke out took a commensurate period of time.

36 Imperialism and opium were discussed with surviving CIM missionaries - see p. 4 of Appendix I. These missionaries had seen little evidence of imperialistic attitudes within the CIM, but a little more in other missions. While they deplored the circumstances which had given rise to the Unequal Treaties, they appreciated the freedom those compacts provided them. Those who were in China in the early 1930s saw evidence of opium addiction, particularly amongst the coolies who carried them in sedan chairs between various country centres.

37 In 1996 China was moving to increase the level of foreign investment in the country. One of the top priorities even then was transport. See the International Public Relations Pty Ltd Privatisation Report, No. 109, 1 May 1996, p. 4

38 Rocks were not the only hazard. The CIM missionary Mrs Pruen talked about the "currents from the terrible whirlpools which swamp so many junks". - Mrs Pruen, The Provinces of Western China, (London: Alfred Holness, 1906), p. 43; located under reference 01276 at Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut, USA
Given the primitive transport, mail was remarkably reliable though slow, and cables later used extensively for faster communication. References to the telephone are virtually non-existent in CIM literature, and this does not appear to have been an important avenue of communication between stations in the interior or between those stations and their central base at Shanghai, at least in the earlier period of CIM missionary expansion in China. The primitive nature of the transport in China was often referred to by the Australian CIM missionaries, but in terms of description rather than complaint.

2.2.6 Demography

Demographic features of the Chinese population were a continuing problem for the CIM and other missionary bodies in China. The population kept expanding at a rate of millions each year; many of their converts were old, others contracted illness in a land beset with disease, and died with little opportunity to spread the word before they went to their heavenly reward. There was little evidence of a snowballing effect in most provinces. But it was the massive size of the population, and the immense difficulty, if not impossibility, of bringing the word to so many people, which was always the most daunting aspect of the task. It was realized that millions would perish without ever hearing the word, and this was a source of continuing concern to the evangelists in the field, and a spur to unremitting itineration to reach as many people as they could in the shortest possible time.

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39 This differed from mission to mission and from place to place. A telephone was installed in the London Missionary Society house in Port Moresby within weeks of the British annexation in late 1888 (Note from Dr David Wetherell received 11 June 1997).
The CIM always realized that it had taken on a formidable task. Exactly how formidable it was not initially sure, because of the inferior population estimates upon which they had to rely, though each edition of China's Spiritual Need and Claims attempted to assess its magnitude.

In the sixth (1884) edition, the CIM put the total area of the 15 of the 18 provinces (Kwang-si, Kwang-tung and Fuh-kien were excluded) they were attempting to "work" at 1,220,477 square miles and the population in those provinces at 194,500,000. In that year the total number of missionaries belonging to all Protestant missionary societies working in these provinces was 355, or one missionary per 547,887 persons spread over 3,438 square miles.

By 1889 the total area was reckoned at 1,086,763 square miles with the population not regarded as having changed in the interim. This area and the same population was carried through from 1889 to 1902 inclusive and in 1890, during that period, there were 484 missionaries belonging to all Protestant missionary societies working the 15 provinces, or one per 401,860 people spread over 2,245 square miles.

James Hudson Taylor was of the belief, based on an analogy with the work of the Moody-Sankey evangelistic team, that it would not quite be possible for each missionary to reach 100,000 people, so that it was abundantly clear that more workers were needed if the gospel were to reach the ears of every person in China. He was not foolish enough to think that everyone who heard the gospel would believe in it, but that was not the missionaries' problem: theology made it plain that the proclamation was all that was expected. When tackled about the insufficient number of missionaries in the field, he is on record as having mounted the dubious
argument that if the ones already there weren’t making sufficient impact, what was the point of bringing out more who might fare no better.

By 1893 it was clearly realized that the population must have expanded since 1889, and the CIM made its own best guesses as to the increase, putting the total population of the 15 provinces within the range of 194,000,000 to in excess of 215,000,000.

By 1897 it was acknowledged that these estimates were too small, but in 1899 new statistics were cited which were drawn from a publication entitled *Dawn on the Hills of T'ang*, which estimated a population of 326,204,897 and an area of 1,117,122 square miles for the 15 provinces.

The figures of 1899 remained basically unchanged until the 1903 version of the *Statesman’s Year Book* became the source for a completely new set of statistics which gave the population as 348,451,184 and the area as 1,308,930 square miles.

The latter figures seem to have had a reasonable basis in fact; they were drawn from a then recent census taken in China in connection with the distribution of the indemnity demanded by the allies after the Boxer crisis. These figures continued in use by the CIM into 1904 and 1905. Ostensibly, on the basis of the statistics the CIM had employed, the population had increased 79.15% in the space of 19 years, which would have involved a population increase of 2.96% per annum, an implausibly large annual increase.

Estimates of population increase in China, admittedly in later years (1953, 1954), put the average annual increase
at 2 to 2.2%, and there is little doubt that the CIM’s early population estimates were too low, and that the task was greater than what they originally thought. Assuming a 2.2% rate of increase in pre-1903 years, the population, derived from the 1903 figures, would have been 230,449,054 when the missionaries thought it 194,500,000, and the missionaries per head of population would have been an even more impossible one missionary to 649,152 Chinese people.

This ratio is probably an underestimation, however, since the increase observable between 1899 and 1903, when the first two collections of detailed statistics began to appear in CIM publications, was only 1.66% per annum. If this is used as a deflator to convey the 1903 figures back to 1884, then the population at that time would have been 254,710,732, and the ratio of missionaries to population 1:717,495, even more impossible than the 2.2% per annum population increase scenario. As Chinese helpers were few at this time (less than one per missionary), the task in either event remained well beyond the capacity of Christian workers en masse.

It is small wonder that Leslie Lyall entitled his book about the CIM "A Passion for the Impossible". On the CIM’s own figures, almost 5½ times as many Protestant missionaries were required in the field than were there in 1884, and nearly 5 times as many were needed than were there in 1890. On re-estimates using a 2.2% annual rate of increase, about 6½ times as many missionaries were required than were in place in 1884, and using a 1.66% rate of annual increase, over 7 times as many were required in 1884 than were then operational.

For most, if not all of the period of their sojourn in China, the missionaries there were insufficient in numbers
to carry personally the Gospel to the ears of the total Chinese populace. They came to rely more and more on the efforts of a growing and increasingly independent group of Chinese Christians. The frustration of Australians with the lack of sufficient numbers of missionaries is time and again voiced in the CIM literature.

2.2.7 Health

China was subject to some particularly virulent diseases, including typhoid, typhus, cholera, smallpox, malaria, diphtheria and tuberculosis. Leprosy was also present. Owing to a general paucity of medical knowledge, supplies and skilled practitioners, and the tyranny of distance, septicaemia, tetanus, pneumonia and influenza also took a high toll amongst the Chinese inhabitants. The missionaries had normally been given some rudimentary training in medicine, and were equipped with some basic medical supplies like bandages and antiseptics. 40 They were also inoculated against smallpox, and deaths from this source are not recorded, at least amongst the Australian contingent. However, typhoid, typhus, cholera and septicaemia killed significant numbers of missionaries, and probably, because of the unhygienic conditions and the inaccessibility of professional medical attention, at a much higher rate than they would have been expected to die of these ailments in their homelands (though typhoid, for example, took a heavy toll in Melbourne every Summer, and tuberculosis, pneumonia and influenza were other significant causes of death both in that city and

40 In p. 1 of a letter to the author of 4 May 1996, the Australian CIM missionary Ruth Bailey née Porteous wrote that "In his travels ... my father [Gladstone Porteous] carried a small case of simple medicines such as quinine, & also vaccinated the children [against smallpox]. ... My mother had a small dispensary where the most basic medicines were available, & she treated burns, ulcers, etc. Neither had any medical training, but felt they should do what they could."
throughout Australia). 41

In addition to a significant death rate amongst CIM missionaries in China, there is an untold story of breakdowns in health. The work of the CIM missionary, which involved long hours, meagre pay and often unrewarding and frustrating labour, took a heavy toll in health.

Requests for furlough were frequently bolstered by claims of illness, often supported by medical evidence. While it may be argued that the missionaries knew that they had a better chance of gaining approval for furlough if they could claim sickness, and that therefore it was in their interests to make such a claim, there were safeguards against false claims in that requests had to be approved by their superintendents, who usually had a very good idea of their state of health, and, if claims were unsupported by medical evidence, the Council quite often ensured that it was subsequently obtained, a fact of which field missionaries would have been aware. There was a fine line, too, between what was acceptable as a basis for furlough and what might be regarded by the China Council as grounds for termination. If the medical claim was made too strongly, there was a possibility that the Council may consider the applicant too ill to face the rigours of a return to China and might decide to relinquish his or her services altogether. This factor provided further impetus towards truthfulness. Quite apart from those safeguards, the missionaries were normally people of high integrity, and conscious mendacity, one hopes, would have been rare.

Applications for leave of absence to care for sick

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relatives back in Australia, it should be noted, were fraught with similar dangers. If the relative’s condition was thought by the China Council on the basis of information provided, to be chronic, it might take the view that there was little chance that the missionary would return, and may regard the leave of absence request as tantamount to a resignation and treat it as such.

Giving the veracity of medical claims the benefit of the doubt, and for the abovementioned reasons feeling reasonably safe in doing so, it is possible to make some general statements about the incidence of illness amongst Australian CIM missionaries applying for furlough, generally after seven years of service or, in the case of husbands and wives, after an average of seven years between them. (Claims based on service under seven years were almost inevitably rejected by the China Council unless there was some pressing medical situation.)

A study by the writer of Australian CIM missionary illness, as disclosed by requests for furlough or leave of absence, and resignations and retirements detailed in the minutes of China Council meetings in the period 1919-1929 shows that in a total of 113 returns to Australia in that time span, 61 (or 54%) of cases involved missionary health considerations. In 23 (or 38%) of those 61 cases, medical opinion was drawn upon. Once medical confirmation, if needed, was obtained, furlough was almost invariably granted though on occasions relief at one of the Mission’s sanatoria in China was offered as an alternative. In 10 (or 16%) of the 61 cases, resignation or forced retirement resulted from health causes. Six (60%) of the ten were forced retirements and four (40%) were voluntary resignations.
27 (44%) of the 61 health cases fell in the 'serious' category, and included heart disorders, hernia, anaemia, stomach ulcer, disorders requiring surgery, severe ophthalmia, disorder of the internal ear, lung haemorrhages, aftermath of confinement complication, sprue, high blood pressure, low blood pressure, tuberculosis, mental derangement and intestinal disorders as well as conditions just described as "serious", "health broken down", "precarious", "critical" and "most unsatisfactory". Many of the complaints were of considerable duration, and histories were described which evidenced their having caused numerous disruptions to the missionary endeavour through the frequent necessity of the sufferer's having had to seek medical advice and treatment, and/or rest at sanatoria, often involving travel and return over long distances.

All in all the statistics paint a none-too-rosy picture of what seven (or more, but often less) years in China could do to missionary health.

The personal files of the missionaries also contain frequent references to their having had attacks of malaria, and of the missionaries having suffered, and survived, such life-threatening diseases as typhus. While the death rate was high, it should also be borne in mind that the illness rate was much higher, a fact usually lost sight of in Mission statistics. Though some of the illnesses suffered by the Australians may have afflicted them had they stayed in the home country, those like sprue, TB and lung haemorrhages and intestinal disorders were more likely to overtake those living in China, because of the unsanitary conditions, while the stress of an often demanding and frustrating job must have fed into conditions like high blood pressure, heart disorders, mental derangement and
stomach ulceration. The Australian CIM missionary had many obstacles to overcome in China from a health point of view.

2.2.8 Hostilities

Apart from the First (1839-42) and Second (1856-60) Opium Wars, the Sino-French War (1885), the First (1894-95) and Second (1937-45) Sino-Japanese Wars, the Boxer Uprising (1900) which cut a swathe through the ranks of the CIM and other missionary societies in Northeast China, Chiang Kai Shek's "Northern Expedition" of 1926 and the Nationalist-Communist civil war which began in 1927 and finished in 1950 with time out to collectively fight the Japanese, China experienced a plethora of major uprisings such as the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64), minor riots and instances of banditry which kept the country in a state of more or less permanent turmoil. It was difficult enough for the missionaries to spread the Christian message in times of relative calm. When wars and riots were rocking the countryside it could be impossible, the missionaries at times being forced to head for the coast and the comparative safety of the treaty ports, to go into hiding, or, until peace was restored, to tough it out, sometimes with assistance from local mandarins vested with upholding provisions of treaties which supposedly guaranteed the missionaries protection.42 The Australian CIM missionaries passed through all the conflicts which occurred in the period 1888-1953, including the Boxer Rebellion, in which two of their number were killed.

42 The assistance, or failure to assist of local mandarins was particularly evident at the time of the Boxer Uprising, and is well documented in the China's Millions of that period. It is also mentioned in other sources such as Marshall Brothwell's, Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission with a Record of the Perils & Sufferings of Some who Escaped, (London: CIM, December 1901). A particularly felicitous relationship which developed between missionary and mandarin is recorded in Alan Burgess' The Small Woman (London: The Reprint Society, 1959), the story of Gladys Aylward.
2.2.9 Language

All missionary societies with missionaries in China ensured that their missionaries received some sort of Chinese language training. CIM missionaries received a course in Chinese language and a smattering of other things when they first arrived in China which normally lasted up to 6 months. They then continued their studies for about 5 years while in the field, with the help of Chinese "teachers". Most eventually became fluent, mastering various local dialects as well as the more academic mandarin. A few became noted sinologists, with a scholarly knowledge of the Chinese classics. Considering that they usually had an educational background which ran only to basic secondary schooling, their achievement in this area appears remarkable. The Australians produced some excellent Chinese linguists, including Susie Garland and Robert Mathews.

2.3 THE CHINA INLAND MISSION CONTEXT

2.3.1 Hudson Taylor and the CIM concept

Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) devoted all his adult life to the cause of the evangelization of China. He was driven, in this ambition, by two biblical exhortations in particular -

Go ye, into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature 43

and

If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death and those that are ready to be slain; If thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not He that pondereth thy soul, doth not He know it?

and shall not he render to every man according to his works? 44

There was an obligation on all who had been 'saved' to attempt to save others. Taylor felt so obligated, and he placed the same duty on his readers. It might also be added that the biblical verse which follows the first quotation runs as follows:

He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved;
but he that believeth not shall be damned.

Not to convert the 'heathen' was to stand by and allow them to perish, to deny them the opportunity of eternal life.

Taylor underwent a conversion experience in June 1849 when 17 years of age, and felt a 'Call' for the Mission Field only a few months later. Before the close of the year 1849 he had become convinced that his especial 'Call' was to the mission fields of China. He accordingly devoted intensive private study over the next few years towards learning about that country as well as pursuing medical studies, as he had been impressed early on with the value of medical missions.

In the Spring of 1850, perusal of The Gleaner in the Mission Field, a magazine designed to update recipients on the achievements of Dr Gutzlaff and his helpers in China, brought him into touch with the Chinese Evangelization Society, under whose auspices he eventually sailed from Liverpool on 19 September 1853 on the sailing ship Dumfries at the age of 21. He arrived at Shanghai on 1 March 1854.

44 Ibid., pp. 1-2, quoting from Proverbs 24: 11,12
Contrary to optimistic expectations which had been held in England, the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) did not prove to be a mass movement towards Christianity, but quickly deteriorated into a callous and bloody war, resulting in atrocities and the loss of millions of lives, bringing danger, discomfort and virtual imprisonment to those living in Shanghai’s small European settlement.

As soon as the situation permitted, Taylor began what was to become a series of missionary journeys, either alone or in the company of others like Dr Edkins and Rev J S Burdon. By 1855 he had decided to adopt Chinese dress, a custom which came into almost universal practice throughout the mission in later years. His rationale for this approach is reasonable enough:

There is, perhaps, no country in the world in which religious toleration is carried to so great an extent as in China. The chief objection that prince and people have to Christianity is that it is a foreign religion, and that its tendencies are to approximate believers to foreign nations. I am not peculiar in holding the opinion that the foreign dress and carriage of missionaries - to a certain extent affected by some of their converts and pupils, - the foreign appearance of the chapels, and indeed, the foreign air given to everything connected with religion, have very largely hindered the rapid dissemination of the truth among the Chinese. ...

Let us live in their houses, making no unnecessary alterations in external form, and only so modifying their internal arrangements as attention to health and efficiency for work absolutely require. Our present experience is
proving the advantage of this course .... 45

Of the limitations on the movements of Protestant missionaries which still existed after the treaties of 1842 and 1843, however, Taylor was soon to learn, for, towards the end of 1855 he was summoned "before the British Consul to answer for the offence of residing away from a treaty port" 46 and, as a result, had to leave the island of Tsungning where he had rented premises, and return to Shanghai.

Nevertheless, this prohibition did not stop his missionary travels, as he and the English Presbyterian Mission worker the Rev William Burns were soon engaged in evangelizing cities and villages in southern Kiangsu and northern Chekiang as well as the city of Swatow.

He subsequently joined Dr Parker, the founder of Medical Missions in China, and Mr John Jones of the Chinese Evangelization Society, in the treaty port of Ningpo, where he spent the next 3½ years. He and Jones both cut their connection with this impecunious organization in May 1857.

Taylor married Miss Maria Dyer, daughter of Rev Samuel Dyer of the London Missionary Society in January 1858 and devoted his time to evangelistic pursuits until Dr Parker left for England in 1859 when he shouldered the responsibility of looking after the hospital as well. This double load proved too much for his health, and he was


forced on medical grounds to return temporarily to England, leaving China in July 1860.

While in England, to which medical opinion was to confine him for several years, he revised, with the assistance of the Rev F F Gough of the Church Missionary Society, a version of the New Testament in the Ningpo dialect, and completed his medical studies, taking his MRCS degree at the London Hospital.

He recruited several workers for the Ningpo Mission, working from his home in East London: Mr and Mrs Meadows sailed in January 1862 and a further three sailed in April 1865.

This recruitment effort was achieved under the banner of no particular organization, and it was not to be until Sunday 25 June 1865 in Brighton, England, that he made a conscious decision to lead a new enterprise. The deposit of £10 in an account with the London and County Bank opened under the title of the China Inland Mission on 27 June 1865 formally brought the Mission from conception into nominal existence.

Another three recruits, Mr and Mrs J W Stevenson and Mr Stott sailed for China on 3 October 1865 before the principles and practices under which the CIM would function had been formulated in any detail. Mr and Mrs Taylor and Mr and Mrs Berger gradually evolved some broad principles which would, they felt, maximize co-operation in the field.

As the small number of workers who had gone to China in 1865 had been from most of Great Britain’s leading denominations, it was decided that the Mission should have a catholic basis, with the task to be interdenominational and evangelistic. The missionaries themselves would be
chosen without denominational restriction from a wide cross-section of society, including both the highly-educated and those of average ability and limited accomplishments.

At least in theory, the interior of China was now accessible following the treaties of 1858 and 1860. Taylor cited treaty provisions in *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* in 1865⁴⁷ and these are spelt out as follows:

The country was accessible, for the Treaty of 1858, ratified at Peking in 1860, had in Articles VIII., IX., and XII. promised religious liberty, authorized British subjects to travel inland, and also permitted the building of Churches and Hospitals.⁴⁸

However, because the earlier focus had been on Ningpo and its vicinity it was decided to choose a town easily reached from Ningpo as headquarters, and Hangchow consequently became the hub of operations in the early years. Here the missionaries improved their language skills, learned the practices and customs of the Chinese, assumed their dress and began to work among them. They were to use it as a base from which to set out to distant provinces and to which to return in the event of illness or persecution. (The Ningpo area was still maintaining that role when the CIM celebrated its Jubilee in 1915.) Funds were to come from unsolicited donations from various sources including churches and private individuals, and Mr W T Berger would administer the work in England when Taylor in due course

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⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 104

went out to China.

In relation to the support of the missionaries, those interested in joining were made aware that

Several of the Missionaries, having private property, have gone out at their own expense, and do not accept anything from the Mission funds. The others have all gone out in dependence upon GOD for temporal supplies, and with the clear understanding that the Mission does not guarantee any income whatever, and knowing that as the Mission does not go into debt, it can only minister to those connected with it as the funds sent in from time to time allow. 49

Despite at times giving the impression that its expansion had been random or completely arbitrary, there was, as Broomhall 50 reports, an overriding strategy which controlled the manner in which the CIM grew:

Mr Taylor recognized the importance of gaining a footing, if practicable, in the provincial capitals, though these were the most difficult places in which to found churches. With the provincial capitals opened, the next step was to open stations in the chief prefectures, and thus downwards to the smaller towns and villages. The capitals, it was recognized, were the key to the smaller cities, since the subordinate officials

49 James Hudson Taylor, Op. cit., endpiece. The CIM was thus a "faith mission". It did not publicly or privately solicit funds; it prayed for them, relying on GOD to provide the wherewithal.

were generally guided by their superiors, and so, though a larger number of converts might have been gained through work in some country centres, the slower but more far-sighted policy was adopted in preference to that which would have brought quick returns.

While the development of the policies, strategies, practices and organizational infrastructure of the organization were evolutionary rather than instant, many of the arrangements under which the CIM operated described above had been put into place within a year or two of the founding of the Mission in 1865. The appearance of The Principles and Practice of the China Inland Mission in 1875 followed many years of development and empirical testing of policy and procedure, and the distribution to Australian CIM candidates of the version of the paper extant from time to time from 1890 ensured that Australian missionaries were exposed to CIM precepts and undertook commitment to them.

The laying down of set procedures meant that Australians, unlike many of their earlier British predecessors, were enabled to operate within a well-regulated atmosphere, thus relieving them of some of the inherent stress usually accompanying working in a predominantly unstructured environment. Despite this apparent advantage, they nevertheless started off on an even footing in this regard with their North American, European and British contemporaries.

2.3.2 CIM relationships with other missionary bodies in China

Taylor’s view of the CIM was that it should be evangelistic and unsectarian in outlook. He argued that
we desire to win souls for CHRIST, and not to spread any particular views of church government. The LORD has given us helpers, persons from most if not all of the leading denominations of England and Scotland. 51

This ecumenical outlook led him to be extremely tolerant of other Protestant organizations working in the field including discrete Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian missions, adherents of which denominations were also represented in the CIM’s own ranks, and it is clear from numerous instances of mutual assistance, that there was considerable co-operation between the various Protestant missionary bodies in the field. Surviving CIM missionaries were surveyed on this subject, and attested to the fact that intermission arrangements worked well. 52

From the outset, Taylor was keen not to tread or be seen to tread on the toes of other missionary groups. Looking back in 1876 to the time of the CIM’s formation in 1865 Taylor recalled

I was very anxious that what we did should not appear for a moment to conflict with the work of any older societies; and still more that it should not actually divert any help of any kind from channels already existing, because that would have been no gain to China or to the cause of GOD; but that we should have such a method of working given to us should draw out fresh

51 James Hudson Taylor, Op. cit., p. 87. There are similarities here between the principles of the CIM and the London Missionary Society, the latter founded in 1795 as a nondenominational body devoted to spreading Christianity in the non-European world.

52 Their responses are summarized at Appendix I, pp. 7-8
labourers, who, probably, would not go otherwise; and should open fresh channels of pecuniary aid, which otherwise, perhaps, would not be touched.  

While he did not attempt to bring Catholics within the ambit of his organization, he was perfectly well aware of their achievements in China, which were not inconsiderable, and held their efforts up as an example of what could be done -

the Romish missionaries ... never have they given up their hold of China. Entering by stealth, living in concealment, pursuing their labours under the greatest disadvantages, ever and anon meeting with imprisonment, sufferings, torture, and death itself, they have presented a remarkable instance of fidelity to their calling. Shall we who have the full light of the pure gospel be so much behind these men in our zeal and patience and perseverance for the spread of the gospel? ... To our shame we must acknowledge that such has been the case hitherto.  

Taylor and his successors closely monitored the efforts of all missionary groups within China, including those of the Catholics. Statements of current status appear in such documents as China’s Millions, China’s Spiritual Need and Claims, and the CIM Annual Reports. By taking this wise precaution, Taylor was able to pinpoint which areas were not yet evangelized by one organization or another, and could formulate, then put into effect, strategies to reach

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53 from Address delivered at Westminster Chapel, August 14th, 1876 cited in James Hudson Taylor, Op. cit., endpiece

54 Ibid., pp 13-14
them. This practice avoided much overlap and duplication and made for a more effective and efficient missionary operation than would otherwise have existed. The system was not perfect, but it was a large step in the desired direction.

An integral element in this policy of non-duplication was the negotiation of comity arrangements with other Protestant missions (the Catholics were not included in such arrangements, and some duplication of infrastructure and effort did occur as a result). The China Department of the CIM was intimately involved in the formulation of these agreements.

Sometimes these arrangements affected whole provinces or autonomous regions. For example, as a result of other missions working Kwung-tung (15 different missions were at work here), Fu-kien and Kwangsi provinces (the English Presbyterians were particularly active in southern China), the CIM, apart from some itinerating in Kwang-si (the southern part of which was being worked by the American International Missionary Alliance), largely left these areas alone. They similarly stayed out of Mongolia, which was being worked by the London Missionary Society, the International Missionary Alliance and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and Manchuria, which was being attended to by the Scotch (United Presbyterian) and Irish Presbyterian Missions and a Danish mission. Hu-nan province was itinerated by the CIM and several other missions, and the CIM, like a number of other missionary societies, was stationed on the borders of Tibet awaiting the day when that region would open its gates to them. Sin-kiang remained almost untouched by any missionary society.

At other times a prefecture or division within a province
might be agreed as the bailiwick of a particular mission or group of missions. For example, the Ch’u-chau District of Che-kiang was set apart for the German Alliance Mission, the T’ai-p’ing (Tang-t’u) prefecture of Gan-hwuy was relinquished in favour of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, the Foreign Christian Mission and the International Missionary Alliance, and the Lu-chau Fu (Ho-fei) prefecture of Gan-hwuy was set apart for a number of other missions. The CIM had its own denominational allocations in the same province, with, for example, T’ai Ho city and district in northern Gan-hwuy set apart for CIM Presbyterian workers, and similar sorts of arrangement also applied in other areas. 55

Sometimes only particular stations were split up between societies. For instance, the International Missionary Alliance controlled a number of stations in northern Shan-si in an area in which the CIM also had an important presence.

The situation in relation to Anglican missions was a complex one. At first Rev J H Horsburgh and other missionaries of the Church Missionary Society worked the north-west area of Si-ch’uen province, but when Rev W W Cassels was made Bishop of West China, they became subordinate to him though he remained a member of the CIM with retained responsibility for its stations in Eastern

55 For example, the American missionary Edgar Knickerbocker, who saw no possibility of going to China under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions because he was not a college or seminary graduate, applied to the CIM, was accepted, and was posted to the Fung-hwa/Ning-tai/T’en-t’ai district, which, as was noted with evident pleasure, was a Presbyterian one, and would eventually be taken within the Ningpo Presbytery of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, so that, even though he had gone to the field with the CIM, his work would be contributing to work done by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in the same general area. - Biographical Information on Edgar (Eddie) Fred Knickerbocker, located in Record Group No. 8, boxes 258, 259 CIM, PN. Ningpo, Chekiang Province 1893-1901, 1909-1915. Yale Divinity School Archives, New Haven, Connecticut, USA, version 1, p. 44 and version 2, pp 83-86.
Si-ch’uen. Of this particular agreement, it was reported that "the Church Missionary Society, who have acted throughout in drawing up these arrangements in the most brotherly way, have undertaken to provide for his [Bishop Cassells'] support, and are starting a special fund for this purpose." The western portion of Si-ch’uen remained the responsibility of CIM Baptists, while CIM Wesleyans held away in neighbouring Yun-nan.

The CIM was wary of entering into formal arrangements with the Seventh Day Adventists, whom they did not regard as collaborators on the field, although there are instances of informal co-operation at the local level. Mr E G Bevis, husband of the Australian CIM missionary Jane Kidman, saw them as heretical, and lacking true evangelical commitment, as witness his statement:

"The heresy of the Seventh Day Adventists of the U.S.A. was established in a tent leading to the suburb [the North suburb of Chenchowfu, Honan], but they evidently found preaching to the heathen uncongenial, for they soon disappeared, not, however, before they had sold numbers of copies of the "Signs of the Times," containing expositions on Daniel and Revelation."

Rowland Butler, in a letter to his parents of 21 January 1934 from Kweiyang, Kweichow, also indicated, in the following passage, that he had little time for the Seventh Day Adventists:

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56 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, November 1895

Thanks ever so much for the book against the S.D.A.'s. I already had a cheap copy, but this is much nicer.

As he was writing in the 1930s, he was evidently espousing a jaundiced view of the Adventists which had had currency within the CIM for at least a couple of decades.

The criticism of the Seventh Day Adventists not wishing to preach to the heathen 58 was applied by Walter Pike to the Jehovah's Witness when I interviewed him on 6 December 1994. He saw them, too, as poachers of Christians already converted by other missions.

The division of the Protestant mission field in China by denomination of mission was depicted by Stauffer as at 1920, and is reproduced in the accompanying map (Chart 1). Areas not claimed by particular denominations appear in black.

2.3.3 CIM organisation within China

Because the CIM restricted its missionary operations to China alone, while missionaries were sent there from a number of different organisations with home bases in several countries, it appeared organisationally logical that its operations should be co-ordinated in the field. 59

58 This was not an uncommon attitude. They were similarly regarded by Protestant missionaries in Papua New Guinea (Note from Dr David Wetherell received 11 June 1997).

59 This arrangement of co-ordination in the field met with general approval amongst the missionaries of both the CIM and its successor, following its name change after the exodus from China, the OMF. As the Australian OMF missionary Doris Emberry (daughter of the English CIM missionary William James Emberry and the Australian CIM missionary Ethel Emberry née Potter) remarked, "the people who administer are the people who are on the field and on the spot, and are in touch with the people. ... I think that has been a tremendous advantage. I think it's what makes it tick. ... they've got immediate access, and the ... personnel on the field know that they've got access,
Division of the Protestant Mission Field in China by Denomination of Mission - 1920


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immediate access, to people on the field. They’re not having to refer home all the time. I think that’s a tremendous advantage.” CN 208, T1, Transcription for the Missionary Sources Collection of Wheaton College by Janyce H Nasgowitz and W Gregory Thompson completed July 1994 of interview at the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA of Doris Mary Embery by Robert Shuster on 20 April 1982, p.25
Broomhall, in his Jubilee Story of the CIM distinguishes clearly between the functions of Home and China Departments as follows:

Home Department functions are summarized thus:

the duties of the Home Departments [are] in reference to the examination, acceptance, and training of candidates; the promotion of missionary interest by meetings and literature; the receiving of contributions for the work and the remitting of the same to China, the auditing and publishing of Reports and Accounts, together with many varied details of a general nature.

The functions of the China Department, located in Shanghai, were described in the following terms:

Here the relative claims of some two hundred stations have to be considered, whether it be for reinforcements, or for relief for furlough. Here has to be decided the designation of new workers, which decision involves the careful consideration of temperament, training, capacity, together with the needs and problems of the station to which the new worker goes. Delicate questions affecting the personal relationships and affinities of workers, whether foreign or Chinese, demand constant thought; while problems concerning comity with other Missions, or the delination of boundaries, some of which have taken years to

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51 Ibid., pp 319-20
settle, call for detailed consideration. Here in Shanghai are discussed problems concerning independent Church movements, the ownership of Church property, persecutions, questions affecting policy and progress, and a variety of subjects too many to enumerate. To Shanghai are sent monthly reports from the missionaries, as well as an annual report from each station... In Shanghai are kept the many Deeds of mission property in China, all records connected with furloughs, marriages, births, deaths, and examinations.

The Shanghai establishment included the central Business Department, formally commenced in 1884 though it had antecedents going back to 1873, and the Treasurer’s Department, first organised as a separate office in 1886 in Wuchang but transferred to Shanghai circa 1891.

The 1891 version of ‘The Principles' 62 showed the China organisation constituted as per Table 1.

When Australian missionary parties began to arrive in China from 1890, there was, accordingly, already a flourishing CIM bureaucracy in existence there ready to organize their activities for the next seven or eight years of their lives before furlough would take them temporarily back to the immediate care of their Home Departments.

2.3.4 Postings

The matter of postings was a vexed one. It was normally undertaken by the China Department, with the personal input

CIM Organisation in China 1891

China Department

Director for China. - Rev. J. Hudson Taylor.
Deputy Director. - Rev. J. W. Stevenson.

China Council
[First met November 1886]

J. W. Stevenson. + A. W. Douthwaite, M.D. +
J. Meadows. + G. F. Easton.
J. Williamson. + J. J. Coulthard.
J. McCarthy. + W. Cooper. +
B. Bagnall. W. W. Cassels, B.A.
F. W. Baller. +
+ Members of the Executive Council meeting in emergencies,
the whole Council meeting quarterly.

Business Centres in China

J. E. Cardwell, Secretary, Woosung Road, Hongkew, Shanghai.
E. J. Cooper, Secy. (pro. tem.), do. do.
J. E. Duff, Postal Agent, Shanghai.
J. F. Broumpton, Treasurer.
W. E. Shearer, Secretary, Hankow.
G. W. Clarke, Secretary, Tientsin.

Headquarters in China

Miss Williamson, Superintendent of Mission House, 8a,
Woosung Road, Hongkew, Shanghai.
of the Director, who had ultimate say in such matters, when he was in Shanghai on one of his many extended visits to the country. Later in the history of the Mission the Director became a virtually permanent fixture in Shanghai, although he spent some time travelling between the home centres, personalising contacts and dealing with emergent issues.

Many factors had to be taken into account in deciding appropriate stations for incoming missionaries. We see evidence of a desire to keep members of a family together not only in terms of husbands and wives but, for example, in the collocation of the Garland sisters at Ts’in-chau, Kan-sub or the Trudinger sisters at An-tong, Kiang-su, to retain national groups to some extent, eg A Goold, WS Strong and Mrs Strong, Miss M E Booth, Miss E Steel and Miss M Goold, all Australians, at Hang-chung, Shen-si, to keep members of a particular denomination together, eg the Anglican establishment under Bishop Cassells at Pao-ning, Si-ch’uen, which included the Australians Rev C H Parsons and Miss Croucher, to maintain separate areas within which the CIM’s Associate missionaries (including several whose mother tongue was not English) could carry on their work, eg Associate bases as Chau-t’ung and Tung-ch’uan, Yun-nan, and to keep out of the areas claimed by other Protestant missions working in the field, conforming to comity agreements which had been reached with them.

Other factors involved the need to place raw recruits under experienced operators so that they could benefit from their seniors’ expertise and not be thrown in at the deep end, to arrange temporary plugging of personnel gaps owing to missionaries being absent due to illness or because of furlough, to replace missionaries who had died, resigned, or whose services had been dispensed with, to transfer
staff from time to time to widen their experience by providing new challenges, to obviate the complacency borne of overfamiliarity with conditions in a particular locality or to overcome difficulties which may have arisen between a missionary and local officials or citizens, to elevate the levels of responsibility accepted by missionaries through their acting as OICs of missions in the temporary absence of the normal incumbent, and to prevent contact between missionaries prone to personality clashes or having problems related to romance, but at the same time allowing opportunities for the sexes to mingle.

Given all these considerations, perfect fits of missionaries and posts must have been difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

2.3.5 Evangelism versus welfare

Was the object of the Mission to save people from a contaminating world (save their souls) or to help people in the world (save their bodies), or was it both?

In relation to the CIM, but not necessarily other Protestant missions in China, the primary object was patently to save people’s souls rather than to assist with people’s welfare. 

Though its efforts in the medical, educational and general welfare fields were not

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67 As early as the time of the Boxer Rebellion, in a tilt at modernists and, more particularly, at exponents of the Social Gospel, the Australian CIM missionary Rev John Southey, then a member of Council and later Australasian Home Director, suggested that “part of the indifference that is so prevalent, and seems gaining ground, is due to the fact that so many of God’s children have departed from the old landmarks. Oh, it is not a question of altering a man’s religion, it is not a question of civilization or education, it is a question of salvation.” - Rev John Southey, “The Glory of the Lord: A Missionary Address” delivered at the Annual Meeting of the China Inland Mission in Sydney on 27 June 1901, transcript pp 14-15, located at C002.34 Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut, USA
insignificant, it was all done with the purpose of soul-saving in mind, though sympathy was not absent. There was always an element of this philosophy amongst other Protestant missions in the Middle Kingdom, but many of them ploughed much more of their resources into institutional work than did the CIM.

The Mission believed that by moving into welfare fields it could create an emotional climate conducive to conversion. Thus CIM clinics had waiting rooms where evangelists and Biblewomen exhorted patients to follow the Christian doctrine. During stays in hospital, patients were visited by Christians and encouraged to "eat the Jesus religion."

The educational institutions the missionaries provided principally for the children of Chinese Christians, but which also catered for some children of heathen upbringing, taught 'the three Rs', but, in addition, there was a heavy emphasis on students being "saved" in the course of their school life, with Christian teachers and features of the curriculum providing impetus in that direction. Literacy aided the reading of the Bible and Christian apologetic works, which were frequently also used as textbooks, so that various features of schoolwork were made to serve evangelistic objectives.

While food, famine and refugee relief work were more altruistically-driven, there was always the possibility that gratitude for what was done for them might motivate recipients to adopt the religion the missionaries were touting, a rationale which patently also applied in the cases of hospital, dispensary and leper work. The desperation of suffering from a terminal illness and having nothing much left to look forward to in this world, but perhaps having something good to anticipate in the next if
one believed, also fed into the equation in the case of the latter category, as it did as well in the cases of condemned prisoners and hospital patients suffering from other terminal illnesses. The blind, the deaf, the maimed and the infirm could also look forward to being restored in the next life. The missionaries, through their institutional work, not always consciously played on gratitude and hope, the end of salvation justifying the means by which it was obtained.

In work with prisoners and soldiers, there was arguably a minor welfare element, in that these activities provided for their recipients avenues for catharsis, companionship, and optimism, for which individuals within the target groups may have felt thankful, again creating an atmosphere conducive to conversion. The major thrust of these activities, however, like border and literary work, was evangelical. Revival work helped to consolidate evangelical gains already made, usually brought in some new enquirers, and served to regain any ground which had been lost. The Mission was ever aware of its evangelistic purpose, and its operatives were reminded of its superordinate role through such publications as Field Bulletins and, later, Monthly Notes. Australians made notable contributions in both the evangelical and welfare fields.

2.3.6 Modernization

A question which arises in relation to the missionary presence in the Middle Kingdom is what contribution they made to the modernization of China. Did the missionary movement exert a regressive or a progressive force on the development of China as a modern nation?

The whole question of modernization is problematical. The
term begs definition, and not everything claimed by some to have come under its umbrella would have been regarded by others as having done so. The Pocket Oxford Dictionary defines the term modernize as "assimilate to modern needs or habits, adopt modern ways or views", with the epithet modern described as "Of present and recent times; in current fashion, not antiquated". This does not help greatly as the Chinese could reasonably have defined what they were currently doing as 'modern' while the Westerners could equally justifiably have described what they were then doing using the same adjective. The difference lay in the increased knowledge the Westerners had accumulated through research and development and/or technological advances in a number of different fields, including facets of medicine and education.

Given this knowledge-based aspect of modernization, the answer to the subject question is that, in the main, the 'modernization' of China received help rather than hindrance from missionaries. There is not the slightest doubt that the Missions brought the Chinese educational and medical systems out of the dark ages and into the present. Their schools brought literacy and numeracy to thousands of Chinese, while their hospitals brought modern methods of surgery and treatment into China from overseas. They provided training which allowed indigenes to take on these functions effectively and efficiently, so that the application of modern methods became widespread throughout China.

This is not to say that the pre-existing systems did not have their merits. The recruitment and advancement of Chinese mandarins through a Confucian educational system based on excellence rather than patronage, nepotism or favouritism, which had created a bureaucracy resilient
enough to have survived for centuries, was greatly admired by the French, who modelled their civil service upon it, and the benefits of some aspects of Eastern medicine, e.g. acupuncture, are becoming more recognized even today. In relation to education, there was a downside to 'modernization'. The relinquishment of the Manchu educational system in 1905, six years before the revolution of 1911 which overthrew that dynasty, opened up the Chinese bureaucracy to the very abuses the previous system had guarded it against, though the increase in numeracy and literacy throughout the community is scarcely to be deplored on that account and the taking up of such curricular components and their application throughout the community at large did make Chinese education comparable to that of Western nations generally regarded as 'modern'.

In relation to the medical field, it should be noted that missionaries with varied medical backgrounds were often called in as a last resort after traditional Chinese attempts to treat injuries, uninformed by basic hygiene, had produced such conditions as sepsis, gangrene and seticaemia, and after traditional priestly ceremonies had done nothing to assist those suffering from typhus, typhoid or cholera. The missionaries played an important role in bringing aspects of Chinese medicine out of this condition of superstition and ignorance.

The missionaries also made inroads on socially undesirable or questionable customs and practices like footbinding, child marriage, polygamy, polyandry and female infanticide and they undermined superstition and idolatry which had stood in the way of forward progression. They fought a losing battle against smoking, drinking, drug abuse and licentiousness, so that they could not be said to have greatly hindered the progress of these felicitous facets of
modern living. Their insistence on the keeping of the Sabbath may have curtailed productivity, though the way they told it, those who observed it were normally rewarded many times over.

Their involvement in famine, flood and earthquake relief contributed to the establishment of more efficient organizations to deal with such phenomena. They lacked, however, the strength of a powerful centralized government such as the Communists were later able to bring to bear on such disasters, and, not surprisingly, the Communists were able to make a bigger contribution in these areas than the missionaries had been able to achieve, though missionary efforts in these spheres could not have been regarded, even by the most ardent of Communists, short of complete ignorance of them, as regressive, despite the derogatory public rhetoric the Communists levelled from time to time at missionaries in general.

Even the paraphernalia the missionaries carted about with them or imported into their houses, the way they lived themselves and how they treated others, brought modern influences, both humanitarian and material, to bear on the Chinese with whom they came into contact.

All these innovations had greater or lesser snowballing effects throughout the populace.

While all influences spread by merely rubbing up against the Chinese could not be laid at the missionaries’ door, as there was a secular Western community in China at the same time as the missionaries including tradespeople of various kinds (mining engineers, financiers and other professionals, car salesmen, petrol, oil, beverage and
cigarette company representatives) 

There was very little interaction between the secular and mission communities, as the secular community was substantially comprised of cosmopolitan, wealthy and sophisticated notables who considered the missionaries altogether quite beyond the social pale and far too sedate for their liking. They may have invited particular missionaries to a very occasional game of tennis, but it was not their intention to ever get too close to them. The influence of the secular community was more towards the very smoking, dancing, drinking and debauching behaviour which the missionaries were (vainly) trying to eradicate. The secular community certainly saw the missionaries as a regressive influence in terms of sociability, but they often took advantage themselves of medical and educational institutions provided by missions and in this way acknowledged the very positive contribution missionaries

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64 Nor were Westernizing influences on Chinese always picked up from foreigners in China. As early as 1890 Rev W Ashmore DD (ABMU, Swatow) commented prophetically as follows: "...travelled Chinese. These are to be included in Western forces, for the reason that they bring back with them a very vast amount of Western national sentiments and ideas which are revolutionary in their social drift and will someday make themselves powerfully felt." - W J Lewis, W T A Barber and J R Hykes, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890*, (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), p. 32, located at MR4.3 G286 189r, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut, USA
had made in these institutional social fields. 65

The Ven Archdeacon Moule (CMS, Shanghai) had sized up the indifferent relationship between the missionaries and other foreign expatriates, in which both parties were seen as sharing the blame, as early as 1890, and presented a paper exclusively devoted to that subject to the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries of China in Shanghai in that year. Excerpts follow:

... with the spread of Christianity in heathen lands every true Christian must be in close relation and yet, though we cannot afford tonight to hold controversy with those who deliberately repudiate this relationship, we would hold very earnest controversy indeed with the large number of foreign residents here, especially in Shanghai who ... practically ignore the relationship and regard missionaries, if relations at all, at the utmost as second cousins twice removed, with a certain claim to recognition at sight and a certain claim to sympathy as benevolent enthusiasts ...

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65 During the time of the missionary occupation the number of foreigners resident in China recorded in Customs returns was never huge. They were mainly concentrated in coastal areas, while the CIM and several other missions had most of their missionaries stationed inland. In 1910 the English-speaking community comprised 100 American firms with 3,176 persons and 601 British firms with 10,140 persons. The non-English-speaking contingent comprised 2538 firms with 128,552 persons, making a total of 3,239 firms with 141,868 persons. By far the biggest single component was the Japanese with 1,601 firms and 65,434 people. - See H T Montague Bell and H G Woodhead (Eds), The China Yearbook 1912, (Mendelm/Liebenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 413. - While English was spoken with varying degrees of success by natives of countries other than Britain, its colonies and America, and Chinese in its main dialects also functioned to some extent as a lingua franca, language no doubt formed part of the barrier which separated missionaries from business expatriates. Another obvious one was money: compared with their sectarian brethren, missionaries, and CIM missionaries in particular, were paid a pittance and, even had missionaries wished to live a similar lifestyle as other expatriates, which they fairly patently did not, they did not have the wherewithal to do it. For these and other reasons there was little mixing between the missionaries and the entrepreneurial expatriate fraternity.
How do the missionaries view the foreign residents? Are we not oftentimes greatly and gravely to blame in the assumption that we are not related, or that as that traditional "poor relation" we shall be either disowned by our rich cousins or treated at most with frigid civility and ill-disguised aversion, or perchance, with ... lofty patronage and haughty pity? ... There is far too much tendency in many earnest Christian minds, unconsciously to establish themselves in a position which they honestly believe to be unworldly and out of the world, and to denounce, sometimes fiercely even, sometimes relentlessly, sometimes only by a sigh or a shake of the head, the rest, the foreign residents 'en bloc,' as in the world and of the world, and as beyond the pale of relationship and communion.

I do not in saying this shut my eyes for a moment to the dismal truth which requires no evidence; it is so apparent that very many with the Christian name are living exactly as they ought not to live ....  

An assessment of the level of contribution to modernization all depended upon one's point of view. From the time of the emergence of Communism in China in 1921, the missionaries more and more had to deal with Chinese whose beliefs ran along the lines of atheistic materialism. The materialism was not new, the atheism largely was, but the combination was a powerful force against traditional theologies of any

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description. These atheistic materialists saw Christianity as just another superstition and perceived it as equally as illogical as Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism had been. Like the Confucian literati before them who had opposed Christianity because it stood to undermine everything they represented, they actively took up cudgels against it, raising a tide of antagonism which saw its later culmination in the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, but in the meantime finding its outlet in petty obstruction and intermittent persecution and violence. They did not see Christianity as furthering Communism, which to them was the overriding progressive force in the land. Unlike what happened in India, where the Communists perceived the Protestants as allies because both were moving towards modernization, the Chinese Communists, while no doubt recognizing, though not freely acknowledging, the contributions of missionaries towards modernization, saw them as competitors for the Chinese mind and moved to oust them from the country. However, they were quick to perceive some of the benefits of Westernization, to which missionaries and other temporary occupants of their country had introduced them, and the stream of Communist leaders who sought enlightenment at overseas tertiary institutions before rising to power is impressive.

This fact gives rise to an allied question regarding the extent to which missionary education moulded the Communist leaders who were eventually to oust the missionaries from China, in other words, the extent to which the missionaries were hoist on their own petard?

The answer to this question is "to a slight extent". Few of the Communist leaders were directly taught by missionaries. However, the majority were exposed to curricula and institutions which had Western and Christian antecedents,
and those antecedents in China were to be found primarily in missionary educational institutions. From 1905, when the traditional Confucian educational system was abolished by the Imperial Chinese government, six years before the revolution of 1911, Chinese village schools began to take on secular western curricula which had been first introduced into the country by occidentals missionaries, and most of the Communist leaders passed through such schools. It could be argued that the influences derived from such schooling opened Chinese eyes to international political and economic systems, geography and history in a way that traditional Sinocentric Confucian teaching could never have done, paving the way for further political transformation in the wake of the collapse of the revolution in 1915 and the onset of warlord supremacy.

While it is correct to say that few of the Communist leaders were directly taught by missionaries, one of the foremost, and most influential, certainly was. That was Premier Chou Enlai. He was to retain links with Christianity into the 1920s, when he was writing for a Catholic magazine, while at the same time having contacts with the Comintern. He does not seem, however, to have ever embraced Christianity, though by the mid-twenties he had certainly made a firm commitment to Communism. His intellectual struggles with and eventual belief in Marxism have analogies with Christian conversion, but there is little else which stands out which might indicate a relationship between his brush with Christianity and the development of his later commitment to Chinese Communism. The driving forces behind Communism were nationalism and a reaction against feudalism, corruption, social injustice and imperialism, in the latter of which categories missionaries were perceived to be located.
In looking at the education of Communist leaders, it should be borne in mind that several started out in life in the Nationalist or Kuomintang ranks and passed through the Whampoa Military Academy, which had associations with Sun Yat Sen and Chiang Kai Shek, both avowed Christians. Yet others received part of their education in Japan, which had already adopted many Western educational features, or France, Germany or even the UK, where the institutions were truly Western and owed at least something to a long line of Christian tradition. Others went to Moscow for their Communist grounding, while yet others migrated from the country to more cosmopolitan cities like Shanghai, where they came under both secular Western and developing Communist influences.

The importance of France in this arena is partially explained by a worker-student program sponsored by the Chinese Government, which operated between the late 1910s and the early 1920s. No fewer than five of China’s top leaders passed through this system - Chou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Li Fuchun, Li Lisan and Chen Yi. Chen Yi, who became CCP leader and China’s Foreign Minister from 1958 to 1966 studied and worked in France from 1919 to 1921, and continued political activities he had conducted in France upon his return to China. Li Lisan joined the Chinese Communist Party in Paris in 1921 and then returned to China to become one of the party’s principal labour organizers. He also spent periods of study in Moscow. He filled the position of Minister for Labour from 1949 to 1950. Deng Xiaoping studied in France from 1921 to 1924 and in the Soviet Union from 1925 to 1926. He later became Chairman of the People’s Republic of China. Li Fuchun was another important Chinese Communist leader who studied in France. Chou Enlai studied not only in France, but in Germany, the UK and Japan. Zhu De, one of China’s greatest military
leaders and founder of the CCP also went to Europe, and studied in Berlin and at the University of Göttingen. While in Germany he joined the CCP. He was expelled from Germany for his political activities, returning to China in 1926.

Japan was another country through which a number of China's later Communist leaders passed. Chou Enlai was there from 1918 to 1919. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, a founder of the CCP, had been there in 1902, again in 1906, and yet again from 1913 to 1915. He spent a short time in 1906 at Waseda University. Li Ta-chao studied at Waseda University in Tokyo, then in 1920 became Professor of history at Peking University, going on to be one of the leading CCP theoreticians and strongly influencing Mao Tse Tung.

The other great training ground for CCP leaders was the USSR, particularly Moscow, and, as has been noted, Deng Xiaoping trained there from 1925 to 1926 and Li Lisan also undertook periods of study there. Chu Ch'iu-pai, at times Head of the CCP, was there for two periods between 1920 and 1930, initially as a Moscow correspondent for the Peking Morning Post and subsequently for re-education. Chen Boda, briefly one of the five top men in China, studied at Sun Yat Sen University in Moscow for about four years. Chang Kuo-t'ao, one of the founders of the CCP, was there from 1927 to 1931, and Ch'en Tu-hsiu, another CCP founder, was there briefly in 1922. Liu Shaoqi, who became Head of State, studied there from 1920 to 1922 at the University for Toilers of the East.

A number of Communist leaders, like Mao Tse Tung and Chu Ch'iu-pai were educated in China itself, in Government-run schools and universities, learning languages like French and English and taking courses in such disciplines as economics, politics and law. Some, as has been mentioned
earlier, went to military academies and learnt the science of warfare.

There was clearly a relationship between study in Europe, Japan and the USSR and the emergence and maintenance of the CCP, with Western-style institutions important in the development of several top CCP leaders, but the missionary involvement was minuscule.

What did they actually do while they were overseas? This varied from person to person, but the case of Chou Enlai provides some interesting insights.

Chou, like many other young Chinese, patronized Japan as a nearby country which had gone all out for Western-style industrialization and modernization and was a hotbed of change and reform, where up-to-date natural and social sciences were taught. He went there to learn modernity. He first attended the East Asian Preparatory High School in Tokyo to learn Japanese with teacher training in mind. But he didn’t finish the preparatory course, though he attended some courses at Waseda University and the Japan-French Law School informally. There were 4000 Chinese students in Japan at that time. He joined the New China Learned Society, meeting to discuss how China could be saved from imperialism and feudalism. It was 1918, just after the 1917 October Revolution in Russia, and Chou read about Lenin and his colleagues in Japanese magazines. Chou went to Kyoto University, again on an informal basis, but absorbed ideas of the pioneer Marxist, Dr Kawakami Hajime, Professor of Economics there.

He returned to China in May 1919 and left for France on 7 November 1920. More than 1600 Chinese students went to France in 1919-20, including many who were to become
leaders of the CCP. Again it was a thirst for modernity which drew Chinese to Europe, particularly France, which was regarded as the most liberal and sophisticated of the European countries, and there was a good monetary exchange rate for Chinese visitors at the time. France was the doyen of European revolution and near to Russia. Here one could study the European labour movement and the Soviet revolution. Chou went to the school at Chateau Thierry, Paris, for a language course and also had French lessons with a private tutor for a year. But he never officially enrolled at a French University. He did, however, read Beer’s Life and Teachings of Karl Marx.

He briefly went to London and acted as a correspondent for a Catholic paper while there, a role he retained upon his return to Paris. The paper was especially interested in social welfare issues. He visited various factories in France to enquire about labour conditions.

Chou spent time with Hunanese students in France, and Mao also spent time in organizing them at home. Chou joined a new Chinese Communist Youth League, becoming head of that organization while Li Lisan was head of propaganda.

In early 1922, Chou went to London again for 2½ months and he wrote about British imperialism in Ireland and Egypt. He had become a committed Communist by 1922. He then became the Continent-wide organizer of Chinese students in Europe into Communist groups, which involved considerable travel. He first spent a year in Germany between 1922 and 1923 basing himself in Berlin and representing German students in Paris at a conference in the Summer of 1922.

In the final fifteen months in Europe he dedicated himself to Party and Youth League work. He also organized selected
Chinese students in Europe to go to the East Workers’ University in Moscow.

Of the Chinese Communist leaders who cut their teeth in Europe and survived, almost every one backed Chou throughout his career - Chen Yi, Li Fuchun, Cai Chang. The so-called French component in the CCP remained influential even after the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s. Chou’s 3½ years in Western Europe enabled him to come to terms with Marxism and contrive his own personal accommodation with it. He left Paris on 20 June 1924 and returned to China.

Chou’s experiences are not typical in that most other Chinese Communists enrolled for definite courses while overseas, but his political activities while away from China, which overran his studies, were more characteristic of what happened to several future CCP leaders while they were out of the country.

While there is little evidence of missionaries having been directly responsible for some interesting similarities between Christianity and Communism, there are certainly strong conceptual analogies between Christianity and variations of Communism like Maoism, and there are also methodological analogies between the tactics used by missionaries and Communists alike.

Mao was revered as a Chinese messiah in much the same way as Christ is revered by Christians. The thoughts of Mao were articulated and circulated through the Little Red Book in much the same way as Christian fundamentals are contained in and circulated through the Bible. The Little Red Book was consulted for daily inspiration in much the same way as Christians consult their Bible. In both cases
a crop of apologetic literature grew up in support of the original publication. The Communists utilized Christian precepts like leading by example, eschewing corruption, prostitution, and 'decadent' Western movies, employing an ethical code which would have done many Christians proud. 67 Like Christians they took an interest in social welfare issues like famine, flood and pestilence and did more to combat those ills in a short time than the missionaries had achieved in a century. Their self-criticism groups had much in common with Christian testimonial meetings and other group meetings had similarities with revival meetings. Their commitment to the egalitarian sharing of resources had similarities with early Christianity. Their indoctrination methods, which employed endless repetition, and the weaving of dogma into aspects of daily life could have come straight from a Christian drawing-board. The similarities are patent and the analogies strong. 68

But the source of these likenesses is less tangible. For instance, both traditions could have drawn on a common fund of common sense to arrive at identical methodologies. The methods adopted are probably common to any number of religions or philosophies which wish to perpetuate themselves, so that dissimilarities might be more surprising than similarities. While Communism may have

67 As Rev R Mortimer of New Zealand remarked of the Communists following a visit to China in mid-1956, "The Church in China has come up against a virile, crusading alternative with high moral principles." - Report from Rev R Mortimer, New Zealand and impressions of the Protestant Church in China April 24th-May 13th 1956, p. 5 - paper directed to the CIM's A J Lea, located in AR 5.1.4 DOM. China, Church policy, Box 1.20 Documents, reports, etc. 1943-1960, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore

68 As Canon Arrowsmith commented following a visit to China in late 1956, "there are elements which impart to Communism the quality of a twentieth-century Christian heresy." - H M Arrowsmith, "Is the Church in Red China Flourishing", in Eternity, March 1957, p. 38, located in AR 5.1.4 DOM. China, Church policy, Box 1.20 Documents, reports, etc. 1943-1960, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore
cribbed off Christianity, it seems if that occurred that it was indirectly and unconsciously rather than directly and consciously. That is not to say that the Communists were unaware of Christianity; their efforts to tame it within the confines of the Three Self Patriotic Movement clearly demonstrate that this was not the case, and their harassment of the house church movement today shows that they still consider it a threat to the Communist order.

Nonetheless, the evidence suggests that missionaries were not hoisted with their own petard in respect of the emergence of Communism. They were blown up by a bomb of someone else’s making. It just happened to look like one of theirs.

The bulk of the population, of course, continued as best they could in their old ways while governments rose and fell and leaders came and went. They could not have been unaware of Christianity, because it was embraced by such notables as Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Yat Sen and Marshall Peng, but they would not have known sufficient about it to see it as either progressive or regressive, and basically couldn’t have cared less either way. In China the principal thought which occupied the communal mind was where the next meal was coming from. Survival was the main preoccupation, and religion played a part in that to the extent that by propitiating the gods one maximized the chances of staying alive. The Chinese were normally content to follow the gods of their ancestors, and if Christianity was thought about much at all it was regarded as an unnecessary accompaniment to what had sufficed for millenia. It was seen more as superfluous than as either progressive or regressive. Only those who came in direct contact with its medical, educational and welfare outreaches were more impressed. Even here, the Chinese were usually happy to
reap the benefits without committing themselves to the foreigners' religion.

Back at home, too, opinions differed on whether the missionary endeavour was regressive or progressive. Again, it depended on the camp in which you found yourself. The Christians who backed the Mission saw the saving of souls as decidedly progressive (as did the missionaries themselves), but the secular community was more for letting the Chinese alone, allowing them to continue the beliefs and customs which had nurtured the longest-surviving empire in human history. There was something of the legendary 'noble savage' in their thinking, though the reality, as the missionaries were wont to point out in China's Millions from time to time, was far different, with wanton cruelty, infanticide and banditry a way of life. These actualities had the capacity to quickly dissipate the fantasies of any missionary probationers who harboured similar percepts.

The secular community at home tended to see the missionaries as interfering pests, who were meddling in affairs they had no right to. At the time of the Boxer Rebellion they were appalled at the carnage and took the view that the missionaries shouldn't have been there in the first place, a view which surfaced later from time to time when outrages like the murder of the Saunders girls or the execution of the Stams took place. Like the consuls, they tended to view the missionaries more as nuisances than as forces towards either progress or regression.

Whether bringing Chinese to live in a Christlike manner was progressive or regressive is moot. It may have curbed excesses of materialism, selfishness, inhumanity and sharp practices, which Christians would see as plusses, but its effects on productivity would be perceived by economic
rationalists as sentimental and decidedly negative, depriving affected Chinese of the so-called 'killer instinct' necessary to succeed in the very tough and competitive world of business.

Thus, depending upon the school of thought to which one belonged, the missionaries' evangelistic pursuits were concluded to be either progressive or regressive. The truth is that they were progressive in some ways and regressive in others.

2.3.7 Ordination

The CIM was almost totally a lay organisation. Only 19 of the 300 Australians who went out in the period 1888-1949 were recorded on the Mission's books as ordained. Of the 19, 17 were ordained male ministers and two were ordained deaconesses. The 19 translates to 6.3% of the whole Australian contingent, the 17 to 13.3% of a total of 128 Australian CIM men. The almost total reliance of the CIM on lay workers is emphasized when the latter figure is compared with 1084 ordained out of 2086 men in the Protestant missionary community in China in 1935-36 (ordained women are not given), or 52.0%. In the same year there were 10 CIM men who were ordained in a total of 514 CIM men in China (1.9%). There was one woman with theological qualifications who may have been ordained amongst 834 CIM women missionaries.

Ordination was certainly not crucial to missionary success, as the CIM was at times wont to point out in justifying a

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general policy of recruiting lay people, but the International Missionary Council nevertheless felt compelled to report comparative statistics of ordained and non-ordained men, evidently feeling that there was some significance attaching to the distinction. Some lay CIM missionaries appear to have felt slightly inferior to their ordained counterparts, and a number became ordained for occupational reasons after they left China, but there is no documentary evidence of snobbery having applied in the case of CIM missionaries who had had holy orders conferred. There were, however, occasional suggestions that missions which had a penchant for ordination looked somewhat askance at predominantly lay missions like the CIM. Despite this possibility, Australian CIM missionaries interviewed or corresponded with reported 79 that the CIM had good relations with other missions and that comity arrangements between them worked well, a contention which is occasionally supported by references in China's Millions and other missionary publications.

2.3.8 Ecumenism

By the turn of the century, after much of the evangelical pioneering work in China had taken place, the Chinese mission field had become characterized by a proliferation of frequently non-interactive missions and churches wedded to a variety of denominational creeds and practices.

Successive international Protestant conventions saw the difficulties for the Chinese in accommodating to a religion which failed to present a united front, and moves towards ecumenism gradually gained momentum.

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79 Appendix I, pp. 7-8
The YWCA had been in China since 1890, the YMCA since 1895, and in 1907 an ecumenical organization had emerged in the form of the China Sunday School Union, which was constituted "as a union agency to serve all denominations." They were followed by a plethora of ecumenical organizations which sprang into life mainly in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Included among these were the Braille Literature Association of China (1928), the China Association of Theological Seminaries (1938), the Society of the Friends of Moslems in China (1927), the Student Christian Movement (1935), the National Christian Council of China (1922), the North China Christian Industrial Service Union (1932), the National Committee for Christian Religious Education (1931), the Kiangsi Christian Rural Service Union (1934), the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China (1932), the Women's Union Christian Colleges in the Orient Joint Committee (1919) and the Christian Universities of China United Committee (1931).

Other such organizations which appeared at different times included the China Christian Educational Association, the Council on Health Education, the China Medical Missionary Association, the Christian Publishers' Association and the Nurses' Association of China (not a missionary body per se, but most of its members were missionaries).

The churches themselves were slow to come together, but by 1935-36, however, a number of church amalgamations had occurred in the field. The Chung Hua Chi Tu Chiao Hui (The

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Church of Christ in China) represented a union of thirteen churches organized by the same number of missions. There was also the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (Holy Catholic Church of China) which was established in April 1912 through the coming together of five Anglican and Protestant Episcopal churches. More than half of twenty former Chinese Lutheran Churches were united in the Chung Hua Sin I Hui (The Lutheran Church of China). Membership in these three amalgamated groups of churches accounted for over 34% of the total Protestant membership. Twelve churches, including these three, accounted for 86% of the total communicant membership, the remaining 14% being divided between over forty other churches. 73

While the CIM churches did not amalgamate with those of other missions and were not, in a strict sense, ecumenical, they were, by their very nature, transdenominational in that the Mission was a composite of representatives from a considerable number of Protestant creeds hailing from several countries, and the churches it founded, while often adopting the forms of the prevalent denomination in an area, remained part of that transdenominational organization and accountable to it.

2.4 THE AUSTRALIAN CIM CONTEXT

2.4.1 Recruitment Focus

During the first meeting of the Australian CIM Council in Melbourne on 22 May 1890 it was "proposed by Mr Kitchen and seconded by Mr Soltau that Dr Flett and the Secretary

prepare a schedule of questions to be sent to each applicant [for missionary service in China] and that Dr Flett prepare a form for medical certificate". The motion was carried and the necessary paperwork had been prepared by the time of the second meeting (5 June 1890).

The schedules returned for Australian candidates in the first decade of Australia’s involvement in the CIM cannot now be located, and have probably been destroyed. However, by the time of the candidature of Emma Spiller (No. 381 1900 - date of application 27 November 1900) four sets of pro forma questionnaires were in use at the recruitment stage. These were a Candidates’ Schedule, a supplementary candidates’ questionnaire, a Referees’ Schedule and a medical schedule.

The Candidates’ Schedule sought details of name and address, address of parents, age, marital status, present health, past serious illnesses or accidents, hereditary family diseases, dependants, parents’ attitude to candidature, occupation, details of employer and previous employer and candidate’s attitude regarding their being approached as referees, debts, education, books and periodicals most esteemed, alcoholic abstinence, timing and circumstances of conversion, religion, Christian work, candidate’s conviction that s/he had been blessed to convert others, motivation to take on this work, whether other missions had been approached and result, whether read and approved "The Principles and Practice of the CIM", to what extent s/he could support him or herself in China, and particulars of two or three Christian referees of which one had to be the candidate’s minister.

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74 CIM, Minutes, (Melbourne: CIM, 1890 et seq). Book 1, p. 4
The supplementary candidates’ questionnaire sought the applicant’s views on the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the fall of man and his state by nature, the atonement and the duration of future reward and punishment.

The Referee’s Schedule asked how long the referee had known the candidate, how long the candidate had been a Christian, the referee’s opinion of the candidate’s Christian character, the candidate’s doctrinal views, knowledge of scripture, interest in saving souls, judgement and common sense, ability to learn and teach, patience, perseverance, energy, enterprise, health and physical strength, evangelical experience and suitability for missionary work.

The medical schedule was designed to be answered, following examination, by the usual medical attendant of the candidate (though in the case of Emma Spiller, she was examined twice, firstly by her family doctor on 19 February 1901 and secondly by a doctor to whom she was a "stranger" on 22 March 1901, presumably because the first examination result was not entirely satisfactory in that it mentioned her having been somewhat run down from overwork). This schedule required details of how long the doctor had known the candidate, his/her place of birth, age and occupation, the family’s medical history (whether "free from phthisical, epileptic or mental taint"), his/her personal history (including "any tendency to phthisical, rheumatic, epileptic or mental affection"), serious illnesses suffered, the condition of heart, lungs, kidneys, liver, stomach and other organs (the doctor was to examine for albumen and sugar), the condition of sight, hearing, voice and teeth, the presence of any spinal affliction, varicose veins, rupture or piles, the candidate’s vaccination situation and whether or not the doctor considered his/her health strong enough for missionary work in a tropical or
sub-tropical climate. It should be mentioned also that 'The Principles'\textsuperscript{75} spelt out a further medical requirement as follows:

Small-pox is very rife in China. All candidates who have not been successfully vaccinated within a recent period must be vaccinated before leaving, and must procure a certificate as evidence that this has been done.\textsuperscript{76}

The formidable barrage of questions, to all of which answers deemed satisfactory by Council had to be given, certainly had the potential to screen out 'inferior' applicants, including those without the required spiritual calling and religious convictions.

Upon receipt of all written material of the above type, Council made an assessment regarding the acceptability of the answers to the schedule of questions, its supplement, and the referee and employer reports. In the case of the external reports, the criteria used were the candidate's "character and Christian consistency". Dr Flett presented the medical report, and, on the basis of his comments, Council made a decision as to whether or not the applicant's health was good enough for missionary work in China. If on all these bases candidates were deemed acceptable, they were then interviewed personally by Council.

In areas where there was a perceived deficiency, the candidate would not necessarily be discharged but might

\textsuperscript{75} CIM, Proof of Tentative Revision of the Principles and Practice, and the Arrangements of the China Inland Mission, (Shanghai: CIM, 1891)

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., p. 15
receive special instruction to put things right. At the meeting of 10 July 1890, for example, it is noted that "The Secretary was instructed to arrange with Drs Flett and Wheeler to give Miss Fysh special instruction in midwifery". 77 This excerpt also indicates that some medical knowledge was regarded as important. In the minutes of the Council meeting of 18 September 1890 78 Miss Fysh was accepted for service in China, "it being understood that she obtain a certificate of her competency in midwifery". Miss Lloyd was found to have "Educational disadvantages", and she was entrusted to a Mr Beddow of Hawthorn to give her instruction in English and to Messrs Cheong and May Ling for instruction in Chinese, the first reference to Chinese language training in the minutes.

Having passed the initial tests, including the interview by Council, candidates were then normally put on probation for 3 months, during which period they were placed with a clergyman (sometimes a Council member) for training with, as appropriate, financial support for board, lodging and other expenses from the Mission and, on at least one occasion, from the clergyman concerned. The candidate's ability to financially support him or herself during training was also a matter which the Council did not consider irrelevant, mentioning 79 that Mr Buick "could contribute about £1 per week towards his maintenance".

Training homes for missionaries were founded in 1892 in Kew, Melbourne and in 1893 in Belair, Adelaide, and probationers began to be sent to these institutions rather

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77 CIM, Minutes, (Melbourne: CIM, 1890 et seq), Book I, p. 12
78 Ibid., p. 28
79 Ibid., p. 13
than to local clergy. Some graduates of these colleges (eg C B Barnett, W S Fleming and A G Nicholls) were selected for China by the Australian CIM soon after their establishment, although it did not become customary for students in training to apply to the CIM until 1896. The first of these, then studying at the Missionary Training Home, Belair, SA applied on 19 May 1896 and was declined on 25 June 1897 due to "No evidence of fitness", but many successful candidates were to come from this institution including two from New Zealand.

The first applicant then studying at a Missionary Training Home which had been established at Gore Street, Fitzroy applied on 4 November 1896 but was advised to withdraw on 9 June 1897 "owing to age and absence of special qualifications". Again, however, successful candidates later emerged from this Home.

Among the first 400 candidates (1890-1902), the Australasian CIM acceptance rate for trainees at such colleges was almost exactly 50%. Undoubtedly some of the remaining 50% eventually went to missionary fields other than China. The Melbourne Bible Institute (MBI) was established in January 1921 with Rev C H Nash as Principal, and became a most important source of missionaries from that time forth. 140 MBI students were to serve with the CIM.

When candidates were from interstate, whether permanently living there or temporarily resident for purposes of Bible study, Council was guided (but not bound) by reports from its State representatives. Certainly those who did not

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80 See D Paproth, C H Nash and his influence, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Deakin University, Geelong, 1993
receive State representative support were not accepted. 81

At the meeting of 9 September 1890, at which Hudson Taylor, then visiting Australia, was present, it was resolved that a copy of "The Principles and Practice of the C.I.M." would be furnished to each candidate to be signed by them "after careful and prayerful consideration". 82 Hudson Taylor also interviewed missionary candidates while he was in Melbourne and commented to Council on his assessment of their performance.

Once past all these examinations, candidates were accepted by Council for missionary work in China 'in accordance with the regulations known as "The Principles and practices of the C.I.M."'.

The screening, however, did not end there. As early as the London Council meeting of 5 October 1875, Taylor had introduced the first draft of the paper entitled The Principles and Practice of the China Inland Mission, which became the official statement of the Mission's Principles and Practice thenceforth. When Taylor had attended the Melbourne Council meeting of 9 September 1890 before any Australian CIM missionary party had embarked for China, he had had a proof copy of 'The Principles' with him which the Melbourne Secretary had arranged to have reproduced so that each Australian missionary candidate could be sent a copy. 'The Principles' laid out, amongst other things, the further probationary provisions which applied after Council's acceptance.

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81 CIM, op. cit., p. 16
82 Ibid., p. 24
During the first two years of their residence in China, candidates were considered 'Missionary Students' or 'Probationers'. They were expected "to pursue a definite course of study, to pass quarterly and sectional examinations as to their progress in the language, to wear the native dress, to keep a diary, and to engage in missionary work". \(^{83}\) At the end of the two years "should they have approved themselves, they become Members of the Mission, will be recognised as Junior Missionaries, and continue as such for the next three years". \(^{84}\) After three years Membership (five years after their arrival in China) Junior Missionaries "who have passed all the required examinations in the language, or have otherwise approved themselves, will then be recognised as Senior Missionaries, and become members of the Provincial Council". \(^{85}\)

Men received their early training in China at the Training Institution at Anking, whose establishment was decided upon in November 1886. In relation to missionary women, there were separate arrangements made regarding their early period of probation in China. These appear in 'The Principles' \(^{86}\) thus:

**Instructions for Lady Evangelists**

On arrival in China, Lady Probationers will usually be taken ... to the Training House in

\(^{83}\) *China Inland Mission, Proof of Tentative Revision of the Principles and Practice, and the Arrangements of the China Inland Mission*, (Shanghai: CIM, 1891), p. 7

\(^{84}\) *Loc. cit.*

\(^{85}\) *Ibid*, p. 8. Note that this qualification gave them membership of the Provincial, not China Council. Provincial Superintendents received places on the China Council, as did certain Head Office dignitaries.

\(^{86}\) *Ibid*, p. 38
Yangchau [also conceived in November 1886]. There, under the direction of the Lady Superintendent, they will ... study ... the language. They will take an interest in the work among the women [this reference is subsequently expanded to "work among the women and children"] ... After a stay in the Training House, the Probationer will proceed to the station appointed to her ... .

There was a probation pro forma applicable to the Yangchau Training House stage of a woman's missionary career. This appears in Emma Spiller's dossier, and contained information as to the name of the probationer, the date of her arrival in the Training Home, the date of leaving it, health, progress in the language, disposition (eg "helpful"), how she got on with fellow students, the work she was best suited for (in Emma’s case "among the women"), whether or not she would be a useful missionary, and general remarks. In Emma’s case, she entered the Home on 26 December 1902 and left it on 16 April 1903, her report being completed by Ms M Murray, with Ms Murray’s answers and endorsement signifying her satisfaction with Emma’s progress.

The Australian applicant screening process was very rigorous, and ensured that there were very few who were found wanting after their arrival in China. There is no reason to believe that successful Australian CIM candidates were in any way inferior to those recruited through other Home Departments of the CIM or, indeed, through other organizations outside the CIM.

A good illustration of the thoroughness of the selection process is to be found in an examination of rejection rates
(see Table 2). Amongst the first 100 applicants 33% were accepted and sailed for China while 28% were declined. 5% were withdrawn and 34% not proceeded with. Amongst the next 200 candidates, 27% were accepted and sailed and 22% were declined. 17% were withdrawn, 29% not proceeded with, 3% deferred, 1% redirected and 1% involved parental consent not being able to be obtained (the figures include a small number of New Zealanders). Amongst the applicants who withdrew or did not proceed were a number who made a decision to join a different Mission working in China or in another country. The frustration of candidates with the selection process in the second group (Candidates 101-300) is understandable when one considers that the lead time between application and sailing often took two years compared with an average of 4.7 months for the earlier applicants. Where reapplications were involved, the total lead time could extend to four years. The acceptance rate remained steady at 28% for Candidates 301-500, the not proceeded with rate rose to 45%, those declined fell to 16%, those withdrawn to 10% and 1% were deferred.

Only one candidate among the first 300 applicants is described as having returned from China "a failure". Given that most successful applicants had not completed secondary schooling and were then set the task of learning a most difficult language, it is surprising that this result did not occur far more frequently.

Neill 87, on this point, had the following to say of early CIM missionaries in general:

A door was opened for those of little formal

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Table 2

Acceptance and Rejection rates of Australasian CIM Missionary Candidates 1890 et seq, by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>22.5.1890-</th>
<th>3.4.1891-</th>
<th>1.6.94-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Nos.</td>
<td>9.4.1891</td>
<td>17.4.1894</td>
<td>8.10.1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>1-100</td>
<td>101-200</td>
<td>201-300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Proportion of applicants | 49.0 51.0 | 58.0 42.0 | 41.0 59.0 |
| Acceptance rate          | 22.4 41.2 | 25.9 31.0 | 22.0 30.5 |
| Not proceeded with       | 40.8 27.5 | 34.5 31.0 | 26.8 20.3 |
| Declined                 | 26.5 25.5 | 17.2 21.4 | 26.8 20.3 |
| Withdrawn                | 6.1 5.9   | 19.0 11.9 | 19.5 20.3 |
| Other                     | 4.1 0.0   | 3.4 4.8   | 4.9 8.5   |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>2.10.1897-</th>
<th>21.7.1902-</th>
<th>26.2.1906-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Nos.</td>
<td>7.7.1902</td>
<td>14.2.1906</td>
<td>19.4.1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>301-400</td>
<td>401-500</td>
<td>501-600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Proportion of applicants | 41.6 56.4 | 50.5 49.5 | 42.6 57.4 |
| Acceptance rate          | 31.8 24.6 | 24.5 35.4 | 14.0 22.4 |
| Not proceeded with       | 47.7 40.4 | 49.0 35.4 | 34.9 15.5 |
| Declined                 | 9.1 15.8  | 18.4 20.8 | 25.6 50.0 |
| Withdrawn                | 9.1 15.8  | 6.1 8.3   | 25.6 12.1 |
| Other                     | 2.3 3.5   | 2.0 0.0   | 0.0 0.0   |

* Note that there is occasional overlap of dates from one numerical grouping to another.
* One number used twice and therefore total = 101 vice 100.
/ Three numbers unused and therefore total = 97 vice 100.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>23.4.1910-</th>
<th>Dec 1920-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Nos.</td>
<td>Sep 1920</td>
<td>2.9.1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>601-700</td>
<td>701-799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Proportion of applicants | 31.3 68.7 | 41.4 58.6 |
| Acceptance rate          | 35.5 54.4 | 65.9 51.7 |
| Not proceeded with       | 35.5 20.6 | 19.5 24.1 |
| Declined                 | 22.6 20.6 | 7.3 20.7 |
| Withdrawn                | 6.5 4.4   | 7.3 3.4   |
| Other                     | 0.0 0.0   | 0.0 0.0   |

- One number unused and therefore total = 99 vice 100.
education. This was of great importance; missions were tending to become professional, and to have less place for pioneers of the type of Robert Moffat [1795-1883, a pioneer missionary in Africa and father-in-law of David Livingstone]. It was good that one society was prepared to keep this door open; and cases were not lacking in which those who started with very little education grew to be notable scholars and Sinologists. ... some were failures; but the majority held to their posts, and some proved to be outstandingly successful pioneer missionaries.

This statement held equally true for Australian as for the earlier English CIM missionaries to which Neill was referring.

2.4.2 Geographical Origins

Of the 395 Australasian CIM missionaries who travelled to China in the period 26 January 1888 to 17 September 1949 (i.e. before the CIM abandoned shipping missionaries to mainland China and began sending them to other foreign fields instead), 300 were Australians and 95 New Zealanders.

139 (46.3%) of the 300 Australians came from Victoria (where the HQ of the Australasian Branch of the CIM was situated), 63 (21%) from NSW, 42 (14.0%) from SA, 31 (10.3%) from Queensland, 15 (5.0%) from Tasmania and 10 (3.3%) from WA. The Victorian group comprised 58 men and 81 women, NSW 26 men and 37 women, SA 20 men and 22 women, Queensland 13 men and 18 women, Tasmania 6 men and 9 women and WA 5 men and 5 women.
Of the CIM Australians then, 19.3% were Victorian men, 27% Victorian women; 8.7% NSW men, 12.3% NSW women; 6.7% SA men, 7.3% SA women; 4.3% Queensland Men, 6.0% Queensland women; 2.0% Tasmanian men, 3.0% Tasmanian women; 1.7% WA men and 1.7% WA women.

In terms of rural or urban origin, an examination of the first 800 candidates (1890-c1930) establishes that by far the bulk of successful Victorian candidates came from suburban Melbourne, with only 29% coming from the country. In NSW, the proportion of city-dwellers was slightly above that for country folk, with 52% from urban and 46% from rural areas. In SA nearly all successful applicants were drawn from suburban Adelaide, only 11% coming from rural SA. In Queensland and Tasmania the trend was reversed, with all but 33% of successful candidates coming from the Queensland country, and all but 13% of successful candidates coming from the Tasmanian countryside. Only two successful WA candidates were represented in the first 800 candidates, and one came from Perth and the other from the WA countryside.

In Melbourne, where numbers are sufficient to enable some sensible further analysis, successful candidates amongst the first 800 applicants were found to be mainly concentrated in the more socially acceptable southern and eastern suburbs, which together accounted for two thirds of the total from that city, and in the more working-class northern suburbs (which became more important as sources of successful candidates as time went on), from whence came a quarter of successful applicants. Interestingly, the suburb which accounted for most missionaries was Brunswick, one of the more working-class, less affluent suburbs to the north of the city.
No doubt the general concentration of Australia's population in its capital cities, and ease of communication within those urban centres, had a lot to do with observed geographical origins in Victoria, NSW and South Australia. In Queensland and Tasmania, however, the personal recruitment efforts of particular CIM workers appear to have been more of a factor. For example, in the earlier years, John Southey was especially active in rural Queensland, and in a similar timeframe Mary Reed engaged, inter alia, in extensive deputation work throughout rural Tasmania. Successors carried on the good work.

2.4.3 Denominational Background

An analysis of applications by denomination, which becomes possible from candidate 333 onwards from where denomination is usually given, shows that by candidate 503, 32% of applicants had been Baptists, 30% Methodists, 15% Presbyterians, 8% Church of England, and 7% Congregationalists, with seven other denominations making up the balance of 8%. The acceptance rate for Congregationalists, Baptists and Presbyterians hovered around the average for the sample (134) of 35%, with Methodists slightly higher at 40%.

The acceptance rate for Church of England candidates (2, or 18%) appears low in comparison with the number which applied (11). Examination of individual cases though, shows that in only one instance was the applicant rejected by direct Council decision. In all other cases the applicant withdrew or failed to proceed with the application. The one Church of England candidate Council rejected was refused on account of her age (35), which was considered too old. (Many other applicants of similar vintage from various denominations were rejected on the same ground.) Dixon has
shown that Anglicans were most represented amongst Australian Protestant missionaries in China in the period 1888-1953, and their low level of application for the CIM is probably owing to the existence of sizeable Anglican societies operating in China to which they could apply as an alternative.

Interestingly, the Brethren denominations had a success rate of 100% (4/4). Though the numbers applying do not achieve statistical significance or lead to a conclusion that every member of the Brethren who applied would therefore have been accepted, it is possible that their precept of obedience to Christ rather than obedience to creeds and cults struck a particularly responsive chord with the interdenominational CIM.

In accordance with their conservative denominational outlooks, to a man/woman, successful candidates whose records survive were avowed teetotallers.

2.4.4 Conversion

Of the successful missionaries (n = 131) in the period when conversion detail is normally given (Candidate 333 [21 March 1899] to Candidate 780 [May 1929]), 28% had been converted by home influence, usually as a child, 21% had been converted during a mission, 9% at Sunday School, 8% at or after meetings including revival and prayer meetings, 5% through "personal dealing", 5% by a particular preacher and 5% by a particular sermon. 8% were unspecified and the remaining 11% had been converted through normal church services, at school, at conventions/conferences, through

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Christian organizations other than their own, through Christian example, during periods of difficulty, by Christian workers or friends and through questioning.

There was some variation between the different denominations represented, in the relative importance of particular conversion categories, with converted by home influence usually as a child first or equal first classification amongst Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Brethren, but converted during a mission being most important for Anglicans and converted during particular sermons being most important for Church of Christ adherents.

The second or other equal first category amongst Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Brethren and Anglicans was converted during a mission, but with Congregationalists it was converted by a particular sermon. The third category of Baptists was converted by a particular preacher and of Methodists converted at Sunday School, which was the fourth category for Baptists. Samples of other religions represented, eg Bible Christians, Open Brethren and Salvation Army are too small to make analysis of their preferences meaningful.

From Candidate 660 (October 1916) to Candidate 780 (May 1929) the age at which conversion took place is typically given. This shows an age range from 4 to 28 with 14 (when puberty is legally accepted in British law as having been established for both males and females) the most popular age, 16 and 19 the next most popular, and 12 not far behind.

However, comparing the 38 references to "childhood" conversions (age usually unspecified, but "childhood" is
normally taken to mean the period between infancy and pubescence) which occur from Candidate 333 (21 March 1899) to Candidate 780 (May 1929) with the 21 references to candidates who had reached puberty (age 14 and over), it is clear that the real peak occurs in the range 4 (earliest age of conversion given) to 13 (year before puberty has normally been established in both sexes), and a line of best fit would indicate that the peak age was about 12 or 13, in the emotionally confusing years immediately preceding pubescence.

The statistics on conversion, while indicating the not unexpected strong influence of the church (which features more or less directly in over 50% of conversions) on those who were later to become its emissaries, also point to the powerful influence a Christian home had on their coming to a formal decision to accept Christ as their saviour. As we have seen, this decision was most often made in the years surrounding and including puberty.

2.4.5 Age

For both male and female missionaries, the general age range over the period 1890 to 1930 is the same (19-34), though there is a tendency for men to apply later and leave the field of candidates earlier in life than the women. On average, the Australian women who went out were 1.5 years older than their male counterparts and, perhaps one can conclude, marginally more mature. If the average ages within the sexes for rejected candidates is similar to those for the accepted candidates then this extra maturity may have fed into the higher acceptance rate for women which I discuss later. The average age, irrespective of sex, was 25.1, with the average for men 24.2 and that for women 25.7. (For further detail, see Table 3.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successful Male &amp; Female Candidates Within Applicant Numbers</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>Age Range</td>
<td>Average Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>001-100</td>
<td>22.5.1890-9.4.1891*</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>21-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-200</td>
<td>3.4.1891*-17.4.1894</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>19-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-300</td>
<td>1.6.1894-8.10.1897</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>23-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301-400</td>
<td>2.10.1897-7.7.1902</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>21-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-500</td>
<td>21.7.1902-14.2.1906</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>20-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501-600</td>
<td>26.2.1906-19.4.1911</td>
<td>No ages given</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601-700</td>
<td>23.4.1910-Sep 1920</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>21-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701-799</td>
<td>Dec 1920-2.9.1930</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>21-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>22.5.1890-2.9.1930</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>19-34</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For total successful candidates irrespective of sex, the average age was 25.1 and the range 19-34.

* Note that there is occasional overlap of dates from one numerical grouping to another.
2.4.6 Sex

An examination of acceptance and rejection rates by sex (see Table 2) shows that in nearly all batches of 100 applicants between 1 and 799, women represented the greater proportion of applicants. Their acceptance rates were also higher in most of these groupings as well. Overall, the female acceptance rate (the rate of acceptances among women applicants only) for candidates 1-799 was 37.0% and the male acceptance rate (the rate of acceptances among male candidates only) was 29.5%. Clearly women missionaries were regarded as valuable, this no doubt because of the indispensability of their work among the women. (Whether they were regarded as having management potential is quite another matter.) However, the complaint was often expressed that not enough young men were entering the missionary field in China. Nonetheless, there is no indication that the Australian Council was prepared to drop its high standards to bring the numbers of males accepted up to the numbers of women accepted. What they did do, at the Annual Meeting of 29 May 1894, following a strong appeal for male missionaries by the Director of the Mission some months before was to "resolve to send only men for some time" 99.

This resolution is reflected in the Candidate's Book where it is recorded that several young women applicants were informed by the Secretary on 17 August 1894 that there was no prospect of sending ladies for some time. The resolution appears to have been given half-heartedly and to have received only lip service as it proved short-lived, only lasting for just over two months, with women sailing to China as early as November 1894, and with virtually no effect on relative male-female recruitment rates. This

occurrence also serves to illustrate that the Australian Home Council was not merely a vassal of the British administration, but operated on the basis of pragmatism rather than direction when it considered that circumstances so warranted. This runs counter to the tenor of Dixon’s comments on this issue, which suggest that the Australians never had control of their own missionary destiny.

Overall, there were 128 Australian CIM men (42.7% of all Australian CIM missionaries who were sent to mainland China) and 172 Australian women (57.3%), or four women for every three men, a ratio which also held good for the New Zealand contingent, which had 41 men (43.2% of all New Zealand CIM missionaries) and 54 women (57.9%).

2.4.7 Family structure

In accordance with the tendency of the times for couples to have larger families, most missionary candidates had four or five siblings, so that the family structure from which they came typically consisted of the two parents and five or six children. Given the medical expertise of the time, it is perhaps not surprising that in about half the families there had been one or more additional children who had died. In respect of about one third of the candidates one of their parents, usually the father, had also died. As a consequence of family fatalities, many of the missionaries who went out from Australia were intimately acquainted with grief, and this was no doubt of assistance to them in terms of an ability to relate to the people of China when the incessant cycle of drought, flood, famine, disease and armed conflict which afflicted that country, produced its inevitable harvest of death, illness, injury, and human misery.
2.4.8 Marital status

Only three Australian couples went to China already married. Only slightly more than half of those who went to China found husbands or wives in the field. Others were to leave the Mission and marry back in Australia. Given the difficulties of forming romantic attachments while enduring a nomadic lifestyle, it is perhaps surprising that the figure was as high as 50%. Clearly the chances of finding a spouse were better back home, and if husband/wife hunting was ever a motivation, it must have been short-lived in the face of the emerging actuality.

Despite the hardships associated with work at remote stations, in often primitive conditions, amongst an alien people, with very little Western contact, all of which might have been expected to put considerable strain on relationships, there is only one apparent instance of divorce noted. Marriages were more likely to be broken by death than by adversity. Even given the penchant of the times for married couples to stay together no matter what, missionary marriages appear to have been paragons of stability. Whether they epitomized bliss is quite another matter: there is some adverse comment in the literature about the level of happiness enjoyed by some who had, without sufficient deliberation, entered into "field" marriages. 90 Sexual frustration and propinquity doubtless comprised a formidable duo in a number of decisions to marry in the field, though, as would be expected, the

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90 Rowland Butler, in a letter to his mother of 12 August 1931 commented as follows: "I have seen phases of mission field matches [marriages] which make me want to depend on a higher leading than on my own feelings!". In a letter to his parents of 18 April 1932 he remarked, "we ... feel convinced that it is the Lord's will for us to wait ... and it is going to make our union infinitely more to us than if we rushed into things like so many do out here ... taking something less than the Lord's choice ... like some unfortunately do." Copies of these letters are held by the author.
missionary literature has little to say on this issue. However, the Mission, though motivated by a desire to see missionaries study the language for a reasonable time before taking on marriage and children, had imposed a ban on marriages until missionaries had been two years in the field, and this may have prevented at least some disastrous liaisons.

There was considerable intermarriage between the Australasian and British contingents, which undoubtedly helped to elevate feelings of acceptance on both sides.

2.4.9 Occupation and social status

Personal files containing the occupations of Australian CIM candidates are absent until Candidate 381 (Emma Spiller, applied 27 November 1900), then there are numerous gaps in the records through to candidate 670 (Norman Baker, applied 12 July 1917), and it is only from there that fairly regular file records have survived. Candidate books which range over the vacant periods rarely specify occupation though occasionally residential information shows very clearly the nature of the candidate's work. In the first 900 candidates, however, it is only possible to identify occupations for 104 of the successful candidates.

These comprised 18 clerks, 4 commercial art workers, 7 clergymen/deaconesses, 5 involved in domestic duties, 19 medical professionals, 10 teachers, 3 clothesmakers, 2 with private means, 9 farmworkers, 9 typists/stenographers/telephonists, 4 manufacturing industry workers, 3 carpenters/joiners, 2 warehousemen, 2 salespeople, a chartered accountant, a grocer, a chef, a general engineer, a painter, an electrician and a motor driver. Fifty-two of the 104 were men and fifty-two were
women. The men accounted for 15 of the clerks, the 4 commercial art workers, 5 clergymen, 3 medical professionals, 2 teachers, one clothesmaker, 8 farmworkers, 3 manufacturing industry workers, 3 carpenters/joiners, 2 warehousemen, the grocer, painter, electrician, general engineer, a salesman and the motor driver. The women accounted for 3 clerks, 2 deaconesses, the 5 engaged in domestic duties, 16 medical professionals, 8 teachers, 2 clothesmakers, the two having private means, a farmworker, the 9 typiste-stenographers/telephonists, the chartered accountant, a manufacturing industry worker, a saleswoman and, unusually, the "chef".

Very few of the occupations for successful candidates derivable from records relating to the first 900 candidates would place their owners decidedly in the lower working class. They were rather in skilled or at least semi-skilled occupations which would locate the majority of them in the 'white collar' area of the Australian middle class, though some were skilled 'blue collar' workers. Occupations of parents are not given in either Candidate Books or personal files, but they are occasionally derivable from residential data on personal files which show that, often, candidates' parents were farmers, again, not on the lowest rung of Australian society. One of the clergymen, who had been a mechanical engineer before donning the cloth, was the son of a miner, and evidently came from humble beginnings above which he had sought to elevate himself. One of the nurses, with a double certificate qualification, was the daughter of CIM missionaries. A high school teacher was the son of a farmer. In relation to the small number of successful candidates for whom it is possible to discover the father's occupation, nearly all came from a similar social stratum as the previous generation. However, the sample is small, and no solid conclusion on that score can be drawn from the
data available. 91

2.4.10 Education

No information on the educational qualifications of candidates is given in Candidate Books, but detailed data appear in personal files. These, however, mainly postdate 1916. Typically, candidates had had primary and some secondary education, with men, in accordance with practices prevailing in the Australian community at the time, tending to be better educated than women. A number of women had primary school education followed by secretarial/business college training. Most men had Intermediate (4th year secondary) or above, though Arthur Kennedy, an electrician, had passed Junior (3rd year secondary) followed by trade qualifications comprising a Fitters and Mechanics Ticket and three years of a Diploma of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering. CIM missionaries as a whole "did not possess all the scholastic qualifications required by the great denominational missions" but were chosen rather on the basis of their "genuine faith and piety, sound sense and good health". 92

Rev Charles Parsons, the third Australian CIM missionary into China, had a BA, but graduates were few in the Australian CIM contingent.

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91 The predominantly middle-class origins of Australian CIM missionaries does not make them unique in either CIM or global missionary circles. Canadian CIM missionaries, for example, also came from a similar social stratum. Alvyn J Austin points this out in his book, Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 91 - "Most came from middle- and upper-middle-class rural or small-town families, 'farm homes of the best type' ... with libraries and magazine subscriptions to open up the minds of the children to the wider world." Source located in CIM/OMF Archives and Library, Toronto, Canada

92 As indicated in an address by D E Hoste, General Director of the CIM, recorded in the CIM's China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LI, No. 7, CIM, Melbourne, 1 July 1935, pp. 99-100
Miss Anna Trudinger, from South Australia, was the first Australian CIM missionary woman who had a degree. Possessing a BA, she was put to work at Chefoo Girls' School immediately after undergoing language training at Yang-chau (Kiang-su) in 1898.

Martha Haslam also had a tertiary level education. She matriculated in March 1892 in Latin, German and Algebra, then completed two years of a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Sydney between 1892 and 1895, with passes in French, Mathematics, English and Latin I at first year level, and in English, Physics, Latin and French at second year level. She did not finish the degree, 93 but did complete Deaconess training under Canon Archdall, MA, in "Bethany", the Church of England Deaconess Institution, and was ordained in 1899. After Chinese language training in 1909, at which she shone, she was posted to Paoning, the headquarters of the Church of England Diocese in Eastern Szechwan, carrying out diocesan work there from 1910 to 1915 before shifting to Hinganfu (Shensi).

Secondary teachers like Theo Simpkin had had to pass the first year of a tertiary course through teacher's college in order to practise that profession, so that they had had to have had some exposure to university education. By and large, however, the standard of education amongst Australian CIM missionaries was not high, and it is nothing short of remarkable that virtually without exception, they were able to master one of the most difficult languages on earth.

In addition to formal education, many missionary candidates were dedicated to self-improvement through reading. A question on the CIM application form asked them, "Of the books you have read, name some which you most esteem; name also what periodicals, if any, you usually read", and the answers provide some insights into their interests and personalities. The books and periodicals read were very diverse, but some common reading themes like devotional literature and missionary biography and history emerge, as do some more or less commonly read publications. There was, of course, a shift in reading preferences over time as new publications displaced the old, although some of the old endured.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the more educated among the missionaries, like Jack Robinson BA, Dr D Vaughan Rees MBBS, the University-educated J Howard Kitchen (also Associate of the Australian Insurance Institute), Rose Rasey SRN (Double Certificate) and Robert H Mathews (eventually honorary LLD) were reading the classical drama, poetry and prose popular in the general community at the time such as Milton’s "Paradise Lost", Tennyson’s "Idylls of the King" and other poems, Longfellow, R L Stevenson, Walter Scott’s "Ivanhoe", "Kenilworth", "The Talisman" and other novels, Dickens’ "Oliver Twist", "David Copperfield", "Barnaby Rudge", "The Old Curiosity Shop", "Little Dorrit" etc, Hugo’s "Les Miserables", and Shakespeare’s plays. But most were not tertiary-educated, and their reading, whilst no doubt uplifting in its way, tended away from popular secular works and towards apologetics and homiletic literature. Or at least it did on paper; there can have been few who did not have some idea of the kind of literature which would have been favoured by the CIM, and they may have framed their answers to suit the situation by ignoring their secular reading and concentrating on those
works they thought more relevant to the CIM's enquiry.

Works by Bunyan (usually "Pilgrim's Progress" but also "The Holy War") were widely read by early Australian CIM missionaries, as were those of Dr A T Pierson, Sir Robert Anderson (e.g. "The Lord from Heaven"), S D Gordon ("Quiet Talks on Power", "Quiet Talks on Prayer", "St. John's Gospel"), Dr R A Torrey ("Baptism with the Holy Spirit", "The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit", "How to Work for Christ", "How to Pray"), Dean F W Farrar ("Life of Christ", "The Life and Work of St Paul"), Hudson Taylor ("Retrospect"), Dr and Mrs Howard Taylor ("The Growth of a Soul", "The Growth of a Work of God"), E P Roe ("Barriers Burned Away"), Rev F B Meyer ("The Call and Challenge of the Unseen", "Elija"), Harold Begbie ("Broken Earthenware"), F R Havergal ("Kept for the Master's Use"), Rev John Macnab ("The Spirit-filled Life"), A Wilson Carmichael ("Things as They Are"), Ralph Connor ("The Sky Pilot"), J R Miller ("Wider Life") and Rev A Murray ("The Holiest of All", "Ministry of Intercession" and "Key to Missionary Problems"). Women missionary candidates were more likely to read female authors such as Miss Amy Carmichael ("Mimosa", "Tables in the Wilderness").

Biographies, particularly of missionaries and religious leaders like Pastor Hsi, David Brainard, Hudson Taylor, Mary Slessor of Calabar, William Carey, George Müller, David Livingstone, Borden of Yale (by Mrs Howard Taylor) and D L Moody were also very popular. Missionary histories and appeals like Guinness' "Story of the China Inland Mission", Mrs H Taylor's "The Call of China's Great North-West" and A Glover's "A Thousand Miles of Miracle" [about missionary survival during the Boxer Rebellion] were also widely consumed.
Amongst the periodicals, "China's Millions" was almost universally read, with other missionary magazines like the "Biblical Recorder", "The Advent Herald", "The Christian Courier", "Our Indian Field", "The Christian", "Our Aim" and "Southern Cross" also widely digested.

Amazingly enough, the Bible scarcely rated a mention, perhaps because the assumption of the day was that it went without saying that one read one's Bible. It is clear from missionary candidates' dissertations on original sin, atonement, the Trinity, and judgement and other eschatological matters which accompanied their application that all were, nonetheless, keen students of the Scriptures.

The reading of missionary magazines and biographies of missionaries and other religious figures, of novels by Scott, R L Stevenson, Kingsley, of dramatists like Shakespeare, and of poets like Tennyson and Longfellow, no doubt helped to fire an enthusiasm for the exotic and the adventurous which assisted in strengthening the missionaries' impetus towards foreign fields. By the same token, however, once the missionaries were actually in China, the romantic vision which such reading had helped construct often quickly evaporated in the face of grim reality, and resulted in a certain number of missionaries returning home disillusioned within a few years of their arrival in China. A small group of Australians fell in this category.

2.4.11 Beliefs

A questionnaire which CIM missionary candidates were required to complete asked them to give their views on the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the fall of man
and his state by nature, the Atonement, and the duration of future reward and punishment (this latter question was later amended, as explained below). The answers typically ran along the following lines:

The Inspiration of the Scriptures

The whole of the Bible is inspired, the revealed will of God. The Holy Spirit brought all things to the remembrance of the writers. There was infallible Divine guidance exercised over those chosen by God to declare the Word which, consequently, is as if truly said and written by God. The Old Testament is clearly inspired, since Christ Himself assigned to it Divine authority, and proven, since we see the Old Testament fulfilled in the life, death and resurrection of Christ. In relation to the New testament, Christ promised the apostolic authors that his Holy Spirit would lead them into all truth, so that it, too, is Divinely inspired.

The Trinity

The Father, Son and Holy Ghost are One God in three Persons or three Persons in One God. God is revealed through Creation and in manifestations of his Providence (care). The Son is God in the flesh, the Scriptural Saviour, the mediator. The Holy Ghost, which inspired the Scriptures, is Christ’s spirit, the Regenerator of fallen man.

The Fall of Man and his State by Nature

Through the disobedience to God of Adam and Eve, sin and death entered the world, and passed on to all men. Man fell, and consequently suffers from the guilt of sin. We have all sinned and deserve the wages of sin which is
death. Given free will, man has gone his own way, and is by nature sinful and unregenerate, so that he needs to be regenerated, or born again.

The Atonement

Jesus took on the sins of the whole world and sacrificed Himself to save the world. Without the shedding of blood there is no remission; hence Christ’s sacrifice. He took the transgressors’ place; He took man’s sin upon Himself. By His suffering Christ secured the full pardon of the sinner upon his or her acceptance of the Crucified Christ. Sinners are saved through faith in Christ.

The Duration of Future Reward and Punishment

We shall all be judged, and either punished or rewarded. The wicked will be banished into everlasting fire; the righteous, who have accepted Christ, will receive life eternal.

By 28 October 1911 when Candidate 615 (a New Zealander) applied to the Mission, the questions, possibly because of rather simplistic answers to some of the original enquiries, had been expanded to take in the authority of the Scriptures, man’s need of regeneration, justification by faith, and the resurrection of the body, the latter a rather complex eschatological concept and one which was clearly not grasped in its entirety by some of the respondents. Answers on these new topics typically ran along the following lines:

The Authority of the Scriptures

Because they are Divinely inspired, the Scriptures are
authoritative. Jesus used the Old Testament as His authority. Revelations contains a warning that the Scriptures should not be added to or subtracted from and that is because such action would undermine their authority. Christ chose certain persons to receive additional revelations of truth after His departure and He gave their words the same authority as His own. Thus the New Testament is authoritative. The Bible is also proven by the effects it has on the lives of believers.

Man's Need of Regeneration

We are dead to God because we are children of Adam, and it is only by coming to Christ and believing in Him that we receive 'real' life and pass from death into life. Man is unable to save himself from sin - all self-effort and reformation fail - and therefore requires the services of a Redeemer. No man can, of himself, obtain favour in God's sight, because he cannot free himself from the old nature of man. A man's only hope for time and eternity is to be born of the Spirit.

Justification by Faith

Our sins are pardoned and we are saved once we become righteous by accepting Christ by faith. When people trust only in Christ's crucifixion for their salvation and not in anything including works of righteousness they can do themselves, to wit, when they accept Christ as their saviour, God sees only the righteousness of Christ in them and their sins are taken away through the crucifixion. Man is counted righteous because Christ's righteousness is put to his account. One who believes in Christ is declared righteous; he becomes clothed with all the merits of Christ's character and work. Being justified by faith we
have peace with God through Christ. By God's grace we are saved through faith.

The Resurrection of the Body

When Jesus comes for the second time, descending from Heaven, the dead in Christ will be raised together with believers then living and caught up into the air to meet the Lord and they shall reign with Him a thousand years. Natural bodies will be resurrected as spiritual bodies, incorruptible, glorious, and powerful. The wicked dead will be raised for judgement after the thousand years.

These then, are the kinds of belief which Australian CIM missionaries transported to China and taught to the Chinese.

In addition to these formal tenets, a number of other beliefs commonly held by Australian CIM missionaries are evident from a reading of the missionary literature.

The devil was an ominous, ever present reality for the CIM missionaries. When they failed to make progress with their evangelistic endeavours, the devil was hindering: when they moved forward it was through the grace of God, who had won a victory over his persistent adversary. God preserved missionaries from natural or unnatural disasters in which they found themselves embroiled, while the heathen suffered around them, or sometimes ineffably allowed missionaries to perish, in which case it was His will and "He makes no mistakes." While they grieved over the deaths of their fellow missionaries, they rejoiced in their being with Christ, "which is far better." A belief in demon-possession was very prevalent among the missionaries, and the literature abounds with tales of how Australian (and other)
CIM missionaries cast out, or attempted to cast out with varying degrees of success, demons possessing particular Chinese people with whom they came into contact. Prayer, Bible readings, hymn singing and exhortations for the demon to leave the afflicted person were commonly used, and the result was usually, but not inevitably, a complete cure, with the salvaged soul becoming an enquirer and eventually being baptised into the Church.

It is wrong to think of the CIM as theologically monochromatic. There were always different Protestant denominations accommodated within it, and, within those denominations, a wealth of eschatological opinion as well as differing views about baptism, liturgy, and conversion.

On the baptismal side, the CIM normally opted for total immersion and, while no doubt some thought sprinkling would have sufficed, where CIM baptisms are described they almost inevitably involved total immersion, the exceptions being people who had valid health reasons for not involving themselves in complete immersion. Interestingly, several successful CIM candidates, while recording themselves as officially attached to churches which did not use total immersion, nonetheless expressed a belief in the practice.

On the eschatological side, the CIM tolerated various millenarian views, and, while there was a phalanx in the Mission of adherents to the Holiness Movement 94, there

94 Such tolerance of Holiness views was by no means legion. The Maritime Baptist Convention of Canada's Foreign Mission Board evidently applied pressure on one of its members to resign because 'her 'holiness views' would create problems if she were sent to India. Some on the FMB felt that 'persons holding these views, which from their very nature caused those who held them to believe that whatever they do is right,' could produce 'endless trouble'." (P. Lorraine Coops, Not a Romantic Notion: Single Women Missionaries from the Maritime Baptist Convention Who Served in the Telugu Fields in India 1880-1912, a thesis submitted to the Department of History in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, Queen's University,
were others who had no direct contact with it. Stanley P Smith, one of the famous CIM 'Cambridge Seven', was an ardent participant in the Holiness Movement, attracted to the Mission by its tolerance. 95 There are many references in the missionary literature which carry the inference that good works will hasten the thousand year reign of Christ, indicating that there was a solid core of postmillennialists in the Mission. On the other hand, the Mission\’s marked emphasis on evangelism rather than institutional work suggests premillennial leanings. There are also references, apparently having their basis in the Holiness Movement, to a second conversion in which the person totally surrenders to the Holy Spirit (in the case of one young missionary woman the experience being described in almost orgasmic terms). Liturgies varied from place to place, and became more sinified as time went on. In deference to the sensibilities of the Chinese, the length of the service was often doubled in China, liturgies utilized the vernacular, and the sexes were segregated by a partition which ran down the middle of the church.

All in all, the CIM was quite accommodating to views which could be housed within a traditional, conservative, evangelical and, later, fundamentalist framework. As is noted elsewhere in this dissertation, they had no truck with Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists, while Modernists, when they began to emerge in the 1920s, were regarded as a cardinal foe, so that the CIM clearly had a foot in the fundamentalist camp which reacted against them. The Mission\’s abhorrence of Catholics and Modernists caused

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them in the late 1920s to secede from the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference Edinburgh 1910, which was perceived as bedding down with these despised groups. 96 A Pentecostal movement arose in China in the latter part of the CIM's sojourn there, and claimed some of their followers, so that they wasted no time in publicly deploiring its existence. Groups like the Little Flock also emerged 97, and were regarded with concern because the Mission felt that such bodies were beginning to stray away from the conservative viewpoints to which it subscribed, to more extreme modes of worship and radical forms of belief.

After the missionaries left, the Chinese Church was to be plagued with many schisms, producing heretical groups like the Shouters. 98 An ideal condition for the growth of apostasy actually existed in some areas of China before the missionaries left, consisting of a lack of Christian leaders adequately trained in Bible knowledge, doctrine and theology. It was a case of a little knowledge being a dangerous thing. False beliefs were preached and followed because leader and follower alike were ignorant of the


97 This group, which emerged in the mid-1940s, was exclusive and partisan by nature, its adherents preferring to keep their spiritual experiences to themselves, failing to demonstrate the evangelical spirit so dear to the CIM's heart. One such was the Yinkai Church which wanted nothing to do with other churches. See CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LVII, Nos. 4 & 5, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April and 1 May 1946, pp. 53 & 68

98 The Shouters are still extant today, and in recent times have been receiving some unwelcome attention from the Communists who have been especially singling them out for persecution as an heretical Christian sect. The Shouters believe that the strength of one's conviction should be reflected in the volume of one's praise, and they are hard to ignore. There is some analogy, though no connection, between this group and the Ranters of the Cromwellian era, who believed that one had to get rid of all the sin inside by voicing obscenities to get the 'dirty' things out. They too, suffered severe ill-treatment.
facts as they would have been understood by a missionary or Bible Institute or Seminary graduate. There was some evidence of this fragmentation of the Chinese Church before the missionaries left: it is rife today.

2.4.12 Experience

Most of the successful candidates had taught Sunday School, and many were Christian Endeavourers while some were YMCA/YWCA members. Frequently, they had been involved in open air preaching, "personal work", house to house visitation and in assisting with Divine Service. Some had given religious instruction in schools and others had visited patients in hospitals. Yet others had been engaged in welfare work amongst economically and socially disadvantaged groups. A small percentage were able to claim that they had made converts on the home scene, but, to a large extent, a candidate's ability to convert people had to be judged on potential and taken on trust. Referees were able to support candidates' claims in relation to their home evangelistic efforts, but were seldom able to attest to a candidate's history of conversions. The resulting reliance on potential was a weakness in the system, perhaps, but one not easily circumvented because of the all too few candidates who could otherwise have been accepted for overseas service had demonstrated conversions been employed as a criterion. In a similar vein, it is worthwhile noting that very few were able to claim any exposure (evangelistic or otherwise) to the Chinese communities in the capital cities or rural centres in their own States. Small wonder that China came as an almost overwhelming culture shock to some, and that many who had no experience of making converts at home found making converts in the field equally if not more difficult.
2.4.13 Money

Money was always a problem for the CIM, and the Australasian Branch was no exception to the general rule. A faith mission, whose boast was that it did not openly solicit donations, but trusted to God to provide the necessary wherewithal, the CIM regularly faced embarrassing financial crises, only to receive what were regarded as illustrations of God's answer to prayer at the eleventh hour.

Loane reports **97** that

On May 15th 1902, the Foreign Missionary Societies represented in Melbourne held a rally on behalf of Foreign Missions at which Dr R. A. Torrey was the speaker. It was estimated that there were 342 Australian missionaries at work in various countries and that the average annual income for all the Societies was £71,000.

In 1902 then, it was costing the Societies an average of £207.60 in outlays for each missionary in the field. In that year, there were about 60 Australasian CIM missionaries in the field, and the annual income handled by the Australasian Council was £3,848, or only approximately £64 per Australasian missionary in the field, far short of the £207.60 average across the various societies. There is little doubt that the CIM missionary was worse off than many of his/her counterparts in other societies, and J Hudson Taylor observed that some other societies were

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paying four times more to their missionaries than the CIM was paying its own. An Australian missionary couple who sailed to China with the CIM in August 1891 left the CIM for another society in 1892 and, if more money was the attraction, they could well have argued that there was little harm in moving to improve their material circumstances when they were still able to perform identical work for God in China.

Defections were remarkably uncommon, however, and the problem did not so much lie there as in the CIM’s incapacity to provide missionaries at the rate that was necessary to make serious inroads into the evangelization of the Chinese population at large, which did not remain numerically static, but continued to expand at a daunting rate.

In another place ¹⁸⁰ Loane observed that

In 1910, it cost little more than £50 to send out each missionary, and it only required £75 per annum to maintain them in China.

Yet in that year, the annual income processed by the Australasian Council was only £5,581 and, divided among the 112 active workers in the field, this came to only £49.83 per missionary!! It is fairly clear that in 1910, the year of the optimistic Edinburgh Conference, the Australasian CIM workers would not exactly have been living off the fat of the land were they solely reliant on their own funds for their missionaries’ support.

Graphing of annual outlays per missionary using constant

1914 £ (see Chart 2) shows that, apart from in 1926 (because of a large legacy) and in 1930 (owing to a similar sudden upsurge in income), the amount estimated in 1910 to maintain each Australasian missionary was not really approached until 1943, assisted at that time by a steady decline in missionary numbers after 1940, and by burgeoning income which reached all-time highs in the period 1943 to 1954.

The Australians were reliant on supplementary British funding to make ends meet in nearly every year, and only on rare occasions did Australia pay its own way. Even the consolidated CIM funds occasionally fell short of what was required to give each missionary his or her expected remittance. On these occasions the missionaries were advanced a lesser amount and they had to make do. This occurred, for example, for one month in 1910, and the same year saw the CIM unable, because of the prolonged low level of the General Fund, to provide passages for new missionaries. 101

The Australasian contingent, along with other workers of the CIM, battled on despite their meagre sustenance, and few, as evidenced by their remaining with the CIM, apparently begrudged missionaries in some other societies their better funding. But the constant plea from the field was for more workers, and its limited funding prevented the CIM from adequately supplying this need. Given the financial limitations under which they laboured, the achievements of Australasian CIM missionaries (and, for that matter, CIM missionaries at large) seem not inconsiderable.

Australian CMI Outlay per Australian Missionary in the Field in constant 1914 £ based on Loane and the "C" Series Retail Price Index for the six State Capital Cities Combined, 1914 - 1954 (excluding 1951, for which no figure was derivable)
2.4.14 Subordination to the British contingent

Before Australian CIM missionaries began to arrive in China from 1888, there had been a British Protestant presence in China since that of the London Missionary Society's Robert Morrison in 1807. This presence had increased markedly as international treaties began to open up the country from the early 1840s, and especially after the formation of the CIM in 1865. Much of the early Protestant exploration of the evangelical possibilities of the Middle Kingdom had been undertaken by British missionaries, and they had established the first Protestant stations in most provinces. British CIM missionaries in particular had opened up the interior provinces to missionary enterprise and established posts there.

It is not, therefore, surprising, given their sense of ownership of the country, the chronological length of their association with it and the expertise they had developed in evangelizing the Chinese, that they did not readily relinquish the reins to colonial latecomers.

For the early Australians there was, in any event, the normal progression from Trainee to Junior and Senior Missionary, with concomitant language training to be traversed (and this took about five years) before they were recognized as having the expertise to wield any power within the CIM. Accordingly, Australians were likely to face a lead-time of half a decade before they were entitled to assume permanent positions of responsibility, though several found themselves acting as station leaders through the absence of British supervisors on account of sickness or leave, early in their careers.

By 1906, eighteen years after the first Australian CIM
missionaries entered China, one would have expected this learning challenge to have been surmounted, and that statistics would show the Australians picking up station Officer-in-Charge (OIC) positions at a similar rate as other nationalities within the CIM. This proves to be almost the case. As at 1 January 1906, there were 17 Australian OICs of stations, 14 men and 3 women (women were severely underrepresented). There were 205 stations at the time, so that the ratio of Australian OICs to all OICs was 1 : 12. At the same time, there were 77 Australians in a field establishment of 777 or a ratio of 1 : 10. This signifies only a slight underrepresentation at the OIC level, and indicates that the Australians had made their mark and were regarded as as eligible as British and other-nationality missionaries to assume important positions in the missionary structure by as early as 1906. As to the next step up, representation on the China Council, there are indications of the existence of a glass ceiling which tended to keep Australians (and other nationalities other than British) out, though a small number eventually gained entry. The China Council remained largely, though not exclusively, a British stronghold.

2.4.15 Intra-mission relationships

In relation to the organization of Missions, a question which often arises is whether ructions developed between the field council and its missionary operatives.

In the case of the CIM, the ultimate decision-making role lay with the General Director, but he normally exercised this function through the China Council. This Council was differently constituted at different times, but came to be composed of about half a dozen Head Office staff, including the General Director (when he was in town), three Assistant
Directors, the Treasurer and Secretary, and all the 15 Provincial Superintendents. The Superintendents, and often the Head Office staff, were former CIM missionaries who had put in something like a decade in the field, and consequently had great first-hand knowledge of missionary needs, aspirations and expectations. The best of them frequently travelled around their bailiwicks consulting with heads of stations, station staff and local Chinese Christians to keep abreast of developments and attempt to trouble-shoot emerging problems. This touring around was supplemented by Provincial Council meetings which Senior Missionaries within the Province were eligible to attend, giving Superintendents and their Senior Missionaries alike an opportunity to gauge the level of opinion within a Province for or against particular policies or courses of action. Senior Missionaries themselves were in constant touch with Junior missionaries and probationers, and carried their views (at least to the extent they wished to) into Provincial Council meetings. By dint of this sort of activity, Superintendents were able to absorb, and convey to China Council meetings, missionary feelings about the various issues which confronted them. Armed with a background of informed opinion about the wants of missionaries in his (it was always "his") domain, the Superintendent could then represent those interests to the China Council. Under such arrangements it was difficult for chasms of difference to develop between field operatives and their Council. It should also be mentioned that Provincial Superintendents were elected by their fellow missionaries, and consequently felt under some obligation to represent their views adequately to the China Council. Conversely, the missionaries themselves primarily chose their Superintendents on the basis of how well they perceived they would represent their interests before Council. Council was made acutely aware of what was
happening out there, and acted accordingly.

While each Province competed with others for a share of Mission funds, negotiations occurred in a spirit of mutual Christian co-operation and understanding, and while there were differences of opinion or emphasis, consensus was usually achieved quite readily and without obvious acrimony as far as one can tell from reading between the lines of the China Council Minutes.

The Council only met every three months \(^{362}\) (in good times - in wartime or during periods of civil unrest it would be less frequent), and interim business was decided by a committee comprised of senior Head Office staff. Generally, but not inevitably, these had been field missionaries also, and understood missionary perspectives, so that they, too, were unlikely to be at loggerheads with their evangelistic dependants. A few had spent many years in administrative and financial roles and had lost some recency in their grasp of field missionary realities, but there were sufficient regular contacts to keep them reasonably up to speed, and if they weren’t, their colleagues on the Headquarters Committee were.

The Emergency Committee set up in Free China during the Japanese occupation was also composed of gentlemen who had been field missionaries, and relations between that Council and missionaries in the field remained generally harmonious.

There were, of course, instances where missionaries were dismissed for disciplinary or inefficiency reasons, but

\(^{362}\) The logistics of getting everyone in from the far-flung outposts of China were horrendous, and, often, not all Superintendents made the meetings.
these were rare. More often it was physical or mental health which brought about early departures from the Mission, sometimes at the missionary’s request, and sometimes at a Council’s instigation. Often missionaries resigned for family reasons. At other times the reasons were “personal”, and this term covered a multitude of sins like marriage outside the Mission, a loss of faith, a realization that they had no love for the Chinese, a desire to try something different such as enter the ministry proper back home, or a wish to escape a personality clash with a Senior Missionary or other missionary/ies on the base. Resignation was not the only option, however, and a small percentage of the transfers of staff from one station to another may be attributed to the inability of particular missionaries to get along with each other. Furlough or a summer at a CIM hill resort were other avenues of at least temporarily defusing such unpleasant situations.

By and large, however, it must be said that there is precious little evidence of personality clashes between CIM missionaries. While field marriages were reportedly not always a resounding success, there is little evidence of marital clashes either.

Surveyed on what they thought was the worst aspect of their

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805 In a letter to his parents of 15 November 1931, pp. 3-4, Rowland Butler wrote about a personality clash with his supervisor as follows: “It looks as if it is another bungle on the part of our Super. ... one and all seem thoroughly fed up with [him] and I am one of them. I’ve stood about as much as I am prepared to take ... He writes his half-brained ideas off to the Coast [Headquarters] without reference to those concerned ... the Executive are level-headed Godly men, and don’t seem to act very often on the Super’s advice.” A copy of the letter is held by the author.

804 The Butler letters also provide evidence of a missionary’s viewing the behaviour of other missionaries as at times eccentric or quaint, though no bad blood developed in any of these cases.
time in the CIM, the missionaries interviewed or corresponded with by the author generally plumped for separation from children, not for any incompatibility between themselves and the Mission. The contrary was indeed the case, in that they reported the best aspect of their time in the CIM as having been the feeling of mutual fellowship and of belonging to one big happy family. Not one missionary surveyed griped about problems with the organization or other missionaries. The level of satisfaction with life in the Mission appears on this evidence to have been high. It is true, however, that those surveyed were generally from the last decade of the CIM’s occupation of China, and how earlier generations of missionaries, who faced rather different problems, may have responded must remain unknown, since the kind of documentation which may have borne on this issue is to a very large degree no longer extant, and descendants typically do not carry such knowledge amongst their recollections.

An area where differences of opinion may have been expected to emerge was between missionaries and their home councils. The home councils, though they had occasional ex-missionaries amongst their membership, were predominantly composed of dignitaries from the ecclesiastical, business and medical fields who might have been expected to have had less understanding of and consequently less sympathy with missionary problems.

If anything, the reverse was the case. Home Councils cared for their missionaries up until the time they reached China (when the China Council took over), during times when missionaries were on furlough, and in relation to various

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105 See Appendix I, p. 5.
arrangements attaching to their retirement from the Mission, and the records which survive show that they normally did this with appropriate sensitivity, so that there are few instances which are recorded as having generated much heat. Certainly Oliver Burgess and the home council in Australia had words about his usage of the Mission Home following his initial retirement, with the Council displaying what some might describe as a "bitchy" attitude, while he, for his part, was somewhat intransigent. On the other hand, the indications are that they were somewhat more sympathetic to the plight of the errant Mathewson than the China Council had been, though even the China Council's hard line had been somewhat softened by some monetary concessions to him. Again, relations between Home Council and missionary were generally good.

2.4.16 The adequacy of home training

Before CIM candidates were sent to China, or even accepted by the Mission, they were expected to have received a solid grounding in Bible studies, to have picked up some elementary knowledge of medicine, and to have had some practical experience in spreading the Gospel whether as Sunday School teachers, religious instructors in schools, home or hospital visitors or open air preachers. It was assumed that language study and a knowledge of Chinese customs, administration, geography, history and religion would be absorbed in the approximately six months which would be spent at the Anking (for men) or Yangchow (for women) Training Homes after candidates had actually arrived in China. Consequently, at least prior to 1948, when the
Australian Candidates' Course began, there was virtually no expectation at home that candidates would have experienced anything in relation to the Chinese other than a call to minister to them and some reading regarding them.

It was not, in fact, until mid-1948, just a few years before the Mission began its "reluctant exodus" from China, that a Candidates' Course of six weeks' duration was instituted to ensure that accepted candidates had a better knowledge of things Chinese before they actually went to China. The first such course commenced on 1 July 1948 and ran through to mid-August of that year. Nine students were involved. It was a prerequisite that all candidates had completed Bible training before their acceptance, so that the course centred on other subjects which would prepare them for life and service in China. Candidates were resident at the Mission's Home at Hawthorn, Melbourne for the duration of the course, which included the subjects Phonetics and Phonetic Script, Chinese Radicals, History and Geography of China, Religions of China, History and Principles and Practice of the Mission, Chinese Backgrounds, and Principles of Health. There were also devotional periods, and opportunities for fellowship with other students. These studies were to be built upon when candidates began to study the language and customs in more...

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106 A Candidates' Course for North American candidates which involved six weeks' residence at the Vancouver BC Canada mission home had been instituted by 1936. During this preliminary orientation and evaluation course, candidates would study the principles and practices of the CIM and begin the study of the Chinese language (mainly memorizing 124 radicals), after which they were interviewed by several members of the Home Mission Board and a decision taken on whether or not they should be accepted for a probationary term in China. Candidates who went through this system included the Americans Eleonore Snyder Crook and Marie C Hill. See E S Crook, Orchids Underfoot, unpublished MS post-July 1980, pp 15-16, and M C Hill (1908-1988), Shanghai Again, unpublished MS dated 8 December 1988, pp 1-3, both located in CIM/OMF Library and Archives, Toronto, Canada. Given the early appreciation of the need for such a course in North America, the Australians appear to have been extremely tardy in taking a further decade to get one up and running in their country.
depth at the now co-educational Language School at Anking, Anhwei. The students graduating from the first Candidates’ Course sailed for China two months after completing it.

Before the advent of the Candidate’s Course, prior training was primarily left in the hands of outside institutions and none of these had any particular focus on China in their curriculum, even the Melbourne Bible Institute, which the CIM had conceived in 1920.

Prior to the emergence of formal Bible training institutes in south-eastern Australia from 1892 onwards, candidates were sometimes placed with a local cleric for a few months to receive concentrated tuition in Bible studies and apologetic literature as well as exposure to pastoral pursuits before proceeding to China. The CIM missionary Oliver Burgess was trained under such an arrangement. While such brief apprenticeships were no doubt of benefit to candidates in their endeavours to explain the Bible to sceptical Chinese and to assist in shepherding the small Chinese congregations typically encountered in the 1890s, they hardly equated to the two year full-time residential diploma courses which later emerged in institutions like the Melbourne Bible Institute and upon which the CIM came to heavily rely for the preparation of candidates whom they subsequently chose to go to China.

An early Bible training institute upon which the CIM drew for some of its recruits was Dr Warren’s Young Women’s Missionary Training Home in Kew which was founded in 1892 with a view to catering for women of the CIM and CMA and closed in 1901 when the Warrens moved to England. The training there was both in Biblical knowledge and practical ministries including visiting the sick and the poor.
Lockhart Morton's Hope Lodge for men was founded in 1893 (it became Angas College in 1898), and his Kensington College for women was established in 1895, both of them in Adelaide, and by the end of 1915 when the army commandeered the men's college site, the colleges had trained 59 men and women for the CIM. Both colleges gave general biblical and practical training for missionary service over a period of two years. The curriculum for women consisted of the whole of Scripture, Scofield's Bible Course, Expository Lectures, History of Missions, Scripture Introduction, English Grammar, Facts of the Bible, Nursing Class, Voice Culture, Sunday School Lesson Preparation, Shorthand and Homiletics. Three months' training in maternity work at Queen's Home and visitation with a nursing sister were added. The men's curriculum covered Scofield's Course (Old and New Testament), Gray's Synthetic Bible Studies, Bible Questions, Theology, Greek, History of Missions, Book Keeping, Homiletics, Elocution and Gymnastics. Permission for the students to visit schools had been granted by the Education Department, and household and Christian work were expected. One male student studied Geometry at Angas College, but there is little other evidence of discrete secular subjects being taken there.

Not all missionary training colleges were the same, but the differences in training received at Angas (for men) and Kensington (for women) were reflected in the differences in training later received at Anking (for men) and Yangchow (for women). The women's course at Kensington included Shorthand, clearly designed to fit women for secretarial duties under men, a lower standard of English, and subjects geared to preparing them for women's work including Sunday School Lesson Preparation and Nursing, with particular attention to obstetrics. Men, on the other hand, received more thorough Biblical instruction and studied the subjects
Theology, New Testament Greek and Bookkeeping, which women did not, the latter setting men up for Local Secretary placements (often a stepping stone to Provincial Superintendent positions) which women were consequently usually unable to fill. Men also took gymnastics, which not only assisted their personal fitness, but enabled them, should they so wish, to instruct male Chinese students in this discipline. There was no similar provision for women. Men, on the other hand were left short on the medical side.

Owing to the decline of Angas College during the war years, although it was still training students through 1920, Benson Barnett moved to Sydney and set up a Missionary and Bible College in Badminton Road, Croydon in March 1916 which was to become the oldest missionary training centre with a continuous history in Australia. It provided a College Diploma and correspondence courses which focused on Bible content. Its contribution to CIM training was, however, small. It had only trained 15 CIM candidates by 1962.

In 1902, members of the Griffiths tea family opened in Fitzroy a new training home for women called Hiawatha, which, after the demise of the Warren Home, was designed to serve the CIM as well as the CMA. Rev C H Nash had in 1901 independently begun a scheme for Anglican Deaconess training called St Hilda. The two schemes were soon amalgamated, the new home in Fitzroy dropping the name of Hiawatha for St Hilda. Following the 1901 demise of the Warren Home, both St Hilda’s and the co-educational Presbyterian Training Institute Rehoboth, in Punt Road, Richmond, had in 1902 made offers to train CIM candidates, and both of them in fact did so. St Hilda’s was transferred to a new site in Clarendon Street, East Melbourne in 1907. Several CIM women candidates were sent to St Hilda’s. There
in about 1910 they studied Christian Doctrine, English, Bookkeeping, the Books of Exodus and Leviticus, St Mark’s Gospel, Homiletics and Personal Work. They also studied a subject entitled "Books of the Bible," Elocution, Kindergarten, Galatians, Romans, St John, First Aid Ambulance and languages including German. One student, either before or during her time at St Hilda’s had studied the Scofield Scripture Course. By 1917 a two year whole of Bible course was being offered at St Hilda’s, with missionary studies included in the final year, and practical work was also undertaken. The practical work included teaching and work among women and children. Following the handing over of St Hilda’s to the Evangelical Trust of Victoria at the end of 1918 however, the CIM found it impracticable to send its candidates there and its connection with the Mission then almost completely ceased.

St Hilda’s was a chronological forerunner of the MBI which Nash, in September 1920, also helped establish. By its meeting of 23 August 1920 the CIM Council had decided to train its own missionaries, and Rev C H Nash, one of its members, was offered the job of founding the Melbourne Bible Institute. He accepted the offer and became the first Principal of the MBI. By 1963, 140 of the CIM’s missionaries had been former MBI students. Not all of the CIM’s successful candidates finished such courses however. They were often plucked from the MBI or other training institutions and sent to China while still in the first year or only partway through the second year of a two-year course. To some extent, deficits in Bible training in Australia were made up for in the Anking or Yangchow Training Homes, since, despite the emphasis on language study, the texts used to study the language were primarily Biblical.

Prior to the formation of the MBI, the CIM had no direct
control over the content of the courses offered by home training institutes. From its formation in September 1920 until his stepping down in 1942, Rev C H Nash, the Principal of the MBI, was also on the CIM’s Australasian Council (actually from 1916 to 1943), so that there was a mutually beneficial exchange of ideas between the two organizations through this pivotal and powerful figure who actually visited China in 1936. There were other less direct connections. Howard Kitchen attended C H Nash’s Boys’ Preparatory School “Ashwick” in Barker’s Road Kew, during its existence from 1913-15 and Jack Robinson was an Assistant Master there, teaching for two years. Both these men rose to positions of considerable responsibility within the CIM.

Institutes like the MBI and its forerunners typically, in addition to a heavy emphasis on Bible studies, had practical components in their courses which helped teach students how to accommodate to open air preaching, home and hospital visits, religious instruction in schools and so on. The MBI two year course covered all the books of the Bible. Also included were such subjects as Church History, Doctrine, Elementary Psychology, English Grammar, Greek, Voice Production, Elementary Medical Knowledge, Book-keeping and many types of practical work. The majority of students did the full course, and thus graduated with a diploma if their demeanour and work were satisfactory. At the MBI, men’s practical work typically involved open air preaching, personal work, tract distribution, house visitation and State School Religious Instruction. MBI women’s practical work included Religious Instruction in State Schools, open air work with a particular focus on children, house to house visitation, mothers’ meetings and witnessing in depressed areas.
There is mention in the literature of other colleges which trained occasional CIM missionaries. In 1919-20 one of the successful male CIM candidates attended the Chapman-Alexander Bible Institute at 20 King William Road, North Unley, Adelaide, South Australia. Here a six term course extending over two years led to a diploma which embraced the subjects English, Bible Doctrine, Church History, Practical Work and Methods, the Principles and History of Christian Mission, Mission Biography, Phonetics, General Bible Studies, Bible Analysis, Homiletics, Psychology and the Art of Teaching, and some knowledge of medicine and surgery.

Charlie Frencham attended in 1928 and 1929 the Young Men’s Training Class, Churches of Christ, Melbourne, studying in both years Old Testament, New Testament and Homiletics. In addition to this grounding he also studied at the MBI.

The Perth Bible Institute trained four CIM candidates in the period 1929 to 1933. Subjects here included Bible studies and New Testament Greek.

Many who attended such courses felt that the medical side was underdone however, and those who were not trained nurses or doctors sometimes augmented Bible studies with training in First Aid, or through short quasi-apprenticeships in hospitals and/or dental clinics, with or without the encouragement of the Mission, sitting in as observers on tooth extractions, dressings, and minor surgery. One of the women MBI students in the 1930s used her vacations to undertake infant welfare work and midwifery at "The Haven" and some casualty work at Melbourne Hospital.

With the CIM emphasis on evangelism, however, training in
medicine was seen as very desirable but not absolutely essential, and, though candidates were expected to have it, it wasn’t mandatory, many not picking up medical skills until they had been in the field for some time. Towards the end of the CIM’s tenure in China, the Mission viewed with favour candidates’ completion of the short Inter-Varsity Fellowship medical course. Two CIM female candidates attended the course which began on 12 January 1949.

Up until the establishment of missionary colleges in Australia from 1892, it could be said that probably all missionaries who left our shores were undertrained. After the formation of those colleges, there was still an element of undertraining because of the lack of any particular focus on the field to which one was being sent, recognition of this deficiency inspiring the Candidates’ Course which did not, however, come on stream until 1948. Even after the colleges came into being there existed inequities in the curricula for men and for women, with the women being at a relative disadvantage. As Ros Gooden noted in a paper entitled "Early Missionary Training for Australian Baptist Women" delivered to the Evangelical History Association on 5 September 1997 -

as with the rest of society, the need for vocational training for women was seen as different from that for the men. In the wider society this was based on the assumption that women would marry and leave the work force, and most did. This assumption was not valid in overseas missions where a large percentage of ... missionaries remained in a life time of service but it did not change the patterns of training for the [female] Australians. They were for the most part untrained, or under trained for the
responsibilities of working overseas, and most reliance was placed on the two years of probation that they spent ... on arrival at their stations ...

This was to a large extent true of CIM women too, though it could be argued that as a number were trained nurses some, at least, were better medically equipped for overseas work than their menfolk. Also, unlike in Australia, marriage in the field did not end one’s career. Women missionaries after marriage were not necessarily relegated to the kitchen, the laundry or the nursery, as they had Chinese servants who assisted around the house, and the children, where present, eventually went to resident education at Chefoo, so that women might continue their missionary vocation after marriage in a markedly different way from what usually pertained at home. While undertraining in Australia on the basis of expected marriage and departure from the workforce had the potential to make women second-class missionaries all their working lives, most, however, picked up by experience whatever they lacked in preparation, and went on to become missionaries as effective as, or arguably in some cases better than their male counterparts. Their path to success, nonetheless, was more difficult than for the men, and they never rose to the highest positions in the Mission.

In terms of Biblical knowledge, most of the CIM missionaries who left Australia were well prepared for their evangelical task. They had also had a good grounding on the practical side of evangelism through Sunday School teaching, hospital and home visitation, religious instruction in schools and open air preaching. What they lacked, up until the advent of the Candidates’ course, was instruction specifically designed to prepare them for the
cultural differences with which they would shortly have to deal. To an extent their being accompanied by senior missionaries on the ship on the way to China helped with this problem, but it never fully overcame it. What they always lacked was some formal course which would adequately prepare them for the kind of medical situations with which they would be faced in the field. Those who took the IVF medical course in 1949 may have received training which went close to the mark, but prior to that, such knowledge as was picked up was generally ad hoc and unstructured except for those who had taken nursing certificates or medical degrees. In short, the home training was adequate in some areas, but less than satisfactory in others.

It is now worth examining the effects of this home training in the field.

Missionary training homes like Angas and the MBI appear to have been established because denominational institutions were concentrating more on the home pastoral and missions scene and less on the training of missionaries for foreign fields, and were catering for denominational, not interdenominational needs. In short, their focus was inwards rather than outwards. Initially there were several of these missionary training institutions throughout Australia, some of them evidently quite small, but from about 1920 onwards there are indications of rationalization and consolidation so that fewer and larger institutions emerged.

Assuming that this trend also occurred in other countries in which the CIM recruited, then, some statistics are available which can provide indications as to whether or not this rationalization, consolidation and accompanying formalization of training produced any discernible
improvement in field results. The assumption regarding the prevalence of the trend to consolidation is not far-fetched given that the area in which the CIM operated was something of a global village, in which happenings in one district strongly influenced what happened in others. The CIM was an international body whose tentacles reached into many other institutions world-wide, not least of which were missionary training homes, as these usually had at least informal connections with CIM home councils.

An alternative assumption is that the other CIM nations did not consolidate, rationalize and formalize home training across 1920, in which case differences in the preceding and succeeding decades' results in China should still have shown up because of changes which occurred in Australian home training, though the effects would be expected to be less because the Australian contingent comprised only about a tenth of the CIM's presence in China.

A third possible assumption is that the home training of other CIM nations actually fragmented and became less formalized across 1920, but this is so unlikely that it can to all intents and purposes be discounted.

Accordingly it is a fair assumption that, if present at all, effects in China consequent upon changes in Australian home training would show up in CIM-wide statistics.

Turning to the subject statistics, the numbers of Chinese the CIM baptised between 1910 and 1920 was 44,623 and, during that period an approximate average of 1039 missionaries was employed by the Mission, so that the conversion rate was 42.9 per missionary. Between 1920 and 1930, there were 49,517 baptisms, with an average of 1023.5 missionaries employed, so that the conversion rate was 48.4
per missionary. These figures show a lift of 5.5 baptisms per missionary in the second decade compared with the first. It is unlikely, however, that this lift in performance was solely owing to training.

Another possible cause, for example, was that a slight snowballing effect may have set in during the second period, with more people in the church attracting more people to it. Communicants in fellowship numbers certainly rose throughout the period, with 25,155 communicants in fellowship in 1910, 53,860 in 1920 and 74,160 in 1930 so that such an explanation for the slight rise in the baptismal rate is at least consistent with the figures.

However, the communicants in fellowship figures themselves are a possible source from which some tentative conclusions about the efficacy of home training may be derived. Communicants in fellowship rose 28,525 between 1910 and 1920 but only 20,500 between 1920 and 1930. The rate of increase in communicants in fellowship per missionary was 27.5 between 1910 and 1920 but only 20 per missionary between 1920 and 1930. Were training the only factor involved, these figures would provide a contra-indicator for the efficacy of training. While more people were baptised per missionary in the second decade, there was a decrease in communicants in fellowship per missionary in the same ten years. In other words, though new members were increasing, the dropout rate among older members was also increasing and at a higher rate. The church needed revival as well as outreach, but the CIM’s workers were more skilled in the latter than the former. Few had the fire of the revivalist and there was little in their training which would have fueled any spark they possessed. Getting converts was one thing; keeping them was another.
Training at Yangchow and Anking would have to be taken into account in any attempt to isolate differences in field results which may have been attributable to better home training. There is no indication, however, that training at Yangchow and Anking underwent any startling metamorphoses from the 1920s to the 1930s, and it seems that its influence on the before and after figures, if any, would have been negligible.

Another factor which could have influenced the rate of growth figures in the two periods is differences in the political situation in the two decades. Though lawlessness was characteristic of both periods, there was relatively stable government from 1912, after the revolution had bedded down, to 1915 when centralized government collapsed. In the second decade the missionaries were withdrawn from their stations from April 1927 for about 18 months, and the performance of the Chinese Church in this period without the guiding hand of the missionary was patchy. Taken together, these factors would favour a greater rate of church growth in the first decade, and this certainly held true for communicants in fellowship.

The differences in the political situations in the two decades examined are probably sufficient in themselves to explain the differences in church growth across the two periods. All in all, the figures do not sustain an argument that improvements in home training in Australia and possibly other CIM countries commencing in about 1920 increased church growth in the field. The effect, on the basis of the figures cited, is more likely to have been about neutral.

Of course, not all beneficial effects of missionary training would be picked up in baptismal or communicants in
fellowship figures anyway. The Mission's impact in the fields of medicine, education, hygiene, women's liberation, literacy, footbinding, disaster relief and in the breaking down of superstition and idolatry was considerable, as a wealth of anecdotal evidence contained in this thesis attests. The numbers of schools, hospitals, clinics, leprosaria, orphanages, institutions for the blind, and opium refuges give some indications of successes in a few of these fields, but there are no statistics on many of them.

In some of these fields the Mission's success owed less to CIM home training than to professional training in medicine, pharmacy, nursing and teaching which candidates had pursued before even presenting as missionary candidates. The Mission's successes here lay more in judicious recruitment than in home training. In other fields, the advantages of coming from a country where the general level of education was higher, conditions were more hygienic, superstition and idolatry were not a way of life, women were more liberated, there was no footbinding, and public institutions to assist the sick and the needy were a tradition, played a part in missionary achievements to which home training could claim little contribution.

As to the effect of the training on the missionaries themselves, there is ample evidence from the testimonials of missionary probationers that their time at the MBI was a highlight and a turning-point in their lives. The feeling of being in a big, happy family (later, too, almost universally said of time spent at Yangchow, Anking and in the CIM itself) is often expounded, as well as acknowledgement of the increased knowledge of God's Holy Word obtained while there. The Rev C H Nash, Principal of the MBI for two decades from 1920, in his references for
successful CIM candidates, almost invariably referred to the candidate’s ability to get along with fellow students and staff as well as to more obvious things like their academic success or lack of it. Clearly it was important, once missionaries reached the field, that they got along well with fellow missionaries and their Senior Missionaries. Their Junior and Senior Missionary Certificate reports always commented on this aspect of their performance, and the granting of their certificates could be held up were this facet of their activities unsatisfactory.

Unfortunately, MBI references for unsuccessful CIM candidates have not survived, only those for some successful candidates, and consequently analysis of the part played in the recruitment process by inability to get on with other people cannot be explored in any great detail. Nevertheless, it was considered important enough for Nash to mention, and few of the candidates who were chosen presented as weak in this regard, though their subsequent behaviour in the field did not always bear out initial impressions. It would be fair to say, however, that it usually did. The Australasian Council would be choosing at its peril, candidates whom Nash had indicated had problems relating to cohorts and mentors. Living for up to two years in a confined community, studying together, worshipping together, visiting together and preaching and teaching together, helped candidates learn to get along with each other and forged bonds and developed feelings of fellowship which lasted throughout a missionary’s working career and beyond. This part of their education was considered so essential that MBI diplomas were not awarded to students who had successfully completed the coursework.
but had not taken the course on a residential basis. \footnote{107}

In summary, there are three aspects of assessing CIM missionary home training which appear to require particular attention, the results in terms of converts in the field, the effects in other areas of Chinese life, and the changes in the missionaries themselves.

Firstly, in terms of baptisms in the field and communicants in fellowship, the indications are that rationalization and consolidation with accompanying formalization of training from 1920 had little effect on the conversion rates or retention rates of Chinese, though aspects of the training may have accounted at least in part for the high attrition rates. Secondly, the effects on other areas of Chinese life appear to have owed more to other factors than to home training either before or after 1920. Thirdly, and finally, in the arena of changes in the missionaries themselves the results are more self-evident, with training in the MBI, the main institutional missionary source, not only providing thorough Biblical knowledge and good practical experience but also forging bonds of friendship and feelings of fellowship which lasted for decades and helped missionaries endure the many and varied hardships they faced while pursuing their evangelistic endeavours amongst the largely unconverted masses in China. \footnote{108}

\footnote{It is true, however, throughout the history of Christian missions, that there have been missionaries who have had difficulty getting along with others of their own race but who have got along perfectly well with people of other cultures. In the CIM, those who may have had difficulty relating to fellow missionaries or superiors could usually have been moved to stations which only required a married couple or a single European missionary to run them, and in this way contact with other Western missionaries would be minimised and potential problems largely obviated.}

\footnote{If the forging of links with other missionaries was the primary purpose of enhanced training, then it might be contended that it was successful despite its lack of positive effects on communicants in fellowship results in the field. The Mission would, of course, have hoped that the creation of feelings of fellowship amongst its missionaries would have led to more conversion and retention}
2.5 The Australian CIM Female Missionary Context

A number of features of Australian CIM female missionary life which were distinct from those of the men are set out below.

2.5.1 Inferior Training

To teach the missionaries the Chinese language and some rudimentary appreciation of the country, its people and their culture, training schools were set up in Gan-k'ing (Province of Gan-hwuy) [modern-day Anqing (Anhui)] for men and in Yang-chau (Province of Kiang-su) [modern-day Yangzhou (Jiansu)] for women, and these places were where the Australians undertook their initial training in China. After several months in these schools, they were posted and continued their studies in the field.

The CIM training courses for men and women set out in the 1891 version of The Principles and Practice, and the arrangements of the China Inland Mission 100 (the respective courses are shown at Appendix II) differed in many respects, and these differences are set out below:

Linguistic knowledge

(a) Men were expected to learn the Mandarin Primer during the first two sections of the course; it was spread out over the first three sections for the women;

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100 China Inland Mission, Proof of Tentative Revision of the Principles and Practice, and the Arrangements of the China Inland Mission, (Shanghai: CIM, 1891)
(b) Men were to learn The Sacred Edict (Mandarin) in the course of the first three sections - women were given five sections to master it;

(c) In the course of Sections 2 to 6, men were expected to become familiar with eleven Mandarin publications of Dr John's. Women were only expected to acquaint themselves with four of the tracts absorbed by the men, and not until Section 4, the same tracts having been absorbed by the men in Section 3;

(d) Men had to learn Martin's Evidences of Christianity (Mandarin), the first part in Section 4, the second in Section 5 and the last in Section 6. Women were only exposed to one part, the first, in Section 6, destined to remain blissfully ignorant of the other two parts unless they digested them outside the examination system by private study;

(e) Men were to write from memory the characters of the 18 Provinces and their capitals in Section I, while women were only expected to write from memory the names of the 18 Provinces and their capitals in Romanised Mandarin;

(f) At the end of Section 2 men were to write from memory a list of all the books of the Old Testament in Romanised Mandarin while women were only deemed capable of writing from memory the names of the Books of the Old Testament from Genesis to Psalms in Romanised Mandarin;

(g) Following Section 2, men were expected to "In examination analyse the first 100 different characters in first chapter of Mark, and tell from memory the
radical and phonetic. Also give the number of each radical found in the said 100 characters." Women did not have to know any of this.

(h) During the Fourth Section, men were to master the Collection of Famous Sayings, The Thousand Character Classic and the Great Learning with Commentary, during the Fifth Section Confucian Analects, with Commentary and The Book of Rewards with Commentary, and, in the Sixth Section The Gospel of Luke (Delegates Version), Mencius, with Commentary, and The Doctrine of the Mean, with Commentary, to none of which the women were exposed.

These illustrations clearly show that men's linguistic skills were expected to be better than women's.

**Geographical Knowledge**

It is clear also, that men's geographical knowledge was expected to be better than women's (even though examination of postings shows that women were as mobile as men) -

Men, for example, during Section 1 were to "Give the boundaries of China Proper and each of the 18 Provinces". Women weren't expected to be able to do this.

**Historical Knowledge**

Men's historical knowledge, as exemplified in Section 3, was also expected to be in advance of their womenfolk's. Men, for instance, were, "In examination [to] give details regarding all the CIM stations [underlining mine] - date of opening and history, also write from memory the names in Chinese characters, if obtainable" while women were only
expected to "In examination give details regarding all the CIM Stations of the Province in which the Missionary is residing [underlining again mine], date of opening and history, also write from memory the names in Chinese characters, if obtainable".

Further, men in the Fourth Section were to write in English a brief history of the Mission. Women were not examined on this point.

Administrative Knowledge

Men's administrative knowledge, as illustrated in Section 3, was also expected to be more thorough than that of women. Men were asked to pass an examination on the CIM Principles and Practice, and Instructions for Senior Missionaries, whereas women were only expected to pass an examination on the CIM Instructions for Senior Missionaries.

General Knowledge

Men's general knowledge was expected to be more thorough than that of the women - while men were required to pass an examination on all pages from 1 to 45 of "China's Spiritual Need and Claims", women were only deemed capable of covering pages 20 to 45 all at once.

Employment-specific Aspects

There were elements of the course which were employment-specific.

In the Second Section, men were to hold a conversation of not less than 15 minutes with a Chinese Teacher before an
examiner and to give a short gospel address before an Examiner while women were to know Mrs Nevis' Catechism and to conduct a Bible class with women before an Examiner. In the Sixth Section, men were to write a sermon on a given text in Romanised Mandarin, or Character, and to preach to Chinese Christians another sermon before an Examiner, whereas women were required to conduct a service for women before an Examiner.

Interestingly, both women and men were to pass an examination on the CIM Instructions for Lady Evangelists, Associates, and Superintendents. Clearly women needed to know this information so that they could operate correctly within the CIM system: men could only have needed to know this data because they were being groomed for positions where they would need to supervise female staff. There was no specifically identified reverse arrangement which would have suggested that the organization was contemplating scenarios where women might supervise men.

In this context, it is also worth observing that the "Suggestions" part of the course attached to the men's version. Women were even less expected than the men to become familiar with local custom, religions, history and civil and educational systems.

Though there were areas of similarity between the men's and women's courses, the disparities, which clearly show that the men's course was academically superior, suggest a number of possibilities:

(i) that women were trained for a different kind of work from that of men (defined as "work among the Chinese women") and that that type of work did not require as rigorous an academic preparation as that required by the
men; or

(ii) that the nature of women's work in China from the start was such that they would not have the same amount of time as men to devote to study and consequently could not be expected to take on an academic course having the same degree of difficulty; or

(iii) that men were being prepared for higher positions in the CIM hierarchy to which women would not be expected to aspire, and would therefore not need the more extensive training required by men; or

(iv) that women were intellectually inferior (or more educationally disadvantaged) than men, and, accordingly, could not be expected to successfully take on the same rigorous level of academic preparation as their male counterparts.

Each of these possibilities deserves some analysis.

Regarding (i), it has to be borne in mind that a sexual division of labour in the field was rendered a virtual necessity because of Chinese (and, to a lesser extent, European) attitudes about the free association of single women and men. As Lydia Martin, a CIM missionary from Victoria observed in a letter of 4 November 1893: 119

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We never talk to men, so when one man, who was rather a bother, wanted to discuss foreign and Chinese doctrines, I thought it best to retire for two reasons: because it is not etiquette to talk to men, and because my Chinese is by far too
superficial for any such use.

Why this requirement should underpin an argument for a lesser level of education for women missionaries is harder to fathom unless one makes the assumption that Chinese women were intellectually inferior (or at least more educationally disadvantaged) than Chinese men and therefore required a simpler message and approach. Conversions were more typically achieved through the head of the family (the father) reaching conviction and members of the family following suit than by an approach through its female members. The possibility of women members influencing the decision of the father to become a Christian was evidently given some credibility by the mission authorities, as they at least accorded women’s work some value in their evangelistic methodology. But Christianity’s major breeding ground in China was among the more disadvantaged and less literate of its people, and it is difficult to sustain an argument for a lower level of education for women missionaries when male and female converts alike tended to come from the poorly educated or uneducated classes. It is factual, however, that much fewer Chinese girls received formal education than Chinese boys, even among these classes, so that the men, in general, would have been better educated than the women. Given this factor though, it could be argued that because Chinese women required more education than the men because of their comparative educational disadvantage, missionary women should have had superior training to the men.

If (ii) were true, it would only be so because women were purposely diverted from their studies specifically to gain hands-on experience as they went along - analogous to their taking out an apprenticeship while the men took out a degree - to be nurses rather than doctors, sub-
professionals rather than professionals. In this connection it is relevant to note in The Principles \footnote{CIM, 1891, Op. cit., p. 38} that, along with studying the language and a smattering of other things at Yang-chau immediately following their arrival in China, women missionaries were expected to "take an interest in the work among the women". Had a prior decision to divide women's time between study and work not been made, then they would have had the same time to devote to Chinese language, geography and history as the men. In itself, this part-time occupation with 'women's work' could establish no basis for the women missionaries' course being inferior to the men's.

(iii) If (iii) were true, this would establish, in itself, that women were regarded as inferior to men. The situation in relation to positions higher up in the CIM hierarchy, whether abroad or at home, was that women did not attain such placements. In the 74 years 1890-1964 not a single woman was ever elected to the Australian CIM Council in Melbourne. A few women (particularly widows of former office-holders) held positions of responsibility in regional Councils, but these, too, were almost completely male-dominated. The few references to field superintendents in Loane \footnote{Marcus L. Loane, The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1964, (Sydney: CIM/OMF, 1965)} are inevitably to males though women were eligible for such placements. This is especially significant because there were three women for every two men in the field. Loane does not disaggregate Australian and New Zealand statistics as a rule, so the above results are based on Australasian figures. Women did hold positions like Deputation Secretary, which involved a lot of hard work, which the men seem to have been happy to relinquish.
to them. Clearly women were not expected to aspire to the higher positions in the CIM, and a need for the same level of training for them may consequently not have been felt to have been established.

There is certainly some indication from an examination of the above possibilities that the basis for the different training for women lay primarily in (iv). Research does not indicate that the women who were accepted as missionaries were significantly more educationally disadvantaged than the men though they were generally a grade or two behind their male confreres. Accordingly it cannot reasonably be argued that on that basis they were not up to exposure to a course of equal standard to the men. The foregoing analysis therefore leaves more than a suspicion that what lay at the basis of the differential training was sexual discrimination, seemingly grounded in a belief that women were intellectually inferior to men.

The result of women's having less thorough training than men was that, effectively, a systemic 113 form of discrimination was built into CIM advancement arrangements - women did not start on a level playing field with men when competing for promotion because their training would have been known to be inferior by the Boards which made decisions in relation to advancement. These Boards were all-male and were kept that way by the perpetuation of earlier discrimination.

Even though changes to the course had been made by 1932, the women were still left less trained than the men. In a circular letter of 28 June 1932 the American CIM missionary

113 That is, a form of discrimination built into the system itself; in this case, within the advancement arrangements.
Esther (Ess) Nowack reported that

The China Inland Mission requires its women missionaries to take four [Chinese language] examinations and its men six. This covers the work of a primer and most of the Bible besides other classical writings. ¹¹⁴

This situation was confirmed by a letter of Amy Moore's dated 5 August 1934 in which she observed that

Perce & I are writing our Fourth Exams on Tues, Wed & Thurs ... It will be a relief to have my 4th off & I will feel then as if I can give more time to outside work. Poor old Perce still has two to do of course & he says if I don't keep him up to the mark he will never get them done. ¹¹⁵

Both of them had to undertake oral examinations some weeks after completing their written examinations.

The discriminatory attitude of the CIM administration towards missionary women in China illustrated above had similarities with attitudes prevalent in the Australian community of that time. Discrimination was still alive and well there throughout the period of activity of Australian CIM missionaries in China. Despite the opening up of the municipal, State and Federal franchises, the bar, the judiciary and university education to women in the period 1861 to 1924, women did not begin to fill official positions in any stratum of government until 1920 (not

¹¹⁴ Circular letter from Esther Nowack, Lian(g)chow, Kansu dated June 28, 1932 located amongst correspondence to her family from the Australian CIM missionary Amy Moore née Weir, p. 1

¹¹⁵ Letter from Amy Moore née Weir to her family dated 5 August 1934, Sising, p. 1
until 1943 in the Federal arena), and it was not until the 1960s that the first woman judge, the first woman stipendiary magistrate, the first woman to become head of a co-educational high school and the first woman professor emerged. As Encel, Mackenzie and Tebbutt 116 concluded - "From this catalogue of slow, gradual and partial change, it may be seen that the equalization of women's rights in the public sphere has entailed the progressive eradication of the basic common law assumption that women are inferior creatures". In view of their low representation in the upper levels of both public and private sector management today, it can be argued that this assumption still persists.

What made the situation of women in the CIM more reprehensible, however, was the fact that the Mission was credited with an enlightened view about women. It was a view which was not particularly borne out in practice, though in a relative sense it may well have been better than many other institutions of the time.

In this connection it is pertinent to observe that discriminatory attitudes also existed in the Evangelical movement of the times in Great Britain as well as in the secular community there, where it took agitation from 1851 to 1928 to obtain women's suffrage. In bursts of revivalism which affected evangelicalism in Britain, particularly within Methodism, female ministry had been common, both at the time of the early Primitive Methodists in the opening decades of the nineteenth century and again in the 1850s, justified on the grounds that extraordinary measures were needed in extraordinary times. However, there was a

tendency, once the hue and cry had subsided, for women to resume their accustomed supportive rather than leadership role.

Far more prevalent, and more enduring, was the niche carved for women by such organizations as London's Christian Instruction Society, founded in 1825, which had them serving as voluntary visitors to groups of families, distributing tracts, fostering churchgoing and advising the minister of needy cases. From 1857 these volunteers were supplemented by Mrs Ranyard's Bible women, full-time, lower class, paid visitors targeted at their social equivalents. The nature of their work, also, remained subsidiary to that of the dominant males.

Bebbington describes the general situation in the nineteenth century thus:

At a time when respectability (often reinforced by Evangelical arguments) closely circumscribed the role of women, church work was one of their few outlets. Although Sunday School teachers were overwhelmingly male in the early nineteenth century, they were chiefly female by its end. Philanthropy was a major channel for women's energies. Missionary support work, the YWCA, Christian Endeavour and the Student Volunteer Movement all springing from Evangelical soil, contributed to what one writer called the 'Epiphany of women'. Women could even occupy official positions - as deaconess in the Church of England from 1862, as preachers among the

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Quakers, the Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christians and as officers in the Salvation Army [where, by 1915, at least 50% were women]. It has been persuasively argued that Evangelical religion, despite its emphasis on the domestic role of women, was more important than feminism in enlarging their sphere during the nineteenth century. In the churches women of all classes found much to satisfy their aspirations.

While, as a result of the kinds of factor mentioned above there was, by the 1860s, considerable toleration of female preaching, women still had a long way to go to reach equality with men in the Evangelical movement at large despite their numerical superiority in many congregations from the beginning of the twentieth century, and such power as women possessed was sometimes exercised in less obvious ways than public preaching.

Louisa Hoare, a sister of Elizabeth Fry wrote influential handbooks on childcare, and Mrs Phoebe Palmer, though an American, through her writings and teaching exerted a profound influence on the holiness movement within British Methodism, and also inside the Salvation Army, within which William and Catherine Booth carried forward her precepts. Christabel Pankhurst, an ex-suffragette, published a number of premillenialist works from 1923. Women also contributed significantly to the hymnody of the holiness movement with Frances Havergal a leading figure.

The position of women was also strengthened by ladies' meetings at Mildmay Park in London from 1862 separate from the traditional annual Christian Conferences and by abolition of the gender bar at conventions subsidiary to the major annual Keswick Conventions begun in 1875 (at
which women were allowed to address only female gatherings).

While the Catholic Church had extended a measure of 'ordination' to Nuns for centuries, and the Salvation Army had had female ordination from its incorporation under that rubric in 1878, among the mainstream Protestant denominations, however, female ordination was late coming, the Congregationalists and Baptists being the only ones which had adopted the practice by 1930, two years after the Bill which gave equal franchise to British women passed the House of Lords. The Wesleyan Conference was not to implement female ordination until 1973, and controversy still rages in various sections of the Anglican church today on this issue. 128

Thus, at the time when Australian CIM missionary women were being trained at Yang-chau, while there had been some tradition of lay preaching by women within the British Evangelical movement to which the Australians now found themselves firmly attached, women were still not expected to aspire to the more responsible positions within its structure, and the kind of role which had been assigned to females in the Christian Instruction Society was, to a large extent, mutatis mutandis, transplanted from British

128 In deciding what is authoritative for Christians and what is not, mainstream religions have traditionally resolved the question by recourse to input from the Church, the Bible and the experience of Christians. Recognizing that the Bible does not always emerge above the other factors, it is nonetheless worth observing in relation to this issue that among the problems is a Biblical basis for women maintaining silence in the churches (I Corinthians 14: 34-35), not teaching but learning in silence (I Timothy 2: 11-12) and subordinating themselves to their husbands (Ephesians 5: 22-24, 33), all of which references are found in epistles of Paul the Apostle. As Kwok Fui Lan says, however, in "The Feminist Hermeneutics of Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza: An Asian Feminist Response," *The East Asia Journal of Theology*, 3, No. 2 [October 1985], p. 149, "Only those non-sexist traditions of the Bible and non-oppressive interpretations can have the theological authority of revelation if the Bible is not to be continued to [be used] as a tool for oppression of women."
to Chinese soil.

The major question which arises about missionary training, of course, is how well it prepared missionaries for the kind of work they were to undertake.

The answer must be well in some areas, not so well in others.

Insofar as the language was concerned, after four to six months in the Training Home at Yangchow (women) or Anking (men), most students emerged with a pass in their first sectional examination. They were then posted to various stations and continued their studies as time permitted, usually with the help of a Chinese teacher. The majority of the students had had little language training of any kind before, sometimes only had a meagre aptitude for languages, and found the going exceptionally hard. With perseverance and patient help, however, nearly all gained a good grasp of the language, and several went on to become excellent linguists. It can be said that as far as the language aspect of their training was concerned, missionaries were prepared well for their encounter with the Chinese. This was the primary purpose of the training, and that part was well catered for. The missionaries had to be able to communicate with the people they had come to evangelize.

In terms of theological apologia and Bible knowledge, the course was also comprehensive. Both the Old and New Testaments were covered, albeit with a principle slant towards the learning of Mandarin, and a range of tracts and books were studied which would be useful to the missionary in debating with and explaining to Chinese enquirers facets of Christian doctrine. Most missionaries had also received formal Bible training before they left the home countries,
in Australia the Melbourne Bible Institute having been prominent. They were well prepared for this aspect of their work.

A considerable proportion of the course was given over to an examination of Chinese geography, history, administration and, particularly in the men's course, to a study of the Chinese Classics. In the case of men, 22 of 63 items (35%) and in the case of women 14 of 48 items (29%) were devoted to such topics. The 22 items dealt with by men were probably sufficient to give enough background to enable them to engage in informed debate with the literati or gentry class, not that there is much evidence of that social category having displayed much interest in entering into dialogue with missionaries. The 14 such items covered by women were insufficient in themselves to allow women to engage in learned discussion about the Chinese Classics, but then few Chinese women were educated in the Classics anyway. All in all there was probably adequate training for both men and women in these topics to enable them to deal effectively with their target audiences. Anything lacking in this context could be picked up fairly quickly in the field. Given this initial preparation, a few missionaries progressed and became noted sinologists, with interests in geography, history, literature and anthropology.

Where the system tended to fall down was in relation to the "Suggestions" addendum to the course which took in such matters as beliefs and ceremonies connected with birth, death and marriage, superstitions and rites, the Chinese education system, more on administration, Chinese religions, popular ideas about life and death and more on history. It was hard enough to get missionaries to fulfil the requirements to continue to learn the language once they had left the cloisters of the Training Home, to keep
diaries, and to correspond regularly with their bases, without expecting them to take on extra work of a discretionary nature upon which they were never examined.

Fortunately, some of these items were picked up in day to day living with the Chinese, but others, especially details about Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, could not be absorbed by social osmosis, and their absence in the missionary's armoury could cause problems in relation to his/her ability to understand and effectively interact with the people s/he had come to evangelize.

2.5.2 Paternalism

An illustration of a degree of paternalism in relation to its women by the CIM is to be found in the context of the subject of hard and soft postings.

Well before the first Australian party arrived in 1890 it had become clear to C.I.M. missionaries and administrators that some Chinese provinces were harder to "work" than others. James Hudson Taylor spelled these out in 1894 in a letter "addressed to the friends assembled at the annual general meetings, June 12th, 1894", stating 119 that

Earnest and continued prayers are needed for some of the hard parts of the work. YUN-NAN has not yet begun to yield fruit as we would wish; KAN-SUH, too, is cause for much prayer - so large a part of the population being Hunanese makes the work very uphill and difficult. Mr Williamson is somewhat more cheered about the work in Fung-hwa

district [Cheh-kiang province]; but there is still much need of prayer, and among the places for which we would ask special prayer is the province of GAN-HWUY. It will not be forgotten by our friends that the increasingly strong wave of anti-foreign feeling in some districts - which issued last year in the murder of two Swedish missionaries in HU-PEH, and was very distinctly felt elsewhere - not only makes the work more difficult, but calls loudly for continued and earnest prayer that the lives of our beloved brethren and sisters labouring inland may be preserved ... ".

It would consequently be expected that postings within Yunnan, Kan-suh, Gan-hwuy and Hu-peh around 1894 would be considered hard.

Given the rather paternalistic view the CIM had towards its women missionaries as exemplified in the inferior training they received and in their relegation to "women's work" with all the condescension the term implied, it would be anticipated that there would be a tendency to keep women away from the trouble spots and to post them to 'soft' rather than 'hard' postings.

There were certainly particular posts throughout China which were normally run by women. There were also areas where female-run posts were concentrated. One such area of concentration is mentioned by Dr and Mrs Howard Taylor in their biography of James Hudson Taylor 120 thus -

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At this very time (1898-99) despite persecution and threatened danger, 250 converts were received into church membership in the women's stations on the Kwangsin River 121, while 1,000 enquirers were under instruction as candidates for baptism" (emphasis mine).

What is found in relation to the kind of expectations outlined above is that long-term women-run stations were not to be found in Yun-nan, Kan-suh or Hu-peh, three of the four provinces identified by Taylor as 'hard', in a period of four years either side of the time at which he was speaking (ie 1890-98). However, in Gan-Hwuy, the fourth of his 'hard' provinces, there were three long-term female-run stations: Ch'i-chau (1890-96 before becoming male-run in 1897), Ta-t'ung (1891-95 before becoming vacant and then disappearing from the listings) and Kien-Teh (1893-98, [before becoming vacant in 1899 and male-run in 1900]), so that a theory that women would not be permitted to run stations in hot spots receives some support, but is ultimately not fully established.

Quite apart from women-run stations, it might be anticipated that women at large might have been kept out of trouble spots. However, it is found that women were posted to stations in hard provinces, albeit generally under the protection of a male senior missionary. In this light Ethel Reid, an Australian woman missionary, writing from a post in Yun-nan Province, commented as follows:

This place, in fact the whole province, is noted for its hardness, and, oh! the women are so hard.

121 Kwangsi province. The Kwangsin (now Shanjiao ki) River flows into the Poyang Lake. Along its course lay women-run stations at Ke-ki, Ho-k'e, Kwang-feng and Ih-yang.
They will ask you in, but what you say seems to
roll off them. ... Mr Graham, who has been to Ta-
il [also Yun-nan Province] for a change, says
that that place is worse than this. At present
they have no work among the women, and sometimes
only two or three outsiders will come to the
services. I do count it an honour that the Lord
has seen fit to choose me for such a post." 122

Aside from any indications of paternalism in the allocation
of "hard" or "soft" postings, paternalistic references to
women are not hard to find in the missionary literature. An
Australian CIM missionary, writing to his parents on 3
January 1931, observed that

The opening of a new untouched place is
essentially a man’s job at the start until
premises can be rented and the confidence of the
people gained. Then the ladies can come along and
do a real work amongst the women and children. 123

This reflected the paternalistic attitudes of the time, but
there had been sufficient experience of women having
successfully opened stations by then to have given the lie
to this view. However, this missionary had only been in
China a couple of years at that stage, and such
developments may either have escaped his attention or been
set aside in favour of retaining cherished illusions about
feminine frailty. This missionary subsequently rose to
become one of the most powerful figures on the China

123 p. 3 of a copy of the letter in the author’s possession.
Council, injecting such prejudices (he also scoffed at "old maids") into the decision-making processes of that august body.

While European women were regarded with condescension, Chinese women were often viewed with ill-disguised contempt. The same missionary recounted a tale on 15 March 1931 of an incident where a cycling companion had an accident because of the poor pedestrian skills of a Chinese woman. He began the story with the following opening:

There were several well dressed, but as usual, stupid Chinese women waddling along the road.

Again, such views were scarcely worthy of a gentleman who was to rise to one of the top positions in the CIM hierarchy, but they were fairly prevalent, being also expressed by missionary women on the odd occasion.

Another aspect of paternalism was the evacuation of women and children in advance of the men whenever internal strife or warfare threatened or broke out in China. This policy was not only employed by the CIM and other missions, but also featured in diplomatic edicts which issued at such times. Men also returned to evacuated stations, following cessation of the crisis, in advance of women and children.

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CHAPTER 3
ASSESSMENT OF THE AUSTRALIAN MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTION TO
THE CIM EFFORT IN CHINA

3.1 Methods for measuring missionary achievement in China

How can the achievement of a Mission be measured? A head count of those baptized was consistently used by the missions themselves throughout their period of operation in China. However, any figure based on converts is always open to question because amongst the christened there were always those whose level of conviction was shallow, if not non-existent as in the case of those who were merely seeking sustenance or employment through the mission or the protection from civil law suits or ethnic persecution their affinity with missionaries afforded under the 'unequal' treaties.

The missionary definition of conversion was tied up with the candidate's demonstrating renunciation of idolatry and ancestor worship by destroying Confucian and Buddhistic images and their ancestral tablets, which many, despite their sincere adoption of Christianity as their preferred religion, were loath to do for fear of incurring the displeasure of other members of their family. Candidates were also to keep the sabbath, a requirement which in some cases threatened their livelihood, but stood as a barrier to their complete "conversion" in missionary terms. While therefore not accepted for baptism, these people would be classed by less rigid standards than those the missionaries applied, as Christians. There were also, undoubtedly, some Chinese whose religious allegiance was changed as a result of missionary literature who might never have seen a Christian missionary, and others by missionary itineration
who were never visited again.

On this latter score, Theodosia Sorenson, a CIM missionary from Tasmania, writing from Han-Chong on 7 June 1894, made the following comment:

... quite a crowd would collect. How many of these receive the truth is a question we shall never be able to answer here, but we believe there will be many standing at the right hand of God who have heard the truth and received it, and whose names have been written on no earthly church roll, but only in the Book of Life. 125

There is also evidence in relation to the former category. Oliver Burgess, a CIM missionary from Victoria in a diary entry dated 26 May 1894, wrote as follows:

At Kia Ho Kuan, one old lady professes faith in Christ, the result of our bookseller's work. 126

For reasons such as these, the convert figures, while admittedly inflated by the inclusion of some 'rice' Christians, were deflated by the exclusion of a number who had accepted Christianity but were not counted. It can therefore be concluded that there was some balancing out of these figures and that the convert statistics may be more accurate than at first imagined.

Be that as it may, convert totals alone are simplistic, giving no indication of returns achieved against input


applied. Better are ratio analyses such as -

- converts per CIM missionary in the field;
- converts per $ expended on the missionary effort;
- converts as a percentage of the population (in particular towns, regions, provinces or the nation).

Ratio analyses excluding converts may also be of value, eg:

- walled cities or hsien occupied by missionaries as a proportion of total walled cities or hsien (in particular regions, provinces or the nation).

Comparing the efforts of different missionary groups in China using ratios like those above would produce relative indications of success, while longitudinal statistics could measure the comparative degrees of success of missionaries within different time-frames, eg by decade. Similar approaches might be used to compare the relative effectiveness of different stations within a particular missionary group.

Outside of these quantitative measures of success there are a number of qualitative measures which might be employed to gain an insight into the degree of success.

Cynics might argue that the inability of missions to achieve the wholesale conversion of China was a resounding success in that it allowed traditional Chinese beliefs and customs to survive longer than they otherwise would have done, untainted by Christian contaminants, or because it did not successfully withstand Communism, which has arguably done more for the Chinese people in four decades
than the Christians achieved in more than ten 127, or because it carried elements of westernization which helped make China a modern secular nation. It is not within the scope of this thesis to pursue such corollaries, but there are other avenues worthy of exploration.

For example, were the missionaries successful in overcoming obstacles placed in their way by distance, topography, the scheming of the literati, the unhelpfulness of the civil authorities, the attacks of the Chinese people when aroused by superstition, anti-foreign propaganda, or understandable resentment at Western interference in Chinese affairs? Could the relatively small body of missionaries working in China ever have reached the ears of all its citizens? Did they exert a christianizing influence far beyond the small numbers of converts they could claim? Were there particular geographical areas where their success was outstanding and enduring? Did they achieve lasting rather than evanescent effects upon China? Such questions are addressed in this chapter.

Yet another approach, which does not employ objective standards, is to take what the missionaries regarded as their objectives and to see to what extent they reached them. Mott 128 put them thus:

... the evangelization of the world ... does not

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127 As Chaou-Seng Song in his "New China and Salvation History: A Methodological Enquiry", (Kosuka Koyama [Ed], The South East Asia Journal of Theology, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1974, Singapore, p. 62) puts it - "the Chinese Communist Party seems to have achieved what institutionalised religions have failed to achieve, namely, a society in which poverty, starvation and exploitation can no longer be tolerated as a fate for the masses of Chinese peasants. The Chinese revolution is instrumental in rendering asunder the chains of fatalism."

mean the conversion of the world. Our part consists in bringing the Gospel to bear on unsaved men. ... We have no warrant for believing that all who have the Gospel preached to them will accept it. On the other hand, however, we have a right to expect that the faithful preaching of the Gospel will be attended with conversions. ... We are not responsible for the results of our work, however, but for our fidelity and thoroughness.

In terms of China then, the missionary task was to reach the ears, but not necessarily the hearts, of its people. It was also to create a self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating Chinese Church, and this point is taken up at part 3.1.7 below.

Before examining some of these yardsticks for measuring missionary success or the lack of it, it is worthwhile assessing the longevity of service of Australian missionaries in the 1888-1953 period, since, while missionary time expended is not a reliable indicator of success, it is a necessary precursor to any success at all.

*Longevity of Australian missionaries' service*

In studying this aspect of missionary life, the author has not included in the sample those who died rather than retired, since there was no element of choice about length of service in the cases of those who passed away while still at work. What the figures used therefore pick up are the lengths of time missionaries, of their own volition, chose to serve in China. For the purposes of this exercise, then, 183 Australian missionaries are included in the sample.
The longest-serving Australian in this group was Emma McIntyre (née Spiller) who served in China for 43 years. Next, and the longest-serving male, was Peter Olesen, who put in 42 years there. Robert Mathews contributed 40 years and Jane Bevis (née Kidman) 38.

Of the 183, 27.3% served 1-5 years, 23.0% 6-10 years, 12.0% 11-15 years, 15.8% 16-20 years, 9.8% 21-25 years, 3.3% 26-30 years, 4.9% 31-35 years, 2.2% 36-40 years and 1.1% 40-43 years. 50.3% served from 1-10 years and 49.7% from 11-43 years. The average sojourn of CIM Australians in China was 13 years 3 months, and the median 10 years, the difference here being due to the preponderance of lengths of service which were over rather than under the midpoint of 10 years. The range was 1-43 years. The average length of mission service in China for all Protestant missions was reckoned in 1924 to be 10 years 129. In the same year the average for the CIM as a whole was said to be 18 years, well beyond the Protestant average.

Those whose service was 5 years or less would have been disappointing to the CIM, as it usually took 5 years to reach full proficiency in the language, and the input of these workers would, with some exceptions, have therefore been less than optimal. 27.3% fell in this less satisfactory category, but 72.7% in the group with a more acceptable length of service.

The single most prominent (modal) group, however, were those with service of only a year, and 8.2% were in this category. Most of these would have been candidates cherishing romantic notions (not picked up by the

Australasian Council at interview) about life in China who became quickly disillusioned when confronted with the squalor, the ignorance, the superstition, the 'immorality', the language, the opposition and the almost overwhelming indifference of the Chinese to the Christian message.

All in all, however, the group of 72.7% which put in 6 years or more in China, could be said to have provided a fairly sound base for steady missionary progress by the Australian contingent.

Now let us turn to some of the direct measures of missionary success.

3.1.1 Official ("walled") cities occupied by missionaries as a proportion of total official cities

Between March 1902 and December 1903 the CIM in its China's Millions (Australasian Edition) ran a series of articles on the various provinces of China. These gave the number of "walled" or "official" cities in each province and indicated those in which the CIM and/or other Protestant societies had stations. These "official" cities incorporated for administrative purposes the surrounding market and country towns. The presence of a Protestant mission in one of these Fu (Prefectures), T'ing (Sub-Prefectures), Chau (Departments), H(s)ien (Districts) and/or treaty ports accordingly put them at the hub of a region which could extend for hundreds of square miles around the centre, into which they could gradually spread the gospel by itineration and the establishment of outstations/semi-autonomous churches.

From such a centre, the mission station therefore had the capacity eventually to steep in the gospel message the
district the walled city controlled including towns, villages and hamlets. Accordingly the number of walled cities occupied as a proportion of the total walled cities existing, provides a rough guide to the extent to which missionaries had penetrated China with the gospel message. It is not a measure of converts, but of the proportion of the population which would have heard the gospel, on the majority of whom it had little impact.

Table 4 indicates the extent of this penetration as at 1902/3, for the CIM and for all Protestant missions. The overall penetration of China by the CIM on this measure was then only 10.2% (or 11.9% in the 15 provinces in which it was actually working) and by all Protestant missions only 21.3%. The highest CIM provincial penetration was in Cheh-kiang, where it had reached, by this yardstick, 33.3% of the people or 1 in 3. The maximum provincial penetration for all Protestant missions on this measure was 57.3% in Fuh-kien.

While it may be argued that this measure underestimates because of its failure to count some market and country towns where the CIM had stations and to take into account the longer itinerations, it can equally be argued that it overestimates since saturation in some of the bigger districts would have been difficult to achieve. It is believed that these factors would tend to cancel each other out and that the measure does provide a crude indication of gospel penetration. To give an example of the kind of spread which could be achieved from a single centre, at a meeting of local church adherents held in Lu-chau (Sichuen) on 19 April 1902, it was found that six cities

Table 4

Gospel Penetration of China by CIM and all Protestant Societies (including the CIM) based on Official Cities Occupied as at 1902-3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>CIM</th>
<th>All Protestant Societies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Official/Total Penetration (%)</td>
<td>Official/Total Penetration (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cities Occupied Cities</td>
<td>Cities Occupied Cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheh-kiang</td>
<td>25/75 33.3</td>
<td>28/75 37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan-si</td>
<td>28/109 25.7</td>
<td>44/109 40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiang-si</td>
<td>17/78 21.8</td>
<td>22/78 28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shen-si</td>
<td>18/97 18.6</td>
<td>19/97 19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gan-hwuy</td>
<td>11/60 18.3</td>
<td>16/60 26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan-suh</td>
<td>9/73 12.3</td>
<td>14/73 19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si-chuen</td>
<td>16/140 11.4</td>
<td>22/140 15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiang-su</td>
<td>6/59 10.2</td>
<td>19/59 32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwei-chau</td>
<td>5/56 8.9</td>
<td>5/56 8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho-nan</td>
<td>9/107 8.4</td>
<td>14/107 13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu-nan</td>
<td>4/74 5.4</td>
<td>7/74 9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yun-nan</td>
<td>3/73 4.1</td>
<td>5/73 6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu-peh</td>
<td>2/69 2.9</td>
<td>24/69 34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chih-ii</td>
<td>4/146 2.7</td>
<td>16/146 11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan-tung</td>
<td>2/109 1.8</td>
<td>20/109 18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuh-kien</td>
<td>-/61 -</td>
<td>35/61 57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuang-si</td>
<td>-/68 -</td>
<td>3/68 4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwang-tung</td>
<td>-/92 -</td>
<td>16/92 17.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Chinese Provinces: 159/1544 10.3 329/1544 21.3

Note: These official (often referred to as "walled") cities comprise Fu, T'ing, Chau, H(s)ien and Treaty Ports.
and fifteen towns were represented. A further example comes from Mr W Westwood, an Australian missionary who wrote from Lu’han-cheo, An Huei in September 1902 stating that some of those on the church roll

... live 30, 45, 70 and even 140 miles from Luh-an.

Besides the central station where we live, we have one out-station 30 miles south-west, two more 45 miles south-east (13 miles apart) and two Christian families 30 miles west, as well as one female member 30 miles north. There are many requests also for us to open up halls in every direction, and even as far as 120 miles south-west.

... every two or three miles there are villages where the message can be proclaimed, and tracts, &c., sold. We shall thus be doing pioneer as well as settled work, and help to hasten the coming of the Lord Jesus. 131

Translating the official cities occupied measure into population reached, we would find that about 37 million people had been reached by the CIM by 1902/3, of which only a small fraction were convinced and became Christian adherents. Australians were present in many of these official cities and played an important role in this penetration.

3.1.2 Comparison of CIM conversion rates per missionary with other Protestant missionary societies in China

In assessing the success or otherwise of the CIM, one yardstick which can be used is a comparison with other Protestant missionary societies in China.

Figures minuted at the Shanghai Conference of 1907 and subsequently published in the *China's Millions* (Australasian Edition) of 1 September 1907 showed that there were 3,833 missionaries in China in the year 1906 and a baptised Christian community in the same year of 178,251. Other statistics published in the same volume show that the CIM accounted for 875 of the 3,833 and 19,969 of the 178,251. It is consequently possible to compare baptised communicant per missionary rates for the CIM compared with all other Protestant societies in China. The CIM had a conversion rate of $19,969/875 = 19.4$ per missionary and all other Protestant societies $161,282/2,858 = 56.4$, the overall rate being 46.5.

There are a number of factors which bear on the 2.9 times better figure for all other Protestant societies:

- the CIM was pioneering new areas whereas many other societies were working in well-evangelized areas like Kwangtung, Fukien and Kuangsi. The importance of this factor becomes apparent when we note that in 1910 the CIM figure had risen to 24.75, by 1920 to 48.46, by 1930 to 78.89 and by 1937 to 70.72;

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132 Vol. XXXIII, No. 9, Supplement, p. 1
133 Supplement, p. 8
the CIM was less interested in institutional work than many other societies. Medical work, in particular, was a special emphasis of several other societies. In 1906 the CIM had only 18 qualified doctors in the field or only 2.1% of its total missionary staff; and

the CIM was more fundamentalist than many other societies and its screening of baptismal candidates accordingly tighter.

Further comparative statistics of similar kind released in 1911 revealed that the CIM church member per missionary rate was 1 missionary : 11.4 church members in 1899 compared with an all other Protestant Chinese Missions rate of 1: 62.9, the overall rate being 1 : 32.8; and 1 : 22.6 in 1909 compared with an all other Protestant Chinese Missions rate of 1 : 51.9, the overall rate being 45.6.

Statistics for 1920 appearing in The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey produce a communicants per missionary rate of 54.2 for the CIM (48.46% calculated directly from CIM statistics - see above) compared with a rate of 60.0 for all other Protestant missionary Societies in China. There were 4 missionaries per station in the CIM compared with 6.5 for other Protestant missions in China, whereas the CIM had 1.6 outstations per missionary compared with 0.9 for other Protestant missions. These figures reflect the CIM's concentration on outreach activities while other missions tended to consolidate in fewer centres. Other figures demonstrating this phenomenon are those which show that the CIM had 0.2 Sunday Schools per

124 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1911, p. 27
125 Shanghai, 1922, Appendix II, xl
missionary compared with 1.1 in other Protestant missions. The respective ratios for Sunday School pupils were 8.2 and 48.1, and for Sunday School teachers 0.4 and 2.3. Clearly, on these figures, other missions were becoming more involved in consolidating at stations where they had already built up bands of followers, while the CIM was still significantly involved in outreach. Because of this pioneering aspect of their work, it is not surprising that Chinese contributions for church work were $45.4 per missionary in the CIM compared with $147.2 per missionary in the other Protestant missions in China.

In 1935 there were 62.8 communicants per missionary in the CIM compared with 90.9 in all other Protestant missionary societies in China, reflecting the CIM's greater involvement in working the more remote areas, the overall rate being 84.2. There were 2.8 Chinese evangelical workers per missionary in the CIM and 2.7 in all other Protestant missionary societies, indicating that the CIM was as capable of or even slightly better at attracting Chinese workers than other Protestant societies. There were 0.3 resident mission stations per missionary in the CIM (or one station per 3.8 missionaries) compared with 0.2 (or one station per 5.2 missionaries) in other Protestant missionary societies. This reflected the nature of the CIM's work, where they had many small stations in the forefront of their expansion, whereas other societies were more inclined to consolidate in a relatively fewer number of stations, many of them in major centres. In the CIM there were 0.9 organized churches per missionary and in other Protestant missionary societies 1.2. Here again, the telling factor was concentration of other Protestant missionary societies in heavily evangelised districts, with the CIM trying to open up new churches in remote and
previously little-evangelized areas.  

3.1.3 **Comparison of CIM evangelistic effort with other Protestant missionary societies in China**

During the China Centenary Missionary Conference, held in Shanghai from 25 April to 8 May 1907, it was divulged that less than one half of the whole of the missionary staff in China was then engaged in direct evangelistic work, the remainder being given over to medical, literary and philanthropic aspects.

It was acknowledged that this proportion was far too small, but that the ratio would have been even less impressive had it not been for the importance which the CIM placed upon evangelistic as compared with institutional work. Leaving aside the wives of missionaries (1,035), which it was contended would not alter the ratio, there were 560 out of 678 (82.6%) CIM missionaries in direct evangelistic work compared with only 600 out of 1,758 (34.1%) in all other Protestant societies. It was reckoned, however, that a further force of 3,200 men and 1,600 women was required within the next ten years to make an effective forward movement, and it was hoped that within a few years they would be co-operating with 150,000 Chinese evangelists, upon whom the work of evangelizing China would chiefly devolve.  

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236 These figures are derived from Columba Carey Elwes' *China and the Cross: Studies in Missionary History*, (London: Longmans, 1957), pp. 294-295

3.1.4 Comparison with other Protestant missionary societies in China of CIM rates of expenditure per missionary and adherent in US

A global survey of missions in 1935-36 produced statistics which allow some light to be shed in this area. The CIM had 1,348 missionaries at that time and directed $818,777 to their support. All other Protestant missions had 4,399 missionaries with $3,933,609 devoted to their sustenance. These figures show that the CIM was expending approximately $607 per missionary per annum compared with the all other Protestant missionary society rate of about $894, indicating (as has been noted before) that the CIM expected its missionaries to be more Spartan than members of many other missions. In terms of their "Work budgets," the CIM had $275,449 for 89,665 adherents and all other Protestant missions $1,798,663 for 598,099 adherents so that the CIM and all other Protestant missions were expending about $3 per adherent. Given that the CIM concentrated its efforts on the interior of China, and not on the more evangelised areas of the coast, the fact that it was able to match the other Protestant missionary societies in expenditure per adherent while paying its workers less, suggests that the CIM was more efficient than many other missions.

3.1.5 Individual efforts

Seldom are the statistical outcomes of individual missionaries' efforts recorded in the CIM literature, and

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even more rarely is there record of a statistical appraisal of a missionary’s work by a visiting member of the home staff of the Mission. Both these criteria were met, however, in a letter by Dr J J Kitchen describing the work of the Australian CIM missionary C N Lack in Yencheng (Honan). Amongst other observations, Kitchen records the following:

It is now seven years since this station was opened. What have the results been? ... Here in a few years, one hundred converts have been gathered in, with as many enquirers. ¹³⁹

It is true that conversion statistics varied from place to place depending on local conditions, but here, at any rate, is a clear statement that Lack, who started from scratch in Yencheng, had, by 1911, brought in a hundred converts through his management of the work there.

Rare also, was applause by British CIM officials for the work of Australian operators. Nonetheless, the work of Ms Pemberton, who was caring for over a hundred orphans upon her death was lauded by the Home Director in London, Mr Aldis, thus—

Australia has sent to China some splendid workers, but I do not think they have ever seen a finer woman than Miss Pemberton. ¹⁴⁰

Besides the noting of occasional encomiums in the

¹³⁹ CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol.XXXVIII, No. 1, CIM, Melbourne, 1 January 1912, Supplement p. 2

literature, it is possible, when missionaries have been in charge of particular stations for many years, to statistically analyse the performance of individual missionaries. Most Australians were shifted from station to station every few years. This was particularly true of unmarried missionaries, who were frequently used to fill short-term gaps in the field. Married women, though regarded as missionaries in their own right, were also viewed as serving a "helpmeet" role for their husbands; accordingly they are never shown as in charge of a station though they always appear in the pecking order as second in charge at stations run by their husbands. Further, many Australian missionaries did not become missionaries-in-charge of stations or only did so for short periods of time. Others were largely occupied with activities not directly evangelistic such as teaching missionary children or typing correspondence at the CIM's Shanghai field headquarters. Thus it is only the occasional male missionary and very occasional female missionary who has the necessary statistical accompaniments to allow sensible assessment of their contributions.

One such is Charles Lack, upon whose work we have noted Dr Kitchen commented in 1912. Lack opened up Yencheng, Honan as missionary-in-charge in 1902. He remained in charge there until 1929, by which stage there were 516 males and 512 female communicants in fellowship and 1317 had been

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In comparing the statistical results of various missionaries one should observe caution because of the different geographical and political contexts in which each operated and because of quirks of statistics themselves. For example, a rise of 100 communicants or baptisms on a base of 3 gives an increase of 333%, a rise of 100 on a base of 30 represents an increase of 333% and a rise of 100 on a base of 300 gives an increase of 33%, so that the same rise in basic numbers translates into vastly different percentage increases depending upon the base from which one works. Also, an increase of 315% achieved in 30 years is scarcely as meritorious as the same percentage increase achieved in 10 years. Because of such factors, compounding percentage increases are generally more useful as a basis for comparisons than simple startpoint to endpoint percentage increases.
baptised since commencement of the station. There are no
statistics available for 1902, but there were only 3 males
and 1 female in fellowship in 1903, so that the growth rate
of communicants over the 26 year period through to 1929 was
25,600%! This converts to a spectacular annually
compounding growth rate of 24%! In the 23 year period 1906
to 1929, the number of baptisms since commencement rose
from 8 to 1317, an increase of 16,362% or 28.8% compounding
per annum. In the 27 years he was at Yencheng, Lack also
established no fewer than five outstations.

William Entwistle was missionary-in-charge of Liuanchow,
Anhwei continuously from 1902 to 1921. In the 18 years from
1903 to 1921 the communicants in fellowship total went up
from 22 to 68 (209%), or by a compounding rate of 6.5% per
annum. The number baptised since commencement of the
station in 1890 rose from 41 to 131, (220%), or at a
compounding rate of 6.7% per annum. During the period 1903
to 1921, Entwistle founded a school which had two teachers
and 26 Chinese students in 1921 and a Sunday School which
had 61 Chinese students in the same year. There was
evidence of emerging self-sufficiency in that instead of
the paid assistant preacher and a paid colporteur/chapel
keeper which existed in 1903, there were two unpaid
evangelists and an unpaid Biblewoman in 1921. There was,
however, also evidence of some withdrawal from the field to
the central station, as the number of outstations declined
during this period from two to one and the chapels from
three to two.

Robert Middleton was missionary-in-charge of Meihsien,
Shensi continuously from 1900 to 1917. In 1903 there were
only 19 communicants in fellowship and 21 baptised since
commencement of the station in 1893. By 1917 there were 166
communicants in fellowship, a rise of 774% in 14 years or
a compound rate of 16.7% per annum. Also by 1917, there had been 177 baptised since commencement, a rise of 743% in 14 years, or a compound rate of 16.4% per annum. In that 14 years, Middleton raised the number of outstations and organised churches from one to five, the number of chapels from two to six, the number of Chinese helpers from four to ten, and the number of schools and teachers from two to three, with the number of Chinese pupils rising from 12 to 40. A Sunday School was also established, and had 100 scholars in 1917.

Francis Joyce was missionary-in-charge of Hsiangcheng, Honan from 1902 to 1920. In 1903 there were 74 communicants in fellowship and there had been 121 baptisms since commencement of the station in 1891. By 1920, when Joyce left Hsiangcheng, there were 351 communicants in fellowship, or an increase of 374%, which translated into an annual compounding increase of 9.6%. In the same period, the number of baptisms since commencement had risen to 527, an increase of 336%, or 9.0% compounded per annum. In the period 1903 to 1920, Joyce raised the number of outstations from nil to eight, the number of chapels from one to nine, the number of paid helpers from three to ten and unpaid from nil to 13. There was one boarding school in 1903 with four Chinese students; in 1920 there were three schools and five teachers, with 25 boarding and 44 day Chinese students. A dispensary was also established during Joyce's time at Hsiangcheng.

Joyce then moved on to Kaifeng where he remained from 1921 until at least July 1937 as missionary-in-charge. Here he was similarly successful, lifting the communicants in fellowship figure from 223 to 628 (up 182%) or 6.7% per annum and the number baptised since commencement of the station in 1875 from 268 to 1169 (up 336%) or 9.6% per
annum. Between 1921 and 1937 Joyce raised the number of outstations from three to sixteen and the number of Chinese helpers from seven to ten. He established three Sunday Schools, with a total complement of 410 pupils by 1937. Many short-term Bible schools were held from 1930 onwards - 16 in 1937 with an average attendance of 21. There was, however, a consolidation of medical activity, though no diminution in workload dealt with: there was only one hospital in 1937 compared with two in 1921. Joyce was in charge of 12 European missionaries at Kaifeng in 1921 and 16 in 1937.

Arthur Nicholls was missionary-in-charge of Sapushan, Yunnan from its opening in 1907 to 1943 inclusive. By 1938, from having had no baptisms and no communicants in 1907, the number of communicants in fellowship had reached 2,697 (1446 males, 1251 females) and there had been 3292 baptised since commencement of the station. By the end of 1909 there had been 473 communicants in fellowship and an identical number baptised. Thus, in the 29 years from 1909 to 1938, the communicants in fellowship number had been increased by 470%, or 6.2% compounding per annum, and the number baptised since commencement by 596% or 6.9% compounding per annum. By 1938, 31 years after Nicholls had opened the station, there were 100 outstations, 14 organised churches, six native workers at least partially supported by locally-raised funds, and 196 voluntary workers. There were 13 schools with 250 scholars and 12 native teachers, and 10 Sunday Schools with 345 scholars. There was also a dispensary. Two short-term Bible Schools were held in 1938 with an average attendance of 118. In terms of establishing sexual equality in his church, however, Nicholls was not successful. None of his native workers were women, only six of his schoolchildren were girls, and none of his Bible School attendees were women, despite 46% of his
communicants being female.

Douglas Pike was missionary-in-charge at Tushan, Kweichow from 1907 to 1919. In those 12 years he lifted the number of communicants in fellowship from 35 to 46, an increase of 31% or 2.3% compounding per annum, and the number baptised since commencement of the station in 1893 from 39 to 75, a lift of 92.3% or 5.6% compounding per annum. Tushan was a hard station, with little fervour for self-sufficiency, as Walter Pike indicated when I interviewed him on 6 December 1994; the low figures which Douglas Pike achieved reflect that fact. There was very little change in the church in the 12 years that Douglas Pike was there, though the number of Chinese workers had risen from three to seven, with two of the latter unpaid. Besides the communicants in fellowship, there were 150 receiving Christian instruction in 1919, but there is no corresponding figure in 1907 which might be employed for comparative purposes. When I interviewed him in 1994, Walter Pike spoke of the church there having been stagnant for a long time, and the above statistics would generally appear to support that observation. However, on the institutional side there had been faint glimmers of hope: Douglas Pike founded a dispensary and two schools with four teachers during his time there.

Gladstone Porteous opened Solowu, Yunnan in 1919. Uniquely, people flocked to his church in the year of its opening, so that 322 were baptised in its first year and there were 425 communicants in fellowship at the close of that year. By 1938, 19 years later, Porteous had raised the number of communicants in fellowship to 878, a rise of 107% or 3.9% compounding per annum, and the number of baptisms since commencement to 1246, a lift of 287% or 7.4% compounding per annum. By 1938 there were 13 outstations, 22 native
workers including 15 voluntary helpers, a Sunday School with 30 scholars, a dispensary and a Bible Training Institute. Two Short-term Bible Schools had been held in 1938 with an average attendance of 65.

George Rogers opened Liangshan, Szechwan as missionary-in-charge in 1902 and stayed there in that capacity until 1914. Statistics are available from 1903 to 1914. In those 11 years he increased the number of communicants in fellowship from 6 to 43 and the number of those baptised since commencement from 3 to 46. The communicant increase was 617% and the baptismal rise 1,433%. These converted into annually compounding rates of 19.6% and 28.2% respectively. By 1914 the station boasted four outstations, five chapels, four paid Chinese helpers, and a girls' day school with 20 attendees.

Augustus Trudinger was missionary-in-charge of Icheng, Shansi from 1908 to 1924 inclusive. In that 16 years he raised the number of communicants in fellowship from 31 to 86 and the number baptised since commencement of the station in 1897 from 42 to 133, the first an increase of 177% or 6.6% compounding per annum and the second 217% or 7.5% compounding per annum. In the period 1908 to 1924 Trudinger raised the number of outstations from one to three, the number of organised churches from one to two, and the number of Chinese workers from three to nine, all the additions to his workforce being unpaid workers.

By 1931, Trudinger had moved on to Hungtung, Shansi where he remained missionary-in-charge until at least July 1937. In that six year period, the number of communicants in fellowship increased from 462 to 729 and the number baptised since commencement of the station in 1886 from 2762 to 3089, the former a rise of 58% or 7.9% compounding
per annum, and the latter 12% or 1.9% compounding per annum. The relatively unspectacular compounding rates here, especially in the case of baptisms, should not be permitted to disguise the fact that in 6 years at Hungtung, Trudinger added 267 communicants (an average rise of 44.5 communicants per year) to his congregation and raised the number baptised since commencement by 327 (an average rise of 54.5 baptisms per year). Additionally, in the period 1931 to 1937 Trudinger had raised the number of outstations from 29 to 31, the number of schools from four to seven, teachers from nine to sixteen, and students from 74 to 252. He had increased the number of Chinese helpers from four to thirty-four, with 26 being voluntary, continuing a trend towards self-sufficiency already noted in his work at Icheng. In 1931 three Short-term Bible Schools were held with an average attendance of 23; in 1937 there were five with an average attendance of 37.

James Webster was missionary-in-charge at Kiungchow, Szechwan from 1918 to 1924. In that six year period the number of communicants in fellowship declined from 167 to 81, a drop of 51%. In the same period, he increased the number baptised since commencement of the station in 1902 from 339 to 353, a rise of only 4%. These were years of rampant banditry and internecine warfare in Szechwan and several other Chinese provinces, with evangelism and church attendance at an all-time low, so that Webster's results are not so much a clear indictment of his own efforts as a reflection of the prevailing lawlessness in his district during the time he was in charge. In those years the number of outstations dropped from seven to six and the chapels from eight to seven. The number of paid Chinese helpers dropped from ten to five but unpaid rose from one to three. The numbers under Christian instruction rose from 166 to 173 and the organised churches increased from three to
seven. The five schools with five teachers and 110 boarding students appear to have been disbanded (not totally surprisingly given the dangerous travelling conditions which then existed) as had the dispensary, but the Sunday School attendees had increased from 40 to 99 students.

William Westwood was missionary-in-charge at Anking, Anhwei field station (as distinct from the Training Home) from 1898 to 1913. In that 15 years he raised the communicants in fellowship from 65 to 84, an increase of 29% or 1.7% compounding per annum and the number baptised since commencement of the station in 1869 from 147 to 230, a rise of 56% or 3.0% compounding per annum. In the same period he raised the number of outstations from three to four and the number of chapels and organised churches from four to five. However, the dispensary was apparently disbanded and the number of day schools dropped from four to one and the number of pupils from 42 to 28.

Leaving Anking, Westwood immediately went to Kienping, also in Anhwei Province, where he was missionary-in-charge from 1914 to 1922. In that eight years he increased the communicants in fellowship from 18 to 20, a rise of 11% or 1.3% compounding per annum and the number baptised since commencement of the station in 1894 from 36 to 49, a rise of 36% or 3.9% compounding per annum. In those eight years, a period of great turbulence in China, there was some evidence of a move towards self-sufficiency in that instead of two paid Chinese helpers there were now four unpaid, the day school had increased its complement of students from 10 to 15, now with a dedicated teacher, and a Sunday School had been established and had 40 students in 1922. The two dispensaries, however, had apparently been disbanded.

Phyllis Deck, after 10 years as second-in-charge of Kuwo,
Shansi became missionary-in-charge in 1922. At that stage there were 69 male and 32 female communicants in fellowship and 231 had been baptised since commencement of the station in 1885. By the time she left for furlough in 1933, the number of communicants in fellowship had risen to 87 males and 60 females, with 346 baptised since commencement. Communicants in fellowship had risen by 45.5% in the 11 years she was missionary-in-charge, or at a compounded rate of a modest but noteworthy 3.5% per annum. Baptisms had risen 49.8%, or at a compounded rate of 3.7% per annum in the same period. In her time as missionary-in-charge, the number of outstations increased from 3 to 4, and a women’s school was founded.

Gertrude Trudinger was missionary-in-charge at Antung, Kiangsu from 1910 to 1916. In that period she raised the communicants in fellowship from 135 to 524, a rise of 288% or 25.4% compounding per annum. In the same period she increased the baptisms since commencement of the station in 1893 from 152 to 576, a rise of 279% or 24.9% compounding per annum. In those six years she raised the number of outstations from six to eleven, the chapels from seven to twelve, the organised churches from one to three and the number of unpaid deacons from three to six. In addition to the 524 communicants in fellowship, it is reported that others under Christian instruction in 1916 numbered 1800! However, the station’s school, which had had 100 pupils in 1910, is not reported in 1916 and seems to have been disbanded, possibly owing to a movement of students to newly-emerging government schools run along Western lines.

Elizabeth Wallace opened Fukow, Honan as missionary-in-charge during 1903. In the seven years from 1904 to 1911 she raised the communicants in fellowship from 56 to 116, a rise of 107% or 11.0% compounding per annum. In the same
period she elevated the numbers baptised since commencement
of the station from 87 to 172, an increase of 98% or 10.2%
compounding per annum. By 1911 there were nine outstations,
ten chapels, seven paid Chinese helpers and five unpaid
Evangelists, a boarding school with 10 boys and a day
school with eight boys.

Violet Ward was acting or actual missionary-in-charge at
Shucheng, Anhwei from 1917 to 1922. In that five years she
lifted the number of communicants in fellowship from 66 to
109 and the number baptised since commencement of the
station in 1904 from 73 to 131, the former representing an
increase of 65% or 10.6% compounding per annum, and the
latter 79% or 12.4% compounding per annum. In that half
decade, Ward raised the number of unpaid deacons from five
to six and the number under Christian instruction from 130
to 214. However, the school with one teacher and 24 pupils
and the Sunday School with 55 pupils in 1917 appear to have
been disbanded by 1922, possibly at least partially because
of a drift of students to government schools run along
Western lines and partially because of the generally
unstable political and military conditions pertaining in
China in those years.

The results which Phyllis Deck achieved in Kuwo, Shansi,
very closely approximate those achieved by Douglas Pike in
Tushan, Kweichow and Gladstone Porteous in Salowu, Yunnan,
and those achieved by Gertrude Trudinger, Elizabeth Wallace
and Violet Ward could have been the envy of several of the
men, indicating that women could run stations as well (or
as badly) as men. Differences in outcomes between male and
female-run stations are accordingly unlikely to be gender-
based, and are more likely to be dependent upon such
factors as the unique difficulties attaching to each post
at various times and the capabilities of particular
missionaries, whether they be masculine or feminine.  

Total CIM statistics from 1899 to 1938, which cover the periods in which the above Australians' work as missionaries-in-charge of various stations was assessed, may be employed as a rough yardstick against which the performance of the above Australians can be measured. The communicants in fellowship figures for the CIM as a whole rose from 8,557 to 101,561 (1,087% or 6.5% compounding per annum) over that period, and the numbers baptised from commencement from 12,964 to 190,365 (1,368% or 7.1% compounding per annum). Aggregated compound growth rates for all the above Australians are calculable using weighted averages, and show rises of 9.3% for communicants in fellowship and 7.2% for baptisms since commencement. These figures compare more than favourably with whole-of-CIM results for communicants in fellowship, and favourably for baptisms since commencement. On these measures, the Australian contribution to the evangelization of China certainly does not suffer in comparison with that for the CIM as a whole. The Australian contribution was creditable and important.

There is a school of thought which questions the validity of using statistics at all to judge the missionary effort or to compare the performances of particular individuals or groups because of uncertainties about whether like is being compared with like, for example, whether males are harder to convert than females. There is also the argument that conversions are of God, and therefore cannot be attributed to particular men or women. The author has taken the view that as the missionaries used such figures as some sort of a gauge of progress, it is not unreasonable to measure their progress by similar means. The same sorts of measurement have also been employed from early times by sceptics like G E Morrison. Writing in 1894 of 1893 figures he assessed the missionary effort thus: "their harvest may be described as amounting to a fraction more than two Chinamen per missionary per annum. If, however, the paid ... native helpers be added to the number of missionaries, you find that the aggregate body converts nine-tenths of a Chinaman per worker per annum, but the missionaries depurate their work being judged by statistics ... we find that they gathered last year [1893] in the fold 3127 Chinese ... at a cost of £350,000 a sum equal to the combined incomes of the ten chief London hospitals. - G E Morrison, An Australian in China, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1895), p. 5
3.1.6 Difficulties Overcome

In the same way as individual performances in a number of sporting disciplines are measured using a formula which includes degree of difficulty, it is relevant to gauge missionary success taking this factor into account. The Australians encountered many difficulties similar to those which their British, North American and Associate counterparts experienced, and some peculiar to the specific areas and times in which they lived and worked. Some missionaries from all countries wilted in the face of adversity, and returned to their homes with their spirit broken, but others showed an admirable courage and strength in the face of adversity. Some examples will serve to throw light on the success of many Australians given that they had to overcome at times formidable obstacles to their evangelistic and related endeavours.

Following the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, the Central Government never really regained control of the country, particularly following the internal strife consequent upon an attempt to restore a monarchical government. Large bands of robbers roamed the countryside, looting and burning the cities and towns through which they passed. The soldiers who pursued them often inflicted more damage on the settlements than did the robbers themselves, and many bands of brigands were groups of soldiers who had become disaffected because of want of payment. One of the earliest and most notorious of these bandits was the White Wolf, with whom the Australian CIM missionary William Entwistle came into contact.

The China's Millions, "Our Shanghai Letter" segment, dated 26 February 1914 reported
the disturbed state of some parts of Honan and North Anhwei, in consequence of the activity of an outlaw known as the "White Wolf" and bands of robbers under his leadership ... In the latter Province, the "White Wolf" and his followers, last month set fire to Liuanchow, nine-tenths of the city being burned down. Mr. and Mrs. Entwistle, with their two boys, ... had a narrow escape. Their house was entered and all their boxes were ransacked; but though they passed through most trying experiences, and lost some of their property, their lives, which on more than one occasion were in danger, were graciously preserved by God. 143

A further account of this episode 144 noted that

A party of the HONAN bandits crossed over into the adjoining province of ANHWET, and during the latter days of January [1914] sacked and burned nine-tenths of the city of Liuanchow. In this city were resident Mr. and Mrs. Entwistle, of our Mission, and their children, and several Roman Catholic priests. We are thankful to report that Mr Entwistle and family were enabled to escape to the prefectural city of Luchow, but we regret to learn that one of the Roman Catholic priests was murdered.

Having just come from Kwangchow (Honan) where they had left up to 700 dead in the streets and from a neighbouring city


144 Op. cit., Supplement p. 8
to the south where nearly all the people had been massacred, and having gone on to kill over 1,500 (including a Norwegian Lutheran missionary) and wound over 4,000 at Laohokow (Hupeh), there is no doubt that the robbers had little respect for either Chinese or foreign life, and the Entwistles were fortunate to emerge relatively unscathed.

William Entwistle’s report of the incident appeared in the China’s Millions, Australasian Edition of 1 June 1914 and included the following detail:

The band had possession of the city of Liuanchow within an hour of firing the first shot on Sunday, January 25th [1914], at daybreak. Very soon we were visited by the first gang of half-a-dozen, and all that day and the next bands of two to ten came, ransacked the house, took what they liked, and threatened our lives scores of times ...

The utter absence of any sign of fear, even in our two boys of thirteen and eleven and a-half, caused some of the robbers to come again late on the 26th to give the reverential salute of going down on one knee. We received only a few comparatively light blows ... some of them were very nicely mannered ... others were the reverse, and nothing but the restraining power of God kept them from killing us and burning the house.

Another case which involved banditry was that of the Australian CIM missionary C Freeman Davies. In September 1926 he was held by brigands in the hills of Honan for 22

145 Vol. XL, No. 6
days. As he explained it, the bandit chief’s purpose was to see how much money I could raise. His demand was for $100,000, and it was made very clear to me that unless that sum was forthcoming or a good supply of guns was supplied as an alternative, there would be nothing else for me but death.  

Another bandit also spoke to him, and Davies described the outcome of that conversation as follows:

I found that the only thing in his mind was gain, and in the end he told me I should have to be shot.  

Davies went on to say that later,

One of my guards explained that death would be preceded by torture, beginning, perhaps, with the loss of an ear ... I knew that such things were all too possible, for at times in order to expedite payment of ransom, an ear would be sent to relatives of the Chinese captives to cause more haste in the finding of the money demanded.

The robber band then mobilized. Davies was not the only captive, and he described the plight of fellow prisoners thus:

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146 C Freeman Davies, *In the Hands of Brigands*, (London: CIM, undated but circa 1926), p. 4

147 Loc. cit.

148 Ibid., p. 5
... the weary people began to lag. Some fell dead in their tracks ... others were shot ... 149

The band stopped at various times between marches. Davies reports of one such stop that

I was kept in close confinement and miserable food with other prisoners for nine days. 150

He went on to say later that

A number of times I was brought up for examination and each time there were threats of death or flogging ... 151

He had to travel eighty miles to get back to Chowkiakow after his release. Upon his return he found that the bandits had "destroyed our house property" 152 and that the soldiers who had come later had "stripped practically bare" 153 the Girls' School.

Because of the psychological and physical trauma of this ordeal (his wife was also robbed and had to suffer uncertainties in relation to his whereabouts and survival for three weeks), Davies moved from his station to the Shanghai Mission Home, took early furlough in 1927 and retired at the age of 48 in 1929. While Davies overcame the

149 Ibid., p. 7
150 Ibid., p. 8
151 Ibid., p. 9
152 Ibid., p. 11
153 Loc. cit.
difficulties with which he was faced, he did not continue in the field. However, his ordeal illustrates the types of threat and danger Australian (and other) missionaries had to live with and overcome during those lawless years if they wished to evangelize the populace. 154

Conditions of lawlessness were not confined to the decade or so immediately following the collapse of central government in 1915. As late as 1946, the Australian CIM missionary Harry Bailey reported from Yunnan as follows:

I started out with a coolie on the 60-odd mile walk to Salowu, and by the time ten miles were behind us, we had caught up with ... fourteen Miao Christians ... I was pleased to be with them, for we were to traverse some dangerous country, in which I had, not many months previously, met some bandits, who left me with little else than my life and a stronger faith in the God of deliverances. 155

The Entwistles, Davies, Baileys and other Australians faced such problems, which made their task exceedingly difficult, with courage and restraint, and overcame them to the best of their ability.

Some CIM missionaries were killed during the Boxer Rebellion and others from time to time in lesser affrays.

154 The indomitable courage of the Freeman Davies family was demonstrated again when, despite their earlier ordeal, they offered to return to China. The China Council considered their offer at its meeting of 7 March 1929, but because of health considerations, was unable to accede to their application. - CN 215, Box 2, Folder 40, "Headquarters: Minutes of China Council 1928-1931", 151st Session, p. 6, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA

155 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LVII, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1946, p. 20
Yet others suffered bodily harm, and had to physiologically and psychologically recuperate before they were able to resume their missionary duties. The Australian CIM missionary William Allen reported in 1937 from Tali, Yunnan the following relevant incident.

Every year we hold a Bible Conference for the Christians in all the surrounding district. This year on the first night of the Conference a thief entered our house, hid under the bed, and hoped to steal some of our things. It so happened that I discovered and caught him. In the scuffle that ensued, however, he used a small knife and stabbd me three times and cut me once, besides a bite he gave me in the chest. One wound was very serious for a long time but now is almost better. ... Mrs. Allen and I suffered not a little from nervous fear for some time afterwards, but the Lord in his grace enabled us to take a holiday to Erhuyuan, two days north from here, where we spent two months...

Coinciding with our rest in Erhuyuan came the opportunity to use the tent owned by the Erhuyuan workers ... The Lord gave us wonderful times, and the attendance in the tent on an average numbered about 150. 156

This ability to quickly bounce back from adversity typified the fighting spirit of many CIM missionaries, including Australians like William Allen.

During the Second World War, and particularly in 1942, many cities in which Australian (and other) CIM missionaries were stationed were bombed and strafed.

The Australian CIM missionary Thomas Andrews, then in Kinhwa, Chekiang, reported in 1942 one such incident as follows:

Day after day they were giving us widespread bombing in the city, and machine-gunning back and forth. ... One day they dropped two rows of bombs, one on either side of our house, when we were in it. ¹⁵⁷

Later, while fleeing from the Japanese advance, his party of some half dozen missionary folk stayed temporarily at U Tu where, he recounts—

We borrowed a dark, dirty shop, and had to leave the town and bake in the sun on the outskirts during the daytime for fear of bombing, but had to dodge constant machine-gunning from odd planes. ¹⁵⁸

Still fleeing, they reached a stream, 14 miles from U Tu. The situation here he spoke of thus:

At the bombed bridge the congestion was beyond description. Dead unburied men and horses, burned trucks, and goods were littering the bombed road ... we finally took to the stream to carry our


¹⁵⁸ Loc. cit.
goods over. 159

When they finally reached Pucheng, to where they were fleeing, he wrote that:

We were all tired and weary to an extreme, emaciated from lack of food, but the Lord had brought us all through. 160

Also in 1942, the Australian CIM missionary Cyril Faulkner, then stationed in Kanhsien, Kiangsi reported on the bombing of that city in the following terms:

We had opened up all windows and doors with the first alarm, so were free to rush to our vegetable garden, where we had a deep trench covered over with boards and boughs. There were nine of us ... the first group of nine planes (there were seventeen in all) circled, and came straight for the city from the north, forming one long line. When they were almost overhead we could hear the bombs whistling down, and then followed a series of explosions which ... seemed to be coming nearer.

... After a few moments thick smoke was rising from the centre of the city in several places,
but before the fires could be approached the other eight planes came over and dropped several salvos, some in the city and others on the airfield and on the hospital five li [1 2/3 miles] away. The fires were increasing in size, and there were numerous explosions as inflammable material took hold.

... After midnight ... I went to see the fire, which had already been raging for more than twelve hours ... That part of the city was the scene of terrible desolation and destruction ... an area of a square Chinese mile being wiped out, and this in the most thickly populated part of the city ... about 1000 homes have been destroyed, and damage is estimated at over ten million Chinese dollars.

The next morning we went round again ... The charred bodies of women and children, and the mournful wailing of their relatives made a very pitiful scene. ... Apart from the burned area, there were numerous places where explosive [rather than incendiary] bombs had fallen, causing great material damage and loss of life. Over 140 bombs were dropped ... The dead are estimated at 100 or more, and the injured would be several times that many ... .

In their travels, Australians encountered some appalling weather conditions, and did the best they could to overcome them. Occasionally they were driven back, as the story

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161 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LIII, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1942, pp. 117-118
below by Arthur Kennedy illustrates.

Dust storms were one of the weather hazards missionaries sometimes had to face. In 1947 the Australian CIM missionary Arthur Kennedy wrote from Kaifeng about an attempted trip to a location on the Yellow River retaining dykes where he had hoped to evangelize thousands of men engaged in flood mitigation work. He reported thus:

The morning broke with a terrific dust storm blowing, and in spite of that we left. Kaifeng is a real dust bowl, famous throughout China for its dust storms in the spring and autumn. We could not get the truck through the north gate of the city ... We tried the west gate, and got into some sand dunes, and the wind and sand were so terrific we could not see for five yards, so turned back, as it would have been impossible to have held meetings for the workmen in the open air under such conditions. 162

Typhoons were a novelty for most Australians, and one they could well have done without. J Oswald Sanders, the Australasian Home Director reported in 1949 that

Our new workers had a rough initiation into missionary work in China. Between Hong Kong and Shanghai their boat encountered a typhoon and mountainous seas. They were blown off their course and for a day were lost, almost running on the rocks. All of the party, except one, were laid low. They arrived in Shanghai on 13th

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November, two days late ... 163

Such experiences were not altogether rare. The Australian CIM missionary Frank White reported in 1939 from Shanghai another such incident thus:

We had no serious difficulty or trouble during the trip from Australia. Black-out regulations and closed portholes made it almost impossible to sleep in the cabins at night, and we found the tropics particularly trying. Meeting a typhoon between Hong Kong and Shanghai was our worst experience. The wind was so violent and the sea so rough that the captain had to turn the ship back towards Hong Kong and let her run with the wind for a few hours. Even some of the sailors were sick, and most of our party were absolutely prostrate. 164

The heat in China could be intense and enervating. Reporting from Wuting, Yunnan on a journey he had taken in mid-1937, the Australian CIM missionary Thomas Binks had this to say about the temperature:

Early in June I left Wuting for a trip to visit a number of Tai and La ka villages. I reached Lao ba on the second day, and found the heat down in the river valley rather fierce. Opening my roll of bedding on the flat roof of a house I saw the fleas fall dead with the heat of the sun. In Lao


164 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LI, No. 1, CIM, Melbourne, 1 January 1940, p. 6
While some missionaries found it necessary to retreat to hill resorts to escape the summer heat in China, others, like Binks, continued to spread the Gospel despite appallingly hot conditions.

In China, Australians also experienced cold the likes of which they had never known before. The highly successful Australian CIM missionary Rowland Butler reported in 1933 from Kweiyang, Kweichow as follows:

I ... left on Thursday morning on my bicycle. It had been raining for several days, and the road was inches deep in mud. I slipped about until finally it became so cold that the mud froze on the bike, and so did my right foot, which I had to thaw out at a wayside house with hot water. ... It got colder and colder, and I was feeling "all in" ... I passed quite a good night in a small inn ... 

Next morning the road was frozen solid, so I walked a couple of miles before attempting to ride the bike. I slithered about all day, and on the highest pass, about 5000 feet high, it was awfully cold. Before I reached Kweiyang it became dark, and it was two hours more before I reached the city.

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155 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLIX, No. 2, CIM, Melbourne, 1 February 1938, p. 27

156 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLIV, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1933, p. 58
Aubrey Parsons, reporting from Tihwa, Sinkiang later in 1933 wrote as follows:

The weather during the winter months was cold in the extreme, the thermometer showing 50 degrees below freezing point.  

The temperature reading here would have been in Fahrenheit, \(-18^\circ F\) (32-50) converting to \(-27.8^\circ C\). By comparison, the lowest temperature ever recorded in Australia is \(-22.2^\circ C\) at Charlotte Pass, Mt Kosciusko, New South Wales.

During the Second World War, many Australian missionaries were interned by the Japanese in concentration camps. Conditions in the Shanghai camps were described by the Australian CIM missionary administrator Rowland Butler in October 1945 thus:

Conditions in the camps varied somewhat, but in every camp the internees were uncomfortably crowded, for each person was only allowed 50 square feet of floor space. Several married couples were herded, in many instances, into one large room, and even makeshift partitions made of sheets, blankets, etc., only somewhat relieved their "gold fish" existence. In two camps the buildings had long since been condemned, and the constant flooding of other camps greatly increased the hardships of the prisoners. Food was poor and insufficient, and firing [firewood] scarce, and but for the loving ministry of our

\[167\] CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLIV, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1933, p. 124

\[168\] See, for example, Bureau of Meteorology, What's the Weather... in July, (Melbourne: BOM, 1985)
associate mission workers [from Germany and its allies], who sent monthly comfort parcels into the camps, I am afraid some of our missionaries would not have survived the ordeal ... some internees expressed the opinion that another winter in camp, with even less heating than before, would have proved fatal to many. 169

In 1945 the Australian CIM missionary George Tarrant reported having made a journey from Mowkung, Western Szechwan to Tanpa, on the border of Sikang, in order to make contact with the Kiarung, pastoral people living in that remote area. Many of them lived along a tributary of the Yangtze, the Ta Chin River, some eighty or ninety miles west of Mowkung, and it was this group which he set out to evangelize. His party, which consisted of a fellow worker and two men with mules to carry their bedding rolls and a small supply of food, passed through Tsong-te and stayed overnight about 10 miles east of the Kon(g)ker Mountain, then set out the following day to traverse the Kon(g)ker Pass, which lay between them and their destination. George described the crossing of the pass in the following terms:

The climb to the top was a long and tiring one, but we eventually got there. A heavy mist descended upon us, and for a while made it almost impossible to see twenty paces ahead. The snow was deep, and there was quite a lot of ice on the path. The descent began after we had rested on the peak for a while ... After tramping slowly down hill for most of the afternoon we eventually

reached the bottom ... 170

After staying overnight 10 miles east of the Ta Chin River, he continued to Tsong-hwa, about ninety miles by road from Mowkung, where he spent several days before continuing through Ma-er-bang, a Kiarung settlement, Badi, where he stayed overnight, and, finally, Tanpa, at the junction of the Ta Chin and T'ung Rivers where "Kiarung people thronged the street." 171 His return trip is not described but presumably was via the shorter and flatter route which ran due east from Tanpa to Mowkung.

The matter of fact way in which George described this trip conceals the magnitude of the difficulties he overcame. The Kon(g)ker Pass is over 4,500 metres (about 15,000 feet) high, and the vertical height climbed from Mowkung, which lies below 2,500 metres, was over 2,000 metres (in excess of 6,500 feet). He walked all the way, covering about 40 miles per day on the days they actually travelled. The round trip distance would probably have been over 200 miles, all on foot. 172

Perhaps one of the reasons George viewed this journey so calmly was because he had encountered similar terrain in


171 Loc. cit.

172 Such journeys were not always taken on foot. The Australian CIM missionary Arthur Pocklington employed a Tibetan pony to travel from Tatsienlu (Kanting) to the Yalung River basin over the Cheto Pass (14,500 feet) in 1933. On that trip he camped out at 13,000 feet! Like several Australians at different times, he saw in the distance the magnificent Minya Konka (24,900 feet), which he described as "like a mammoth white pyramid - ghostly, deathly, awful." (CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol XLIV, No. 11, CIM, Melbourne, 1 November 1933, p. 168). H L McIntyre, while stationed at Tsing Lung Chang, Szechwan, climbed Mt Omei (11,000 feet) and also saw from there Minya Konka (CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLIII, No. 12, 1 December 1932, p. 181).
China before. On 23 July 1943 he had set out from Kwanhsien for Mowkung, with two high passes to cross on the way. This time he had had six coolies carrying his loads, but was not accompanied by another European. After traversing landslide areas and rickety bridges he described the first major obstacle as follows:

Slowly we climbed the mountain step by step. As we neared the top a heavy mist enveloped the whole mountain. This mountain is approximately 11,100 feet above sea level [though the pass over which he passed was somewhat lower]. After resting near the top ... we moved on. Suddenly the rain came down in torrents, and in a short time we were all drenched through. 173

Further down, they ran into more difficulties, which he described thus:

It was discovered that a certain bridge across the river which we were following had been washed away some months previously, and in its place a bamboo rope had been suspended across the stream, to which was attached a cane basket in which goods and men were transported across the stream. ... After all the goods were safely across the men went over three at a time in the basket. I was in the last group. It was a strange sensation, swinging in mid-air, grasping a bamboo cylinder which slid along the rope as the men on the shore hauled us across. 174


174 Loc. cit.
The second obstacle later loomed in sight.

The mountain which we now approached was the highest one to be crossed en route. The height given is between 15,000 and 16,000 feet above sea level; as we were travelling in mid-summer there was no snow on the top. ... About a quarter of a mile from the top we rested ... Rain began to fall shortly afterwards, and we had to hurriedly gather up our things and push on, as no one was anxious to spend a night on the top of such a bleak, dreary peak. With the rain came large hailstones, which seemed to hit one with terrific force and make it almost impossible to proceed. ... I decided to make a dash for shelter on the farther side of the peak ... I started running, only to find, after taking a few paces, that running at an altitude of over 15,000 feet is a vastly different matter to running on level country. I managed to find a rock sufficiently large enough to crouch behind, and keep reasonably dry.

After twenty days on the road it was good to be told that in the evening I would be having meals in ... Mowkung ... 175

The Australian CIM Missionary Fred Smith had similar experiences when he and others climbed the highest mountain in Shensi in 1943. Though there was an evangelistic by-product from their trek, there is little doubt that their primary purpose was the pleasure of conquering a high peak. Segments of his account follow:

175 Ibid., p. 70
The early mid-summer morn was delightfully fresh as a group of Chinese and missionaries left the Meihsien compound and headed south for the towering peaks of the Tsinling Range. Ambition to scale the highest peak in the province, coupled with enthusiasm to preach to pilgrims, laid prior claim to our thoughts. "What if it does rain? I walked through rain for five days, climbing a mountain on the Tibetan border," said one. "We took no notice of showers in the Austrian Tyrol," said the doctor. "Rain was the usual thing mountaineering in Norway," said a third. During this five-day hike it rained for four and a half days, too! Mount Taipe, that is Great White Mountain (so named because of the snow which covers the summit for most of the year), was formerly a volcano. Hot springs still issue from it and one can well understand how benighted people regard it with awe.

Forests of pines, at an altitude of up to ten thousand feet, were on both sides of the mountain track during the third day out. Then we climbed above the timber line and wound our way amongst masses of boulders covered by low shrubs and moss, exposed to the winds which blew at gale force. Shivering, drenched and hungry, carefully picking our way between rocks on the steep slopes, we suddenly rounded a bend, and there, at an altitude of thirteen thousand feet, saw the temple at the summit... having gained our objective, we retraced our steps. Slipping down the paths marked by the tracks of wild cows and goats, boar and deer, scampering an occasional pheasant, two days sufficed to bring us back to
Several Australians made similar treks, and took it all in their stride, the evangelistic purpose usually relegating the discomforts of the journey to a position of little importance.  

 Commencing 4 April 1934 the Australian CIM missionary Norman Amos took the same journey from Kwanhsien to Mowkung which George Tarrant (see above) was to take nine years later. Amos also described the traversing of the two passes, the first at 10,000 and the second at 15,000 feet. But it is his description of the bridges which warrants further reporting.

...sometimes the path took us right by the river side, or over various kinds of bridges. These bridges, in some cases, consisted of a few tree trunks or boards placed side by side to span the stream; in others they were of the bamboo rope type, with boards lain crosswise on them, while in one instance the "bridge" consisted solely of a single bamboo rope. When my cook saw this and heard that it went by the name of a bridge, he turned to me and said, "Pastor, if I have to cross any of those things I'm going to resign. I should think it is enough to ask any man to climb these mountains and preach without having to


177 Missionaries of other nationalities also engaged in mountain-climbing in China. Two language trainees, neither of whom appear to have been Australians, climbed, for pleasure, the awesome rock and snow peak Tali Mountain just before being assigned to their first posts. Also, the famous New Zealand missionary J Hutson Edgar surmounted many high passes while evangelizing in the vicinity of the Tibetan border.
cross bridges like that as well. 178

Quite apart from the physical difficulties associated with traversing high passes, there were also psychological barriers which had to be surmounted. Acrophobia was one. In relation to this subject, the Australian CIM missionary Maurice Hutton reported from Pangsieh, Kweichow in 1937 as follows:

The Black Miao tribal work is all village work, and over thirteen outstations are scattered over three days' journeyings. Many of their villages are nestled away up in the mountains, like eagle nests, almost inaccessible. To reach these, one has to climb precipitous mountain tracks, often pass over mountain ridges with drops of hundreds of feet on either side, climb up rocks, creep around rocky crags, with only room enough for one's foot to tread upon. For one like myself, it means a step and a prayer, a step and a prayer, or one would never cross these precipitous mountain tracks. 179

The primary, but not exclusive danger with river travel was rapids. Maurice Hutton of Kweichow told of his experiences in this regard in 1932.

... we were ... just shooting a rapid, when our boat ran on a rock ... and within a couple of minutes our boat was rapidly filling with water.

178 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLV, No. 9, CIM, Melbourne, 1 September 1934, p. 132

179 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLVIII, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1937, p. 124
... three small fishing boats ... were hailed, and came to our rescue. Our belongings by this time were all covered with water. As we moved our boxes on to the three fishing boats, our own boat became lightened, and was washed off the rock, and we all went safely down the surging rapids ... The boatmen spent half the day mending the two big holes that had been made in the bottom of our boat. ...

Two or three days later, quite unexpectedly a cyclone blew up, and ... we were ... caught in a terrific wind and rain storm. All around us we saw boats having their covers ruthlessly blown to pieces by the awful wind. There were yells and screams, and a scene of utter helplessness and destruction confronted us all around. ...

There was a calm after the storm ... and we sailed on our way. That night ... our boatman ... tied up to some trees in a sheltered place. ... The river rose some ten to fifteen feet that night, and by midnight our boat was floating on top of the trees to which we had tied up. The next day we saw in the flooded river houses, furniture, etc., all being washed down stream - the sudden rise had rendered many a person homeless.

That evening another wind storm blew up, and we tied up to the river bank, but what an hour or two we had! Our boat was being constantly dashed up against the mud embankment. It seemed doomed to be smashed to pieces before morning ... if this continued. ... a creek [was located], into
which we were able to go and shelter from that stormy night. ... The following day ... we went down 40 li [13 miles] of rapids - most dangerous ones too - in 55 minutes [ie at 14 mph] ... With the swollen river ... we saw other great dangers ... and these were the innumerable whirlpools. How the boatmen had to watch and row the boat with every ounce of strength they had to get past these treacherous spots! 169

The Australian CIM missionary J H Robinson also had a story to tell of river travel.

We left Shanghai on 14th October [1932], and reached Chungking, 1400 miles up the river, in eleven days. For the first thousand miles ... the ... river is about a mile and a half wide, but after that it suddenly narrows to 300 yards, with cliffs between two and three thousand feet high. The swirling waters of the rapids, with its many whirlpools, give endless thrills as the pilot guides the vessel so as to miss the many large rocks on which each year steamers are wrecked. The boat we went down river on in April struck a rock a few trips later, and sunk in a few minutes. Coming up we saw several steamers that had been wrecked recently.

Our boat was fired on several times, but the most exciting experience was when attempting to ascend a swirling rapid just at dark; in spite of the engine going at fourteen knots, we lost ground

and drifted back and back, for half a mile, and only stopped a few yards off a rock that has been the means of wrecking many a boat. 181

The Australian CIM missionary Graham Hutchinson reported in 1944 on a journey he took by road from Kweiyang to Tushan commencing 12 November 1943 and finishing seven days later. This lengthy time was owing to the unreliability of the truck on which he travelled, a not uncommon feature of motorized transport in those times. Some excerpts from his account follow:

We had just gone through the city gate when the driver and his assistant examined the front springs and found two shackles broken. They bought new ones and put them on ... Everything went all right until we reached Lungli. There it was discovered that a tyre was bursting, so the driver hopped on one of the company's trucks and went back to Kweiyang. We went to an inn and spent two nights and part of three days there ... On the afternoon of the second day the driver arrived back with a mechanic, and they took off the tyre and replaced it with another. ... the driver was the worst I have met in China which is saying a lot. Going up the hills he usually stalled his engine changing gears, and then the assistant had to jump out and put a block of wood or a large stone behind the wheel to prevent the truck from slipping back. On one steep pinch the driving shaft broke ... The driver then hopped on to another of their trucks and again went back to

181 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLIV, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1933, p. 61
Kweiyang. We were left about a third of a mile from a small village... We... spent two nights in that little village. On the following afternoon the driver arrived back with a new shaft and another mechanic.

We left the following morning, but had not gone far when the contacts broke off the top of the battery. With the aid of a piece of wire and a nail driven through the lead, we carried on till we reached Kweiting, where the contacts were soldered on.... At Tuyun the tyres went out again, and we spent four hours having holes in the tubes repaired.... The next morning our tyre was almost flat, but we set out for Tushan.... We arrived in about four hours.... The seven days' trip from Kweiyang should have taken one day.

The frustration coming through this article was typical of what many Australian and other missionaries had to endure in relation to Chinese transport and infrastructure. Missionaries came never to expect transport to run on time and to anticipate no comfort whatsoever throughout the duration of their journeys.

The roads in many parts of China were appalling, scarcely warranting the name, yet border missionaries like Aubrey Parsons had to use them if they were to pursue their evangelistic purpose.

He commented from Sihwa on the condition of Sinkiang roads...
in a couple of articles which were published in China's Millions in 1934, thus:

A motor car has just lately arrived ... but they have had such a rough time of it that I don't think they will do many more such journeys until some sort of a road is built ... Cars up here last about two years, that is all, because they are forced over roads that would do credit to a back farm lane ... 183

This year ... there has been much snow, so that now, when the weather is warming up, the roads are in a dreadful mess; in some parts they just resemble a flowing river of mud; it is actually mud, and it is actually flowing. 184

Despite such obstacles, Parsons followed his evangelistic calling in Sinkiang for a period of three years.

One of the difficulties with which missionaries at times had to struggle was isolation. In a section in the "Special Items for Prayer and Praise" segment of a 1934 China's Millions, "C.N.L." contributed an article on Sinkiang, describing it as "this far away province." The Australian CIM missionary Aubrey Parsons was labouring optimistically at his post alone at the time, and in relation to Parsons in particular and Sinkiang-located missionaries in general, C.N.L. wrote as follows:


184 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLV, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1934, p. 117
Let us pray for the ... missionaries ... in this province, mails are few and far between. Mr Parsons tells of waiting once for seven months for a mail, and one letter written in September 1932, was not received until June, 1934.  

In remote areas, mail was looked forward to with great expectation, and its absence merely added to the sense of isolation already felt. While the Chinese Post Office generally performed creditably in difficult circumstances, its reputation in relation to the most far-flung areas of China was apparently not quite so high. Despite this isolation, Parsons soldiered on in Sinkiang for three years.

As in other aspects of their work, the missionaries went forward in faith in the conception and rearing of children, though the possibilities of their offspring meeting early deaths in China cannot have been unknown to them. Hudson Taylor had lost several children in China himself 186, and all missionaries would have been well aware of his life story. The missionaries looked upon the death of children as one of the difficulties they may have to face in China, and when they were confronted with it, they had to put it behind them and go on with their work. That is not to say

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186 A photograph of Hudson Taylor's wife Maria Jane's tombstone (Maria died 23 July 1870) shows that she was predeceased by the following children: Jane Dyer Taylor born and died England 1865, Grace Dyer Taylor born Ningpo 31 July 1859 died Hangchau 23 August 1867, Samuel Dyer Taylor born England 24 June 1864 died Chinkiang 4 February 1870 and Noel Taylor born Chinkiang 7 July 1870 died 20 July 1870. Photograph located CN 215, AU 82-60, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA; copies made by Chris Templar of photographs belonging to Arthur Bramwell Allen (son of the British CIM missionary H Arthur C Allen and the Australian CIM missionary Lydia Allen née Aspinall) and Dorothea Allen née Foucar - Photograph 18, "Close-up of Maria Taylor's tombstone"
that they did not grieve - the contrary was the case - but they took comfort in the thought that their children were with God "which is far better".

While the CIM religiously reported from time to time the death rate amongst its workers, and generally took the view that considering that China was plagued with an enervating climate and a plethora of virulent diseases, the death rate was about what would be expected, a less publicized figure was the death rate amongst missionary children which was more alarming than that relating to the missionaries themselves. A proportion of the fatalities which occurred may not have eventuated had quality medical attention and facilities been close at hand. The following examples illustrate the heartbreak some Australian missionary families had to face through the death of children, and other family members, almost always in China.

F S Joyce lost his first wife in Sianghsien on 18 September 1896. Their daughter of 8½ months died at Sianghsien on 4 March 1897 of unspecified causes. He and his second wife lost their five year old daughter, Jessie Hope, in 1917 in Hiangcheng of malignant scarlet fever.

Mr J H Mellow and his Australian CIM missionary wife F M McDonald lost their three-year-old daughter Ruth Helen at Sichow on 9 December 1917 from diptheria. Mr and Mrs D F Pike lost their eleven-year-old daughter at Chefoo in 1925 from tubercular meningitis. Pike himself was killed by brigands in 1929.

Mr E G Bevis and his Australian CIM wife lost their 8½ month-old-daughter Lois Jane in Chenchowfu from bronchitis in 1915 and Mr and Mrs F Bird their three-year-old daughter Gladys Lily at Chefoo from diptheria in 1930.
Mr C A Jamieson and his Australian CIM wife Nellie Pearson lost their 22-day-old son Thomas Vernon at Anshunfu from food-poisoning in 1919. The Rev and Mrs C B Hannah lost their three-year-old-son David Horace at Kweichowfu of choleraic dysentery in 1920 and another son, Leonard John, aged one year, of rheumatic fever at Kao Hsüeh-tsi (near Kweifu) in 1921. Maurice and Mrs Hutton lost their one-day-old son Herbert Stevens in 1918 and Mr and Mrs J W H Tomkinson their son John Douglas, aged eight hours in Peking in 1925, of unspecified causes.

Mr and Mrs J H Kitchen lost their twin one-month-old daughters, Constance Marian and Dorothea Muriel, at Hungtung in 1934 from bronchitis. Norman and Mrs Baker lost their one-year-old daughter Margaret Joan at Luchow in 1925 from dysentery and Norman Amos lost his one-year-old daughter Esther Olive at Chengtu, two days after his wife (née Miss M O Atkinson) died of cholera in 1932.

Samuel Wiltshire lost his wife (née Miss R Hjort) in 1917 at Pingyangfu from cholera and died himself at Hungting in the following year, leaving two orphaned children, Ingrid Hjort and Helen Mary, then aged three and two. Dr Delwyn Vaughan Rees lost his wife (née Miss E Jordan) from typhus fever at Anshun in 1926.

Mr F S Hatton and his Australian CIM wife Miss Dora Kidd lost one of their twin daughters, Helen Elsie, aged nearly two, from dysentery at Talifu in 1929. Mr R W Middleton lost his five-year-old daughter of his first marriage, Ethel Gwendoline in 1910 at Meihsien and his five-year-old daughter of his second marriage, Ruth Duval of dysentery at Chowchih in 1934. He himself died of cancer at Chefoo in 1939.
Mr E H Lambert and his Australian CIM wife Miss D J Kirton lost their three-year-old son Stanley Edward from acute nephritis at Shanghai in 1937. Mr D A Grant and his wife lost their two-year-old daughter Maybeth Alison in 1939 at Yencheng from diptheria.

Mr W A Allen lost the son, Ronald Henry, of a twin son and daughter aged four days of unspecified causes in 1936 at Tali, Yunnan. Mr and Mrs Augustus Trudinger lost their 1½-year-old daughter Elsbeth Faith of dysentery at Icheng in 1908.

Mr and Mrs C B Barnett lost their eight-month-old of unspecified causes in Ingcheo in 1902. Mr and Mrs H Lyons lost their three-year-old daughter Janet from dysentery at Chinkiang in 1910. Mr C N Lack lost his eight-month-old son Rainsford Nelson of unspecified causes at Cheokiako in 1902, a 1½-year-old son from pneumonia in Sydney, NSW in 1918 and his first wife at Chefoo on 27 July 1923.

In the period 1896 to 1940 inclusive, no fewer than 27 children of Australian missionaries are recorded as having died. In the same period there were 267 Australian missionary children recorded as having been born, so that the death rate amongst them was 10%; in other words, one out of every ten of them died in their childhood – a quite staggering statistic! A scan of the basic data does not suggest that the figure was much different for the CIM children of other countries. As the Australians comprised about 10% of missionary numbers and their family size (the average is 2.6 per child-rearing family) was doubtless reasonably similar to that of other CIM nationalities, the total number of missionary children who died in the above period must have been in the vicinity of 270! Despite these all-too-frequent family tragedies, the missionaries
laboured on in the hope of saving souls for Christ.

3.1.7 Degree of success in fostering an independent Chinese Church

While there were elements of paternalism in the attitude of the early CIM missionaries (including some Australians) to the Chinese people, it was also, at a very early stage, the CIM's aim to establish self-supporting, self-propagating, self-governing Chinese churches. 187

In practice, however, many CIM missionaries showed considerable reluctance to allow the infant Chinese churches such independence and autonomy. To a large extent this reluctance was understandably owing to their desiring to ensure that the Chinese preachers administering such churches were doctrinally and motivationally pure before they were allowed to function independently. 188 While there were some early instances of such autonomy having been permitted, for example in the cases of the illustrious pastors Ren and Hsi, these were very much the exception

187 It was discussed, for example, at Conferences of Kiangsi and Anhwei workers in Kiukiang from 12 to 18 September 1896 and Wuhu commencing 19 September 1896 respectively. See CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. 5, No. 2, CIM, Melbourne, February 1897, p. 164

188 However, as Varg indicated, as an excuse this was something of a smokescreen. He explained the situation from a very different standpoint as follows: "The suspicion of the native, bred of arrogance, was the very essence of the imperialism so hated by the Chinese, whether it appeared in the smugness of the diplomat or the pious expressions of concern of the missionary. The Western Christian seldom recognized his own arrogance for it was buried under a thick cover of argument in (sic) behalf of preserving the purity of the Christian faith." He went on to cite criticism dating from 1926 (and duly reported by the National Christian Council whose Chinese membership at that stage constituted 75%) by the Chinese Christian T Z Koo, of the missionaries' inability to work under Chinese control, and of their love of position and power. - Paul A Varg, Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1932, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 204. After the exodus of the missionaries from their posts in 1927 for 18 months because of the pervasive lawlessness in the country, Koo would have noted with satisfaction the shift of ecclesiastical power from the missionaries to the Chinese.
rather than the rule. In a number of cases, local Chinese set up independent churches without missionary imprimatur and became a real thorn in the side of the resident missionaries because of their more lenient views toward church membership, their embryonic understanding of scripture - which tended to be a breeding-ground for popular heresies - and, often, their downright antagonism towards the Mission church and its mentors. Such schisms sometimes followed disciplining of church members by the missionary for such misdemeanours as trading on Sundays, opium-growing, polygamy and gambling.

Frequently, too, the infant Chinese churches themselves were less than anxious to strike out on their own. Nurtured in an atmosphere of fatherly (and sometimes motherly) protection, they often lacked the motivation and the courage to operate autonomously, and grimly clung to the missionary's guiding hand. As late as the 1930s Walter Pike experienced this clinging behaviour at Tuhshan, Kweichow, and it is clear that the movement for independence amongst the Chinese churches was far from geographically uniform. The Australian missionary Dorothy Pocklington (later Tarrant) saw the degree of independence as attaching to geographical location. Looking back on her experiences at Kian, Kiangsi, where she had arrived on 14 January 1944, and later in West China, she recalled (in 1995) her conclusion that

We ... were in a place [Kian] where the church

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189 Evidence of an early move towards placing more responsibility with the Chinese lay in the consecration of the first Chinese Anglican Bishop on 2 October 1918. This was The Right Rev T S Sing (Sing Tsen-seng) of Chekiang. He was one of 10 Anglican Bishops active in China at that time, the remainder of whom were Europeans. - H T Montague Bell and H G Woodward (Eds), *The China Year Book 1919-20*, (Mendel/Liebenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 481

189 Information provided by Mr Pike when I interviewed him on 6 December 1994.
was self-governing and self-propagating and we never saw that in the West of China. There, they were much more dependent on the missionary. 191

As a general observation this was probably true, but there were, in fact, notable exceptions to this assessment, including among the churches serving the tribespeople in southwest China.

The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 caused a large scale movement of missionaries to the coastal treaty ports, leaving the converts to maintain the churches in their absence. It was a baptism of fire for the infant church, and the response differed from place to place, with recantation prevalent in many areas, but faithfulness to death prevailing in many others. Some 160 Protestant missionaries suffered martyrdom in the uprising, but martyrdom of their converts was on a much larger scale, with an estimated 1,700 being killed in the conflict. 192

When the missionaries returned to their stations up to 18 months after the outbreak of the rebellion, they found many churches which had survived their absence creditably, while in other areas whole churches had been wiped out so that the missionaries had to start again. Those churches which had successfully survived the holocaust felt the stirrings of a sense of self-reliance which had in most cases not been present before.

A further fillip to the independence of the Chinese

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192 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXIII, No. 9, CIM, Melbourne, September 1, 1907, Supplement p. 1
churches was the success of the Japanese against the Russians in their war of 1904-05. An Asiatic nation had proved itself militarily superior to a western one, and China, in a state of servitude to a host of foreign nations, could not help but be impressed. A "China for the Chinese" movement sprang up in the wake of Japanese successes, and its reverberations were felt in the missionary sphere generally, including within the CIM.

On the eve of the Chinese revolution, which was to see the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, there was a simultaneous quickening of the independence movement within the Chinese Christian Church. Mr W J Embery, husband of the Australian CIM missionary Ethel Potter, wrote from Talifu (Yunnan) in early 1911 as follows:

A spirit of independence and impatience of control is manifesting itself in the church in a few of our stations. In dealing with it, much tact is needed on the part of our missionaries, whose aim must ever be to guide it rather than crush it; for it is a thing which is inevitable, sooner or later, in the development of a strong, self-supporting organisation.

In 1923, Mr J W Tomkinson, husband of the Australian CIM missionary Freda Eipper, was moved to comment on this theme as follows:

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193 For example, an article appeared in the CIM's China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXIII, No. 8, 1 August 1907, Supplement p. 3, expressing concern about the possible ramifications for the doctrinal purity and government of the local churches.

Having said so much in the foregoing about the activities of the Chinese Church in Honan, some may wonder whether there is now any further need for the missionary and his work. I am sure that I should be voicing the feelings of my Chinese brethren when I say that they would be the first to acknowledge the place of the foreigner. ... one knows that it is not time yet for the missionary leadership to be entirely withdrawn. As organiser and Bible teacher he has a special place. One thanks God for the measure of self-support and self-government granted to the Church in Honan ... .

What was being claimed in Honan in 1923 is that despite the Church having made considerable progress towards independence, the foreigner was still needed there.

Speaking of his work at Luanfu (Shansi), the Australian CIM missionary Henry Lyons noted with approval that:

The church is, I believe, steadily moving towards self-support. The leaders have at last become convinced it is what should be, and that it is practicable, which is quite a step forward. They ... propose that each member - the roll stood at four hundred and twelve on 2nd June (338 men, 74 women) - should give one dollar a year extra to ordinary contributions, so as to form a fund the interest only of which is to be used. ...

Pray ... that we missionaries may be guided in

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195 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLIX, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1923, p. 119
the training of leaders[,] and in rightly recognising them as the true, responsible leaders of the Chinese Church, and we their helpers for Christ's sake. 196

The encouragement which Lyons gave to his congregation towards independence was met with a degree of success which was unusual in China.

Nor did independence evolve evenly throughout the nation. A 1924 article by Milton Stauffer 197 had the following to say:

In most of the larger and older mission fields one may find a number of churches which have attained complete financial independence. They support their own minister, pay all running expenses, conduct elementary schools and not infrequently contribute to home missionary enterprises in their immediate locality. In some younger evangelistic fields, notably where work among aborigines is now so successfully carried on, self-support has been a characteristic feature of the work from the beginning.

The reference to "aborigines" is to the tribespeople in southwest China (eg Miao, Lesu) amongst whom the CIM Australians in particular worked with such remarkable results. This oblique reference to them records their success from the outset in assisting the tribal churches

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towards independence.

The New Zealand CIM missionary Charles Jamieson, husband of the Australian CIM missionary Nellie Pearson, reported with approval in 1924 the almost complete reliance of the church at Kanchow, Kiangsi on Chinese resources, with regard to self-funding, self-government and self-propagation. The Chinese ladies in Nellie’s women’s band were also reported in the same article to be virtually free of any dependence on foreign funds.

Despite mixed emotions on the part of the missionaries, the movement towards independence ground steadily onwards, and it is germinal to consider some illustrative statistics in this regard.

An indicator of the developing strength of the Chinese church is to be found in an examination of the variation over time in the ratio of the CIM’s unpaid native helpers (working in an honorary, voluntary capacity) to its total native helpers (which included those paid by the CIM, by direct foreign support or by local churches). This was 26% in 1890, 25% in 1900, 37% in 1910, 51% in 1920, and 65% in 1930 and 1937, showing a marked upward trend over the almost half a century investigated and indicating that more and more Chinese were prepared to help in the task of evangelizing their fellows without seeking material reward.

Concomitant with this movement was a steady rise in the number of the CIM’s native pastors - 14 in 1890, 16 in 1900, 15 in 1910, 35 in 1920 and 59 in 1937 (no 1930 figure is available), although their numbers were very minute in

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terms of the population to be reached and the number of missionaries in the country over that period. Total CIM native helper figures are more impressive, though still far from adequate for the need, with 232 in 1890, 774 in 1900, 2012 in 1910, 2787 in 1920, 3400 in 1930 and 4416 in 1937.

It is also pertinent to note in the context of the growing independence of the Chinese Church, that by 1930 a number of CIM stations were already being entirely run by Chinese. These were the Shansi stations of Sichow, Taning and Hotsin and the Kiangsi station of Loping. However, they constituted only a minuscule number compared with the number of stations run by Europeans.

More refined CIM figures for 1930 and 1937 allow more detailed analysis of church worker funding, and show that in 1930, the total number of Chinese church workers was 3,400, of which by far the majority, 2222 or 65.4% were voluntary workers, while 525 or 15.4% were wholly or partially supported by Chinese funds, and 653 or 19.2% were wholly supported by Mission or foreign funds. This meant that by 1930, 80.8% of all Chinese church workers were either voluntary, or wholly or partially supported by Chinese funds. In 1937, excluding 59 pastors not categorised as to their funding source, there were 4357 Chinese church workers of which still by far the majority, 2873 or 65.9% were voluntary workers, while 818 or 18.8% were wholly or partially supported by Chinese funds, and 666 or 15.3% were wholly supported by Mission or foreign funds, so that by 1937, 84.7% of all (excluding the 59 pastors) Chinese church workers were either voluntary, or wholly or partially supported by Chinese funds.

The CIM statistics for 1930 and 1937 also contain the total amount contributed by the Chinese Churches in Mexican
dollars. This stood at $54,421.37 in 1930 and $115,961.79 in 1937, having more than doubled in those seven years.

An inflation rate of 11.4% per annum would have been required to produce the second figure from the first in seven years assuming no other cause, and, as this is quite a high rate, and the CIM was not associated with shaky currencies, it can be fairly confidently concluded that the increase was largely based on a genuine rise in Chinese contributions to their churches, rather than merely on the weakening effects of inflation on the currency the CIM adopted. In the same period, 1930-37, the number of communicants in fellowship only rose 31%, so that the contributions per head would also appear to have increased.

Certainly the degree of independence from foreign funding suggested by these statistics is impressive, and if the upward trend observed continued up until the Communist takeover in the early 1950s (detailed statistics peter out in 1938 so that this possibility cannot be substantiated), it is small wonder that a strong Christian Church was left behind which, despite bureaucratic infiltration and persecution, continued to flourish and expand.

A real fillip to the development of the indigenous Chinese Church occurred in 1927, when the majority of the missionaries were withdrawn from inland stations by consular instruction owing to the lawlessness and civil war then raging throughout the country, leaving the Chinese to

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199 The Butler letters provide ample evidence that the CIM were shrewd money managers. Being a faith mission, they had to be constantly on the lookout for means of making their dollar stretch as far as it could. They were accordingly keen students of rates of exchange and commodity prices and dealt in whatever currency or commodities gave them the best financial results.

run the churches in their absence in circumstances akin to a baptism of fire until the missionaries were able to return in 1928.

In this 1927-28 period of severe inner turmoil in China, the Chinese rose to the occasion in most cases, and, as the ex-Australian CIM missionary Walter Pike observed when I interviewed him on 6 December 1994, the Church was never the same again. When the missionaries returned to their posts, they frequently found church communities standing on their own feet, willing to accept them as Bible teachers, advisors and friends, and as equals but no longer as supervisors. As the Australian CIM missionary Thomas Andrews remarked at the time,

With the withdrawal of all foreigners [not all withdrew, but most did], churches have had to stand upon their own feet as never before, and the long term of our absence has made them keep standing ... ²⁰².

The independence, whether virtual or total, of many churches in China had its inception during this period of forced separation from foreign control.

This forced independence was built upon by an initiative of the CIM itself, a "Forward Movement" which was officially launched by the Mission in the early 1930s and for which 200 new missionaries were recruited over a two year period. Part of the policy in relation to this Movement was the


²⁰² CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol LIV, No. 2, CIM, Melbourne, 1 February 1928, p. 27
establishment of self-supporting and self-governing churches in China. This, in turn, required a redefinition of the role of the missionaries in that country. The Australian CIM missionary William Allen described the situation thus -

... the Forward Movement Policy of our Mission is to reach the hitherto unevangelised parts of China, and to establish self-supporting and self-governing churches in this land. ...

... The local Christians will need to secure their own preaching chapel; they will need to support their own preachers; they will become responsible for local services; our duty is to do the initial evangelising, the teaching of the converts, and the installing of right, self-governing principles from the very beginning. But you ask, ... "What happens if you are compelled to flee out of China?" Then a Church will remain that will not be dependent upon foreign money or foreign supervision. 203

The latter comment proved prophetic, and the successful implementation of the Forward Movement policies goes some way towards explaining the survival and eventual expansion of the Chinese Church after the Communists grasped power.

Further important developments in this area occurred after the Second World War, when the Mission began to notice a strong interest in Christianity amongst Chinese students, which the CIM and other missions were quick to exploit by

203 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol.XLIII, No. 5, CIM, Melbourne, 1 May 1932, p. 73
escalating their involvement in student work. A manifestation of this interest was the rapid spread of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship following its foundation in July 1945, to most universities and colleges in China.

The importance of the movement towards Christianity among this group cannot be underestimated in terms of its contribution to the survival and growth of the Christian Church in China after the foreign missionaries had left.

As the Rev Paul Contento, a CIM missionary, pointed out when interviewed in the US by the Editor of the North American edition of China's Millions:

Remember that China has only a handful of students in her few colleges compared with her tremendous population - less than 100,000 out of 450,000,000 - and until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war there were very few university graduates of the evangelical faith from the national universities.

... The real significance in the conversion of a Chinese student [to] Christ lies in the fact that every college graduate in China is bound to land in some position of importance, because many high positions are open with very few men to fill them. A college student who confesses Christ is almost certain to be a leader in the Church and perhaps also in the government or in the business world. ... Yes, indeed, this present movement among college and high school students is the answer to the Churches' cry to God for trained leadership, and I believe it is the most significant event in the history of Christian
While the coming of the Communist Government saw Communists rather than Christians in positions of secular power, these Christian students were important among those who kept the Christian Church alive in China through the years following the Communist takeover, the Cultural Revolution and beyond.

A content analysis of China's Millions from 1945 onwards shows that student work was one of the main areas in which the CIM was operating up until the time of their exodus from China. Also relevant to the survival of the Chinese Church after the exit of the Mission from China was the attention accorded by the CIM to Bible schools, both short and long-term, over a somewhat similar period. Illustrating the importance of this movement, the Australian CIM missionaries Rowland and Allison Butler reported in the China's Millions for February 1951, that

Our hearts were warmed one evening, as we listened to the report of the China Sunday School Union (helped by members of the Mission), and learned of over 640 Daily Vacation Bible Schools held during the summer in connection with the C.S.S.U. alone, and of the registration of 5,500 conversions from amongst those attending. 205

In the same publication, J Oswald Sanders, the Australasian Home Director reported that "900 students are now enrolled in the Bible Correspondence Courses prepared by Mr. Cyril


Before the CIM left China, it was confident that the foundation for an indigenous Chinese Christian Church had been solidly laid. As Bishop Frank Houghton, the General Director commented in February 1951,

... the churches associated with us have for many years (with very few exceptions) ceased to depend on us financially, and in any case they have long been self-governing.

As Australasian Home Director Sanders also remarked in the February 1951 *China's Millions*:

If the door to missionary work in China is closing, let us thank God that it is closing on a virile and functioning Church, in the formation of which our Mission has been privileged to have no small part.

This conclusion received some support from the observations of an Anglican team which visited China five years later, Archbishop Mowll of Sydney noting that

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206 Ibid., p. 14

207 Daniel Ho, a Fuller Theological Seminary doctoral student, had no doubt about it. He remarked that "During the era of Protestant Missions (1807-1950), an indigenous Chinese Church came into existence throughout the length and breadth of China." - Daniel Ho, *A Chinese Evaluation of the Western Missionaries' Penetration of China: How they responded to China's Problems, From 1852 to 1937*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the School of World Mission and Institute of Church Growth, Fuller Theological Seminary, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Missiology, April 1990, p. 104. Located Billy Graham Centre Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA

208 CIM, op. cit., p. 18

209 Ibid., p. 13
During our China visit it was very encouraging to hear tributes paid by Christian Chinese to the solid foundations of the Christian Faith which had been laid by missionaries.\footnote{Dr Howard W K Mowll, Archbishop of Sydney and Primate of the Church of England in Australia, "Szechwan Re-visited", a paper directed to A J Lea of the CIM, p. 18; document located in AR 5.1.4 DOM. China, Church policy, Box 1.20 Documents, reports, etc. 1943-1960, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore}

There were also those who felt that a firm foundation of Biblical knowledge had also been established, at least in some centres. Mrs Lilian Kitchen, widow of the Australian CIM missionary J Howard Kitchen, remarked when I interviewed her on 9 June 1995,

... I remember the last graduation [the Kitchens left China early in 1951] of the seminary [Chungking Theological Seminary] students - I just looked at them and realized if we leave China now, we've got all these people here who can give the Gospel message to their own people and in a much better way than we could.\footnote{Transcript of interview of Mrs Lilian Kitchen by the author on 9 June 1995, p. 7}

While this was true, it was an isolated example. The lack of sufficient Bible-trained pastors and other church officials in China was to lead to serious apostasy and schism within the Chinese Church after it emerged from the ravages of the cultural revolution in the 1970s.

Independence was one thing and Communist encroachment was another. While the missionaries were still in China, the influence of Communist propaganda and the fear of Communist persecution were already having effects on the stated
beliefs of Christian organizations. On 5 July 1950, in a statement of independence from foreign control evidently designed to placate the new Communist leadership, the Standing Committee of General Synod of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui \(^{212}\) and the House of Bishops announced -

> We acknowledge that the Church is not only unable to compromise with imperialism, feudalism, or bureaucratic capitalism, but takes issue with them as being fundamentally in opposition to the faith of the Church ... The things which our Church must henceforth promote in a positive way are ... an emphasis on productive labour and the service of society. \(^{213}\)

Despite such early attempts to reach an accommodation with the new régime, the Chinese Church suffered intermittent persecution, culminating in the excesses of the Cultural Revolution.

Fortunately for the survival of the Christian Church in China, house churches continued to meet even during the bloody days of the Cultural Revolution. As the China News and Church Report of 17 January 1992 noted:

> A Christian from central China ... recalled her experiences at house meetings during the early 1970's.

> **During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)**

\(^{212}\) An amalgamation of the English, American and Canadian Anglican Churches in China

\(^{213}\) "KSW", "A Pastoral Letter to Fellow-Christians of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, August 1950", located in HR 114 - "General Statistics of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (Holy Catholic Church of China)", Yale Divinity School Archives, New Haven, Connecticut, USA
worship services were held at her home after 11:00 PM, sometimes even at 2:00 in the morning! Other meetings were held in different houses with five to six people attending.

During the first half of the Cultural Revolution, her house church was kept secret, but after 1972 its activities became overt. 214

The question of whether there was a self-sufficient Chinese church left behind by the Christian missionaries is a vexed one, but in relation to the CIM there are several indicators, complementing or reinforcing points made above, which would support claims of Chinese churches they founded having attained self-sufficiency before the mission left, and these are highlighted below.

(1) Mission Policy

Before indigenization stood any chance of gaining strong momentum, it was virtually axiomatic that a mission would have to develop firm policies in that direction, enunciate them clearly, ensure that they were appropriately circulated, oversee their implementation, and nurture the process through to general fruition. The CIM had had a policy of indigenization from early times in China, but its implementation had been patchy, and it lacked much impetus, particularly from the Chinese side.

In line with earlier notions about easing in autonomy, shared responsibility for the government, support and

214 Article located in CIM/OMF Library and Archives, Toronto, Canada, entitled "House Churches Never Stopped Meeting During Cultural Revolution", CNCR China News and Church Report, Chinese Church Research Center, Shatin, Hong Kong, 17 January 1992, p. 1
propagation of the Chinese church was the more typical practice. For example, Rt Rev W W Cassells DD, Bishop in Western China, was able to report at an address to a London CIM Annual Meeting in May 1920 that

... parish councils to manage local affairs have been formed, and district councils, linking together a number of churches in one prefectorial district, have also been formed under the chairmanship of the Rural Deans. We have also our central diocesan council and our financial boards, on all of which the Chinese predominate though the foreign missionaries have a place.  

As early as 1921, the CIM’s China Council decided that

... a circular should be sent to all our stations, that from the 1st January, 1922 a 10% reduction should be made in the contribution from all sources towards the support of Chinese helpers ... and ... a circular to the Chinese Churches to the same effect. 

Later that year, on 7 December, the General Director, D E Hoste, distributed a questionnaire asking, amongst other things, whether sufficient progress had been made in self-support. Of the 270 respondents, 89 replied to this particular question, and of these, 75 said no, 12 yes, and 2 a qualified yes. Obviously in the opinion of the

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215 Rt Rev W W Cassells DD, Bishop in Western China, “Church of England Work of the China Inland Mission”, p. 5; paper located in CIM Box 18 File 414/2, SOAS, London University, Russell Square, London UK

216 122nd Session of the CIM’s China Council, 7 February 1921, Shanghai, located in CN 215, Box 2, Folder 39, "HQ: Minutes of China Council 1919-27", Billy Graham Centre Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA
respondents, self-support still had a long way to go within the CIM at that stage. 217

A CIM United Conference of Chinese and Foreign Workers was held in Shanghai on April 24 and 25, 1922. Its Business Committee was to be composed of six Chinese and seven foreign delegates, so that, while the need for significant Chinese involvement was recognized, the foreigners still had greater numbers.

The matters of self-support and self-propagation were discussed during this conference. Mr Ch’iao of Pingyangfu, Shensi, said that one of the obstacles was the way foreigners kept things in their own hands. The issue of self-government was also discussed, and Mr Ch’iao commented that "we cannot get self-government if the foreigners do not cease to govern." Mr Hua of Ninghai asked if foreigners really had the desire of self-government, as the conduct of some belied such an objective. 218

The CIM United Conference was followed by a Mission Conference held in Shanghai from April 26 to May 2, 1922, at which the number of foreign delegates to which the CIM was entitled was at least 65 while the number of Chinese delegates was 60, so that, yet again, the foreign contingent retained control. Three of the recommendations arising from this committee were that the Chinese Churches elect and control the workers they supported, that the Chinese Church be encouraged to undertake sole

217 Special Session of the CIM’s China Council, 7 April 1922 10:00am, Shanghai, located in CN 215, Box 2, Folder 39, "HQ: Minutes of China Council 1919-27", Billy Graham Centre Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA

218 Report of the CIM Conference Shanghai 1922, located in CN 215, Box 3, Folder 40, "Reports, Conferences: Shanghai united, 1922", Billy Graham Centre Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA
responsibility for definite tasks, and that a central fund be established, to which donations of the Chinese Christians might be given and from which its workers might be paid. 219

It was not, however, until 1927 when, buoyed by growing feelings of Chinese nationalism, the Chinese Church really began to seriously agitate for more independence from foreign control.

The CIM was unexceptional in recognizing the spirit of independence amongst its churches which emerged during the 18 months the missionaries were away from their stations in 1927-28 owing to the prevailing lawlessness, anti-foreign nationalistic outbursts, and parlous political and military situation at that time. The Mission was quick to respond with policies which addressed this movement towards local autonomy, and these policies proved quickly effective in advancing towards the desired goals of self-government, self-support and self-propagation, though their total attainment was a more long drawn out affair.

The first draft of a policy on the future relationship of the missionary to the Chinese Church was formulated by the China Council on 23 November 1927. The policy was reiterated and its historical context explained by the CIM's General Director in mid-1932. He reported as follows:

Following upon the anti-foreign outburst of the years 1925 to 1927, and the evacuation by our foreign workers from the greater part of our

219 Report of the Mission Conference held in Shanghai April 26th - May 2nd 1922, located in CN Box 3, Folder 40, "Reports, Conferences: Shanghai united, 1922", Billy Graham Centre Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA
field in 1926, the opportunity was taken to hold conferences for the consideration of measures for the fuller development of the self-government and self-support of the Chinese churches ... The main points of the scheme included the complete turnover of the control of church affairs to the Chinese Church officers and church members ... also self-support to be brought about by means of a graded scale for the annual taking over of increased financial responsibility by the churches. The following quotations from our official "Statement of Policy" will furnish further details regarding the carrying out of these arrangements:

"I CHURCH ORGANIZATION.

"1. The oversight of all church matters should be handed over to the church concerned, including responsibility for: (a), the arrangements for public worship; (b), the reception, discipline and spiritual oversight of church members; (c), the conducting of baptisms, the Lord's Supper, as well as marriages and funerals; (d), the choice and appointment of church officers and workers; (e), and the administration of all funds used in connection with its work.

"2. It should be recognized that the appointment of missionaries to stations does not entitle them to any office in the Chinese Church. Care should, therefore, be exercised by missionaries to avoid assuming any office or any authority that would retard the progress of the Church in self-government and self-support."
II CHINESE WORKERS.

"1. The large place given to voluntary and unpaid workers in the New Testament should be continually kept before the Church, it being the duty and privilege of all Christians to witness for Christ and engage in voluntary service as the natural expression of their faith in Him.

"2. All Chinese workers, wholly or partly supported by the Mission, for whom the Christian Church is willing to assume responsibility on a gradually increasing scale to be agreed on between the Church and the Mission, shall be transferred without undue delay from the Mission to the Chinese Church, which will be responsible for their appointment, oversight and discipline."

... I am glad to say that ... much genuine progress has been made in carrying out these arrangements. ... Together with self-government, self-support has also been steadily developed ... 220

In 1932, the Editorial Secretary and later General Director of the Mission, Frank Houghton, was also able to report on the situation in this regard. He commented as follows:

That the Chinese Church ... should be truly indigenous, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating, is an axiom recognized by all

the various missionary organizations. Circumstances, alas - not all of the missionary's making - have made the indigenization of the Church an ideal towards which all are striving rather than (as we desire should be the case) the only sound basis upon which to work. Recent events, particularly the period of missionary evacuation (1926-1928), have accelerated the process. The self-government of the Church is practically an accomplished fact, though the attainment of the goal of self-support is delayed by the extreme poverty of the people, due to oppressive taxation, civil war, banditry, and "acts of God", such as famine and flood. 221

Houghton then went on to talk about self-propagation thus:

... while we recognize the right of the Chinese Church to govern itself, and while we regard self-support as desirable, we rejoice most that in many places the Church is becoming a self-propagating body .... One of the chief fruits of recent meetings, conducted in various provinces by Chinese leaders ... has been the formation of evangelistic bands within the Churches.

Perhaps the most encouraging and striking development of late years is the blessing which has followed the ministry of purely Chinese leaders, men and women with the gifts of the evangelist and the teacher, ... prepared to travel from province to province at the

invitation of the churches. Apart from the salvation of outsiders, the results have been a new and deeper conviction of sin amongst the Chinese Christians, a new vision of Christ and appropriation of His fulness, and a new sense of urgency in the task of making him known to others. 222

In a further booklet in this series, undated but evidently written in about 1933, Houghton noted the important part that tent evangelism had played in the achievement of self-propagation. 223 Tent evangelism and the so-called Bethel bands of Chinese evangelists received increasingly more frequent mentions in China's Millions from about this time.

By 1938, while there had been positive movement towards self-government and self-propagation, advance towards the goal of self-support had been minimal within the CIM though not within some other missions. Lobenstein noted that in respect of that year:

The MMS [Methodist Missionary Society] raises in China 93 per cent. of the cost of its work programs: The United Church of Canada 51 per cent.: The Methodist Episcopal Church, South 32 per cent.: The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 70 per cent. and the China Inland Mission [only] 10 per cent. 224

222 Ibid, p. 4


While the differences can be largely explained by the CIM's concentration on opening new, rather than merely consolidating old, churches, and other missions' focus on the more affluent coastal and inland entrepôt centres, there was still considerable scope for improvement in the CIM's performance in this sphere by the late 1930s.

At a conference of supervisors in Chungking in 1942 there was talk of division of church and mission property, and of the need for a title for CIM churches so that they could be registered with the Government. The 1921 decision of the China Council to bring about a 10% reduction in contributions towards the support of Chinese helpers may not have made great headway, since a policy of phasing in a reduction in their emoluments was again mooted at this time. This reduction was to be according to a sliding scale, commencing at 50% of present rates and decreasing by 10% annually, terminating at the end of three years. 225

With the disruption and the aftermath of the war, there was a period of almost two years from 9 April 1945 to 25 January 1947 within which the China Council did not meet. However, Shanghai CIM China Council meetings were resumed in January 1947, and the week's meetings constituted the 206th Session of the Council.

At meetings held during that session on 27 and 29 January 1947, reports were presented on the post-war state of the church in each of the provinces. The surveys which had been carried out showed that, although the record was uneven,

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225 Minutes of the Conference of Supervisors in Chungking on Thursday 19 March 1942 at 9.30am; located AR 6.2.1, Vol. 2, CIM: Minutes of the Conference of Superintendents held from Monday March 16 1942 until Saturday 21 March 1942, Chungking, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore
the Chinese Church had generally moved closer to self-sufficiency during the war years, particularly with regard to self-propagation, which was alluded to in relation to eight provinces. Self-support was noted in relation to five provinces and self-government in relation to three. A purely statistical content analysis is misleading here, however, as some of the components of local autonomy, particularly self-government, had been implemented in a number of the provinces much earlier, and would appear to have been taken for granted by some of the missionaries who conducted the surveys, so that the movement towards independence is significantly understated. What surprised most of the assessors was the expansion which had taken place in the church despite (or perhaps because of) the ravages of the war and the absence of missionaries. The tribal churches had proved especially strong in terms of self-government, self-support and self-propagation, but they had been led down those paths right from the very start. 226

Certainly there is abundant evidence to establish that there was a strong CIM policy in favour of self-sufficiency, and that it was widely implemented, after the political and military turmoil of the late 1920s, throughout the field which the Mission administered. It is also clear that some other Missions were well ahead of the CIM in terms of self-support.

That a strong Chinese leadership was left behind in many centres after the missionaries left is beyond doubt. A post-1954 CIM "Revised prayer list of Chinese Church leaders" listed no less than 556 Chinese Church leaders in

226 See AR 6.2.4, Box 1.4 - CIM: Minutes of China Council Session 206 et seq January to October 1947 Shanghai, CIM Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore
188 centres. Details for the Province of Shantung were not available, but otherwise there was a significant Chinese leadership shown for all the Chinese provinces in which the CIM had worked (which excluded Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi). 227

(2) Property

The first draft of the CIM policy regarding the future relationship of the missionary to the Chinese Church, formulated at the China Council meeting of 23 November 1927, also took within its ambit the matter of Mission property. Its provisions spelt out the relevant responsibilities thus:

In districts where the Chinese Church authorities desire Mission property used for distinctly Church purposes to be transferred to their control, the Mission will give sympathetic consideration to their request and, where the necessary safeguards can be secured, may lease or loan the property for a specified period, the rental being sufficient to provide for the necessary repairs and upkeep.

When a Church has become self-supporting and self-governing, and in other respects conforms to the standards of the Mission, the Mission may then consider the transfer of the property to a central church body, under suitable safeguards as to its future use and upkeep, to be held in trust.

227 CIM Box 17, File 411, SOAS, London University, Russell Square, London, UK
by it for the local church. 228

What is particularly noticeable here is the cautiousness and wariness with which the Mission approached the notion of transferring property to the Chinese Church. Even when a church had become self-supporting and self-governing, the Mission would then only consider transferring property to it and when it did, there were still various strings attached. The policy had hardly changed at all by 1943, when the then latest iteration read as follows:

3. Property. Wherever Churches have reached a stage of spiritual development where they could assume the responsibilities involved, it is desired to hand over Mission property in actual use for distinctly church purposes to the churches ... to give the churches freehold title to the properties concerned, such title being given to a central board of Trustees, and not to a local church. The appointment of such boards of trustees should be the responsibility of the District or Provincial Association. 229

Such District Associations did exist, as Cyril Faulkner mentioned the Kiangsi Church Association in his "Exodus" report of 26 April 1951. 230 There was also a South Shensi Association of Churches. This was formed in about 1936 and

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228 See Minutes of the CIM's China Council meeting held in Shanghai on 23 November 1927; located in CN 215, Box 2, Folder 39, "HQ: Minutes of China Council 1919-27", Billy Graham Centre Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA

219 Strictly Confidential Private Memorandum [1957] to Mr J O Saunders, copy to Rowland Butler, pp. 1-9, by unnamed author but probably one of Archbishop Mowll or Canon Loane, who were in an 8-man Anglican team who visited China in 1956; located in AR 5.1.4 DOM, China, Church Policy, Box 1.20, Documents, reports, etc. 1943-1960, CIM/OMF Archives, Singapore

226 AR 5.1.4, Box 1.7, Correspondence etc. Jiangxi 1950, CIM/OMF Archives, Singapore
bound 25 churches together. There were also other well organiz
ised bodies of this type in China before the missionaries left. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society synods by the early 1940s were virtually always composed of Chinese with a very occasional European.

A lack of confidence in the Chinese with regard to church property was reflected in CIM literature throughout the 1940s. In the Kwangsin River area of Kiangsi, once a jewel in the CIM’s crown, mission property abounded, but most of it was devastated in a Japanese raid in 1942. What emerged as a difficulty here was “the avarice displayed by people within the church towards mission property.” The churches there were described as “extremely weak” and lacking leadership, with “‘Getting’ rather than ‘giving’ ... a pathetic characteristic of the Christians along the river ... .” They had become accustomed since their earliest days to a handout mentality, and it was felt that to give them property would not be of benefit to them, but detrimental.

Further correspondence in the “Correspondence regarding Property 1945-1949” file in the OMF Singapore Archives provided evidence of the CIM owning vast tracts of property for which it held title deeds. Each deed had to be re-registered with the Chinese National Government following

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231 AR 5.1.4, Box 1.11, Correspondence etc. Shaanxi 1950, “Exodus” report 1951, unnamed author, CIM/OMF Archives, Singapore

232 The Church of Christ in China, an amalgam of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in China which claimed about one third of Protestant communicants in that country in the late 1940s, reported post-October 1948 in a paper entitled “The Church of Christ in China” (pp. 2-3) that “There are synods of the church in almost every part of the country. ... There are now 21 Synods, 110 District Associations (Presbyteries) and 2767 organized congregations. ... The Church was represented by a Chinese delegate in Amsterdam in 1948.” - located MS ACC 7548 D42, MSS Department, National Library of Scotland, The Mound, Edinburgh, Scotland

233 WMMS Section 1 China - Synod Minutes - China 1853-1946, File Box No. 6, 1943-46 (original box no. 513), SOAS, London University, Russell Square, London, UK
the promulgation on 29 April 1946 of the Land Law of China. Deeds had to be passed through the British consular authorities to receive a certification that the property was British-owned so that it could be registered gratis under the terms of the Sino-British Treaty of 1943. As the CIM had been incorporated in England on 2 December 1890 under the Companies Act 1862-1890, the land it held was legally regarded as British-owned.

The point here is that even by the late 1940s, large tracts of Mission land were still British rather than Chinese-owned. The situation in the London Missionary Society regarding property appears to have been little different from that of the CIM. In a letter from W F Rowlands, copy Mr Orchard, for circulation among "NCDC", he remarks that the Siaochang compound property "is partly owned by the Chinese Christian Church", suggesting that the church belonged to the Chinese and the rest to the LMS.

Even by January 1950, only 18 months before the CIM began its mass exodus from China, there were approaching 2,500 deeds held by the CIM. Some church property was evidently changing hands at that time, however, since the American CIM missionary Eleanore Snyder Crook recorded that it was not until 1950, after the Communist takeover, that "The church property [which] had always belonged to the China Inland Mission ... was now officially turned over to


the local church." 237

Owing to the Nationalist Lands Department having destroyed all property records and survey plans before evacuating, and because the Communists were bent on a policy of land reform, which commenced in early December 1950, the new Government also required re-registration. This caused the CIM and other missions to focus anew on their land holdings.

It is clear that considerable church property was held by the Chinese Church by early 1951, as Gilbert Vinder, CIM Chengtu, in a letter to Rowland Butler of 21 February 1951 remarked in relation to the activities of the Communists that "more and more it becomes a story of Church property to Church, and Mission property to some local authority". 238 Further, income was being derived from old mission properties by Three Self Churches, as the following report attests.

In early 1951 the Government froze United States assets, which put many churches in serious trouble. The Government agreed that churches which came under the umbrella of the Three Self Movement would be allowed to receive rentals from properties which formerly belonged to missionary societies and would be exempt from taxes on property used for Church purposes. Funds for the Three Self Movement itself were provided by the Government in the form of rental for the old CIM

237 Eleanore Snyder Crook, Orchids Underfoot, unpublished MS post-July 1980, Toronto CIM/OMF Library and Archives, Canada

238 AR 5.1.4, Box 1, CIM: Property Letters 1950-51: 2, "Correspondence regarding Property 1950-51", Folio 215, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore
buildings in Shanghai. Properties which were
built as residences, hospitals and schools were
occupied by the Government, but Churches in many
cases received a rental from the Government for
their use. The Churches were really living on the
revenues thus derived. 239

With the prospect before it of its property going to the
Government, the CIM appears to have made some last minute
moves to transfer property to the Chinese Church so that it
at least ended up in Christian rather than Government
hands. For example, in a letter of 31 January 1951 to Mr J
M Rockness, Shanghai from the Australian CIM missionary
Cyril Faulkner, Nanchang, he remarked that

All the other deeds you sent, and the remaining
deeds I had here in Nanchang at the time, I gave
to Pastor Wang Peh Chen as he is seeking to
encourage the churches to take over property, and
we need these deeds to establish ownership of
property after we have gone. 240

To some extent at least, this ploy may have been
successful, as George Steed of Suancheng, Anhui, writing
on board SS "Lok Sang" on 27 April 1951 as he was leaving
China, observed that "The authorities seem to have
recognized the transfer of deeds from the Mission to the

239 Strictly Confidential Private Memorandum [1957] to Mr J O Saunders, copy to Rowland Butler, pp. 1-9, by unnamed author but probably one of Archbishop Mowll or Canon Loane who were in an 8-man Anglican team which visited China in 1956; located in AR 5.1.4 DOM, China, Church Policy, Box 1.20, Documents, reports, etc. 1943-1960, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore

240 AR 5.1.4, Box 1, CIM: Property Letters 1950-51: 2, "Correspondence regarding Property 1950-51", Folio 214, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore
Church, at least in South Anhui."  

However, the takeover of property by the Communists moved on apace, and had a profound effect on how the church subsequently operated and survived, as the following two exodus questionnaire excerpts suggest.

The CIM missionary, Marie Barham of Chuhsien and Kiangshan, Chekiang, in reply to her exit questionnaire, observed that "In Kiangshan they [the Communists] took over the property in the city. In the country the church is in a private home ... I believe the Church can do no else than go underground."  

The CIM missionary Helen Reynolds of Chuhsien and Changshan, Chekiang stated on 5 May 1951 in her exit questionnaire that "The Church in ... Changshan is now closed to all services and public Christian witness ... I don’t think there is any organized 'home' worship, but of course there are families which one knows will be 'carrying on,' ... I think the Church will live on, but not in its present state."  

The importance of cottage meetings and private devotion in the survival of the church in subsequent years is presaged in these statements.

While church property became the subject of bitter

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241 Answer to Question 20 of a general questionnaire sent to departing missionaries, located AR 5.1.4, Box 1.1, "Correspondence etc Anhui China 1947-1950", ‘Exodus’ report 1951, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore

242 AR 5.1.4, Box 1.2, "Correspondence etc Zhejiang China 1950 ‘Exodus’ report 1951", CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore

243 Ibid.
litigation on some other mission fields, there is scant evidence of this having occurred in the CIM's bailiwick. There were one or two cases of early breakaway churches making unilateral decisions in relation to church property, but such churches, which were usually the outcome of reaction against missionary puritanism, were normally short-lived, and the property reverted to the mission when the breakaway collapsed. The CIM's granting to the Chinese of church property by leasehold and later freehold seems to have headed off the legal battles which were a feature of some other mission fields.

(3) Anecdotal Evidence

In the body of the thesis is anecdotal evidence from a number of Australians of their having moved their churches towards self-government, self-support and self-propagation, usually with a significant degree of success. While claims could have been exaggerated or even fabricated to impress Headquarters Staff, missionary assertions were open to verification, and mendacity was not a practice likely to be prevalent amongst missionaries, nor rewarded in a strongly ethical organization like the CIM. Accordingly the author believes that such claims should be viewed as plausible and that the Church had made the solid progress towards self-sufficiency which missionaries claimed. Australians like Arthur Mathews, viewing the situation at the time of the death throes of their occupation of China, felt confident that they were leaving behind a reasonably self-sufficient church. As he reported in January 1951,

With regard to the church, Pastor Jen ... seems to do all the running of things. A committee has been formed to deal with all the work ... He plans to put me in the preaching shop on the
street ... Every Sunday after the main service the congregation divide up into bands, one, two or three, and go out into the nearby villages to preach. 264

Certainly in the Hwangyuan, Northern Region of Tsinghai, where Mathews was working, the Chinese Church was self-governing and self-propagating by 1951, the year the 'reluctant exodus' of the missionaries began. This story was repeated in very many areas of China.

(4) The Church Today

The missionaries' confidence that the church would be strong enough to survive their exit from China has been borne out by subsequent events. The number of Protestant Christians now in China is estimated at something like 50 million, and a Communist document of 1992 reportedly gave a figure of 63 million, though this lacks verification. The number of Protestants in China when the Communists took control was only one million, so that a huge expansion of the Christian Church has taken place under Communism. A figure of 50 million Protestants would make the Chinese Church the equal largest (with the US) group of committed evangelical Christians in the world, though Lambert puts the figure at more like 33 million and has it second, but likely to surpass the US in the next 10-20 years on current growth rates. [Interestingly, in provinces where Lambert has been able to obtain relatively reliable figures, Christians have been found to represent 5-6% of the population, and if that ratio is applied to the total population, then the number of Christians is 60-72 million.

However, those provinces were the more evangelized coastal ones.) While Christian radio broadcasts, which began while the missionaries were still in China, and received considerable stimulus from them, have certainly contributed significantly to these figures, other more traditional evangelical methods practised by the missionaries and their successors have without doubt also been a very strong factor. It is highly unlikely that the annual compounding growth rate of Chinese Christians of 8.7% needed to achieve in 47 years a church of 50 million people could have been attained without considerable impetus from the missionaries. In any event, the present strong state of the church in China appears to bear out the missionaries' optimism that they had left a strong, self-sufficient church behind which would survive and possibly even grow. The significance of house churches in the survival and growth of the Church, foreshadowed by the missionaries, has also proved a reality, with their self-propagating nature borne out by recent reports. For example, a Chinese Church Research Center News Report of 15 November 1996 noted that "the fervent missionary vision of the house churches, particularly in Henan [Honan] and Zhejiang [Chekiang] Provinces has led to the planting of churches in areas previously unreached by the Gospel."

Though the church has survived and grown, this has been achieved in the face of manifold difficulties, some of which were arguably avoidable, and these have been spelt out by Chinese Church leaders subsequent to the


missionaries' departure.

In 1957, 6 years after the CIM had left China, in a strictly confidential report of an investigation into the state of the Chinese Church directed to J Oswald Sanders, copy to Rowland Butler, by an unnamed foreign author who was probably one of Archbishop Mowll or Canon Loane, who had visited China in 1956 as part of an 8-man Anglican delegation, there were cited various observations of Chinese Church leaders, some critical of the CIM. For example, the Rev Marcus Cheng, onetime Principal of the Chungking Theological Seminary, but subsequently Vice-Chairman of the Three Self Movement and "ultra pro Communist" 247 said that

the CIM had failed to train adequate Chinese leaders or to provide for the organisation of CIM church work. As a result, CIM work suffered very severely when missionaries withdrew - more so than those churches which had been organized under the aegis of a definite Church. ... Many earnest Christians continue to meet in private homes, and others joined other congregations; eg. in Chekiang many joined the Little Flock.

Pastor David Yang, Pastor of a Free Christian Church in Shanghai, reported that

in Shansi ... after liberation in 1949, the CIM system posed a problem as it had seldom planned to train Chinese leaders for the higher administrative posts; eg. no Chinese ever became

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247 E W Ayton, "Exodus" report 1951 on Tsingyuan, Kansu; located in AR 5.1.4, Box 1.6, "Correspondence etc Gansu 1946-50", CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore
the Superintendent of a District ... there was
general lack of leadership and organisation.

Pastor Chen-yi-cheng of south west Szechwan noted that

there are still many active Churches, but they
are loosely organised.

All of these criticisms had more than an element of truth.
Like women, no Chinese ever rose to a position of
Provincial Superintendent, and consequently were never
represented on the China Council. The Chinese were often
well-trained as churchmen, but were not trained to take
over key management positions. With the exodus of the
mission from China, the whole top structure of the CIM
suddenly disappeared, leaving a plethora of isolated
churches all over the country which were without the
central co-ordination and control upon which they had come
to depend. 248 It is not surprising that they frequently
sought this control in the Three Self Movement or in other
better centrally co-ordinated Chinese Church groups like
the Little Flock.

Conclusion

Despite a mission policy devoted from early times to the
development of a self-sufficient indigenous church in
China, and considerable movement towards that goal in many
areas of the nation, the CIM’s tardiness in handing over

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248 Keith Butler, son of the Australian CIM missionaries Rowland and Allison Butler (née Pike),
thought that denominational missions were worse off than the CIM when the missionaries left
China. When the author interviewed him on 14 February 1995 he remarked that, "They [the CIM
churches] were largely autonomous and therefore didn’t really collapse in a heap when the
missionaries left, whereas, say, the Methodists, Anglicans and Catholics tended to be very
hierarchically governed and you cream off all the foreign leaders and you just ... well, it’s a bit
of a death." (Transcript p. 7)
church property, and particularly buildings ancillary to the place of worship itself, to the emerging Chinese Church hampered the expeditious achievement of that objective and found the Mission attempting to unload property with indecent haste as it was exiting the country. The result has been that much church property which could have been in Christian hands and facilitating the church’s development, passed into the possession of the Communist Government. Despite this, current statistics of Chinese Church members show that a strong and thriving Chinese Church has developed, and much of the credit for that can be sheeted home to the work of the missionaries in establishing a solid and self-sufficient church before they left.

3.1.8 Literature Distribution

An indirect method of assessing the penetration of China by the Gospel, which the missionaries conveyed to the Chinese, is to examine the extent of Christian literature distribution within that country over the period when they were there. Some literature will have been distributed by Chinese Christians, but usually under missionary instruction, at least in the period during which distribution figures were systematically documented.

A number of Religious Tract Societies (RTS) operated in China from as early as 1876. The Central China RTS was founded in 1876 and the North China Tract Society in 1883. In 1915 these amalgamated to form the RTS of North and Central China, based in Hankow. The China RTS was established in 1878 and the East China Tract Society in 1885. These joined in about 1896 to form the China Tract Society, based in Shanghai. The West China RTS was formed at the turn of the century. These three large societies served about 300 million of the then total population of
China, which spoke various mandarin dialects. In South China, however, there was a large population speaking various local dialects for which special literature had to be prepared. Serving this group was the North Fukien RTS based in Foochow, the South Fukien RTS, based in Amoy, the latter established in about 1908, and the South China RTS, based in Canton. The Religious Tract Society, based in London, and founded in about 1800, reported on the activities of these societies, amongst other things, in its annual reports, and made small grants available to them to assist them in their endeavours. The Religious Tract Society became the United Society for Christian Literature commencing 1935/36.

It was from such tract societies that the CIM and other missions in China purchased Christian literature to distribute amongst the Chinese with whom they made contact. 249 When itinerating, missionaries would take a supply of tracts, posters and other religious literature with them to pin up or pass out to Chinese to whom they preached or spoke individually. The Chinese venerated the written word, even when illiterate, and tended to keep rather than discard literature they received 250, seeking out others who could read to give them the meaning.

249 For example, at page 3 of a letter of 5 April 1941 to his parents from Tuyun, the Australian CIM missionary Rowland Butler reported as follows: "Prices these days are terrible. Months ago I ordered tracts which came along recently. The freight on $127 worth of tracts will be over $300!!!! Once the Tract Society sent them post free. However, we need the tracts and can mortgage our title money to pay for them."

250 Elizabeth F Small née Stair, the widow of the Australian CIM missionary Robertson Small, attested to this when she was interviewed by Robert Shuster on 28 October 1980 at the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA. She said that tracts were not thrown away because writing was sacred to the Chinese: they worshipped the characters. The author listened to those segments of the interview tape covering Robertson Small (CN 164 Elizabeth S[tair] Small, Tape 1, cassette sides 2-3) while visiting the Center in January-February 1997.
While sometimes distributed gratis, given that most of its recipients were very poor, such literature was normally sold at a minuscule price in order to give those receiving it a sense of ownership. As the Chinese had a great respect for money, it was reasoned that they would also be less likely to discard something they had paid for.

For such reasons, a multiplier effect doubtless applied to the circulation of literature of this type, in that one Gospel portion might be retained for a lengthy period, and read by several people, in the same way as books are passed from one reader to another in the present era. Another multiplier effect also applied in that a person set on the path of conversion by a tract might convert several others, and there is occasional anecdotal evidence in the literature of this type of outcome.

There were also geographical multiplier effects associated with the distribution of this literature. When itinerating, missionaries usually timed their stopovers to coincide with market days in particular settlements through which they were to pass. Such markets drew people from near and far, and they took tracts home to villages too distant or numerous for the missionaries to reach themselves. On the Tibetan border, for example, such tracts were carried into areas where the missionary was forbidden to travel.

For such reasons, religious literature was very effective in spreading the Gospel, and distribution figures give some indication of the extent of penetration of the Gospel. Because of multiplier effects, the circulation figures are probably a gross understatement of the number of people actually reached.

Prior to 1920, the annual figures on Chinese tract
distribution collected by the RTS are fragmentary and impossible to meaningfully aggregate. However, there are exact distribution figures from 1920 to 1940 inclusive, and the Table 5 (below) records them.

The Sino-Japanese War began to bite into circulation figures in 1937-38 and 1938-39 and, although there was a slight lift in the figures in 1939-40, the effects from 1940-41 were such that only piecemeal figures are reported until 1948-49 when the annual distribution was down to a relatively tiny 860,550.

Although the war virtually stopped production, it should not be forgotten that over the 21 year period 1919-20 to 1939-40 a total of 133 million pieces of literature were produced by the Chinese Religious Tract Societies reported on by the RTS London or its successor, the USCL. This 133 million in 21 years produces an average of 6.3 million items per year, some of which would have been kept and read and re-read over the lean tract production years during the war and even after. In the 65 years up to and including 1939-40, the Religious Tract Societies had produced 162,680,320 pieces of literature.

Other producers of Christian literature were also active in China, so that the foregoing represents only part of the total picture. In addition to the tract societies, there were a number of Bible societies operating in China during the Australians' sojourn there. These were the American Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Bible Society for Scotland. In 1935-36, together, they distributed 66,112 Bibles, 70,048 Testaments and 8,628,675 scripture portions. These had only 19 foreign staff between them, but were supported by 608 Chinese
### Table 5

Religious Tract Society Circulation Figures 1919-20 to 1939-40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Distribution (pieces of literature)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>1,722,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>2,533,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-22</td>
<td>3,134,293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-23</td>
<td>2,966,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923-24</td>
<td>3,768,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924-25</td>
<td>4,143,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td>5,958,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-27</td>
<td>4,813,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927-28</td>
<td>7,119,835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-29</td>
<td>11,172,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>11,505,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>13,609,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>8,815,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>7,967,607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td>8,453,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>8,223,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>7,198,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>7,305,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-38</td>
<td>6,000,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td>2,336,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>4,017,097</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
helpers. In the 120 years to 1934-35 the British and Foreign Bible Society alone had produced 102,195,389 Chinese Scripture copies comprising 910,572 Bibles, 3,403,630 Testaments and 97,881,187 Scripture portions. In 1934-35 the British and Foreign Bible Society produced 4,227,166 Chinese Scripture copies, the National Bible Society of Scotland 2,911,769 and the American Bible Society 2,145,627, making a total of 9,284,562 for that year. This compared with 9,706,818 in 1933-34, 9,402,548 in 1932-33 and 9,694,257 in 1931-32.

The activities of the religious tract societies described above, which claimed to be "far and away the largest distributors of evangelistic literature in China", taken together with the work of the Bible societies, provide a very good guide to the contribution of literature to the spread of the Gospel in China.

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251 By 1944-45, an organization known as the "United Christian Publishers" had been formed, representing a co-operative effort on the part of the Canadian Mission Press, the Christian Literature Society and the Religious Tract Society. While the coalescence of organizations with an interest in the production of Christian literature was a feature of the war years, actual production was not, with Shanghai and Hankow presses completely shut down. - United Society for Christian Literature, Builders of the Future: USCL 146th Year 1944-45, (Redhill, Surrey: USCL, 1944-45), p. 16 (Fiche, USCL Archives H-8509 AR No. 351 1944-45 146th No. 20 consulted at Yale Divinity School Library)


254 The preparation of hymn books was one of the necessary components in Christian literature production. The Lutheran Church of China was, like other churches in that country, engaged in this activity. At the meeting of its Tune Book Committee at Tsingtao on 8 July 1932, some eminently sensible and important resolutions were passed including to eliminate "useless" and "unsingable" tunes and "to have the rhythm of the hymns conform to the rhythm of the tunes." - Minutes of the Lutheran Church of China Tune Book Committee which met at Tsingtao on 8 July 1932: Lutheran Church of China Annual Report 1931-32 located in HR 116, "Lutheran Church of China 1928-1937", Yale Divinity School Archives, New Haven, Connecticut, USA. - In view of the almost universal vilification by the missionaries of earlier Chinese attempts at hymn-singing, cynics might
The CIM's primary interest was in the regions covered by the RTS of North and Central China, the Chinese Tract Society, and the West China RTS, with the Fukien-based societies covering areas more within the bailiwick of other missions. There are several references in the CIM literature to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and this appears to have been the source from which it obtained most of its Bibles in China.

There is abundant evidence in China's Millions, of Australian CIM missionaries having been heavily involved in the distribution of Christian literature, and some of the numbers of pieces of literature distributed by individual missionaries on itinerating journeys are very impressive. Between 14 November 1895 and 9 January 1896, for example, the Australian CIM missionary, Oliver Burgess, claimed to have sold 7,475 cash 255 of books including eight New Testaments, and, on a 6 week trip in 1892, about 2,000 books and tracts. 256 This was another area where the Australian contribution to the CIM's penetration of China was considerable.

The use of posters as a means of spreading the Gospel was widespread, and is well exemplified in a circular written in October 1934 by the North American CIM missionary J H Mellow and his wife, the Australian CIM missionary Mrs Frances Mary Mellow née McDonald. This tells of an

well have argued that a lot of time and trouble may have been avoided by leaving things the way they were! The pity is, that such pragmatic recommendations do not yet appear to have been implemented in relation to some modern-day hymns in Australian churches!

255 A copper coin equalling one thousandth of the value of a Chinese 'ounce' or tael (commonly about 1 1/3 British imperial ounces) of silver, and fluctuating in value with the price from time to time of that commodity. It was the Chinese equivalent of what Europeans would call "small change".

256 See Section 3.2.2 - The itinerations of Burgess and Goold.
itineration routed through the western hills near their station at Siaoyi, shansi, that commenced on 26 April 1934 and lasted over 16 days, during which time they pasted up 350 Gospel posters at Tuichiuyu, 400 at Shuangchih and an unstated number at Shihkeo. 257

Distribution of Christian literature in China today continues to play an important part in the growth of Christianity in that country. China News and Church Report 2458 noted that Amity Press in China produced its ten millionth Bible in June 1995. The then current production rate of 2.7 million Bibles per year was still far below that needed to keep up with the growth of the Christian church, and there were plans to install a second press with a capacity of 4.5 Bibles and New Testaments per year. 258

3.2 Australian CIM men missionaries' penetration of China

No assessment of the Australian missionary contribution to the CIM effort in China would be complete without analysis of the geographical penetration of China by those missionaries, particularly where their activities were of a pioneering nature, and this section of the thesis explores the endeavours of Australians in this context.

The first Australian CIM missionary, Mary Reed, was recruited in London and sailed on 26 January 1888 for China.

257 Circular located in the Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA, under Ref. No. CN 215, Box 4, Folder 42, "US Council Correspondence - Mellow J H and F M 1934"

258 China Ministries International - Chinese Church Research Centre, CNCR China News and Church Report, No. 2458, CMI-CCRC, Shatin, New Territories, Hong Kong, 3 November 1995, located in CIM/OMF Archives and Library, Toronto, Canada
where she remained until 1889 when she was forced to return to Australia because of ill-health. On 1 January 1889 she appeared with Miss R Crewdson on the CIM establishment list in Kiang-su Province at Kao-yiu, which station is shown as only having opened in that year so that she was not only the first Australian CIM missionary, but also a pioneer of a new post. She sailed again for China with Hudson Taylor's November 1890 party from Australia but was invalidated home to Tasmania again six months later. On 1 January 1891 she is shown in Kiang-su Province again, this time at Chinkiang, with Thomas and Mrs Hutton. Chinkiang had opened only in 1889 so that it had just been operating for two years when she took up occupancy there. Mary continued her connection with the CIM after she left the field in 1891, functioning as Secretary and Treasurer of the Launceston Branch of the Mission from 1895 to 1902.

The second Australian missionary was Charles Augustus Ewbank, who, like Mary Reed, was recruited in London in 1888. He was engaged in study at Gan-k'ing (Gan-hwuy) as at 1 January 1889 before being posted to a station in the same province. Poor health forced him off the mission field after about a year there, and he returned to Australia in 1890, taking up a position with the South Australian branch of the CIM which he occupied for a year or two before returning to England where he performed secretarial work for another missionary society for some years before he died.

The third Australian CIM missionary was Charles H Parsons who was recruited in advance of the formation of the Australian Council and reached Shanghai on 29 April 1890. He is shown in Si-ch'uen Province at Wan-hien in the establishment list for 1 January 1891 in company with Albert and Mrs Phelps and J N Hayward. Wan-hien had been
opened in 1888 so that the station was three years old when he moved there. At the start of 1892 he was still stationed in Si-ch’uen, this time, however, at Pao-ning (opened 1886), where he stayed for many years in company with W W (later Bishop) Cassels, Mrs Cassels and several others including, over the years, a number of Australians.

The next Australian CIM missionaries to arrive in China were the first party to leave Australia. They sailed for China on 20 November 1890 and reached Shanghai on 21 December 1890. The party comprised Frank Burden, Oliver Burgess, Albert S Devenish, Alfred C Rogers, Lydia Aspinall, Mary Ellen Booth, Rebecca Anne (Faith) Box (a first cousin twice removed of the author’s), Emma Fysh, Johanna Lloyd, Theodosia Mary Sorenson and Emma Steel. Regular arrivals of other parties followed.

There were a number of missionaries who started out on the Chinese mission field with the British or other contingents but later settled in Australia and became, to all intents and purposes, Australians. This was particularly true of the overseas-born wives of Australians, although sometimes the opposite was the case, and the husband might settle in his wife’s country of origin, be it Britain or elsewhere. At other times the decision to settle in a country other than that of origin was made on the basis of friends or other family living there or because of a predilection for the kind of healthy environment or lifestyle available in the particular country.

An especially interesting case in the latter category was that of Rev and Mrs Henry Cordon. They spent only five years with the CIM in China because, after a boating accident there, Mrs Cordon’s health did not permit her permanently residing in the Orient. They met Hudson Taylor
and other of the founding fathers of the CIM in the East End of London prior to witnessing the famous "Lammermuir" party leave Britain in 1866, and they followed a year later, sailing from London in July 1867 and being among the first CIM workers. He had the distinction of baptising the well-known Pastor Ren.

On their journey back to England, Mr Cordon joined, at Zanzibar, the Stanley expedition in search of Livingstone. Back in the home country, they took up pastoral work, and remained in the one church for 32 years, raising the membership to over 2,000. Mr Cordon then retired and went to America where he preached for a further decade and became a Doctor of Divinity. He retired again, this time to Western Australia, where his children were residing, and became actively engaged in ministerial duties there.

Both he and his wife were still alive as at 20 September 1930 when he, aged 86 and still actively engaged in pastoral duties, addressed an annual CIM meeting in Perth. 259 She, however, died aged 86 on 17 May 1931 in Perth. 260 He died on 26 March 1935 in Perth in his ninety-first year. 261 For the purposes of this thesis, the author has regarded those who went to China as Britishers or North Americans as continuing to belong to those countries even though they may have later married Australians and/or settled in Australia, and the Cordons are accordingly regarded as Britishers.

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By as early as 1 January 1893, 38 Australian missionaries had travelled to China and, though the then active contingent of 30 comprised only 7% of the CIM's 432 missionaries carried as active on the establishment list, Australians had already been represented in 12 of the 14 Chinese provinces occupied by the CIM and at 22 stations. The Mission was occupying 104 stations as at 1 January 1893, of which 20 (19.2%) were then being shown as substantively occupied by Australians. Seventeen women substantively occupied twelve stations and eleven men nine stations. One woman was in Australia and another's location undisclosed. There was a one-station overlap where one Australian man and his wife were collocated.

By 1 January 1899, 78 Australian CIM missionaries had travelled to China, of whom 67 were then currently active out of a total of 782 CIM missionaries indicated as active by the establishment list (ie 8.6%). At that stage, Australians were in 13 different Provinces, the CIM then being represented in 15. By 1899 Australians had been represented in 46 different stations. The CIM was occupying 164 different stations as at 1 January 1899, of which Australians were substantively (ie, more or less permanently) occupying 30 (18.3%). In 1899, disregarding students and those back in Australia, there were 31 women substantively occupying 20 stations and 25 men 18 stations. There were eight stations where there was male/female overlap owing to married missionaries residing together or simultaneous posting of men and women to the same station.

It can be seen from these early figures that the Australians' geographical spread was large in proportion to their numbers with, by 1893, their 7% of the workforce occupying 19.2% of the field and, by 1899, their 8.6% of the workforce occupying 18.3% of the field.
The CIM produced a map showing the stations of the CIM as at 1 January 1904, and it is enlightening to note how many of these posts had been occupied at some time between 1888 and 1904 by Australians (see Chart 3). Analysing the situation in detail, it is found that Australians had occupied 72 of the 194 stations shown (37%). Looked at on a provincial basis (see Table 6) it can be seen that the Australian penetration in some provinces over the 1888-1904 period was particularly high, and must have been an important factor in the CIM's ability to consolidate or expand in those areas.

By 1910, Australians had become a well-established component of the CIM presence in China, and their numbers had attained some statistical prominence. From then on, it becomes possible to discern definite patterns in their geographical distribution. Chart 4 (below) examines that distribution decade by decade from 1910 to 1950, and discloses traditional and changing areas of Australian concentration over the 1910-1950 period.

In 1910, the principal areas of concentration were northern Yunnan, south-central Kweichow, eastern Szechwan, southern Shensi, southern Shansi, eastern Honan, central Anhwei and north-eastern Kiangsi. There was also a presence in Ningsia city, foreshadowing later occasional occupation of that city and nearby areas by Australians.

By 1920, the chief areas were north-eastern Yunnan, western Kweichow, eastern Szechwan, southern Shensi, southern Shansi, eastern Honan and southern Anhwei. There was a small but important presence in northern Kansu and the city of Ningsia.

In 1930 the main areas were north-eastern Yunnan, central
Map of China

Showing the stations of China Inland Mission only on Jan. 1st, 1904
and those occupied by Australians 1 January 1888 - 1 January 1904

"Map Source: Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London - map prepared for the CIM showing its stations as at 1 January 1904"

□ Not worked by CIM
Table 6

CIM Stations Occupied by Australians 1888-1904 as a Proportion of Total CIM Stations as at 1 January 1904

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>CIM stations occupied by Australians at some time in the period 1888-1904</th>
<th>Total CIM Stations as at 1-1-1904</th>
<th>Total CIM Stations Australian-occupied at some time in the period 1888-1904</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kiang-su</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hupeh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yun-nan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si-chuen</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gan-hwuy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwei-chau</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan-tung</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shen-si</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan-si</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiang-si</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan-suh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu-nan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chekiang</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chih-li</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the southeastern coastal provinces of Kuang-si, Kung-tung and Fu-kien were not occupied by the CIM because of extensive work by other missionary societies in these areas. Consequently, the CIM only occupied 15 of the total of 18 provinces. As at 1 January 1904, the Australian contingent of the CIM had worked in 13 of the 15 provinces occupied by the CIM, the provinces in which they had not worked being Chekiang and Chih-li.
Main Australian CIM Areas 1910 - 1950

Map Source: CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LIX, No 12, CIM, Melbourne, 1 December 1948, p.31
Kweichow, eastern and central Szechwan, southern Shensi, southern Shansi, eastern Honan and southern Anhwei.

By 1940, the primary centres were in northern Yunnan, north-central Kweichow, central Szechwan, eastern Honan, southern Anhwei and northern Kiangsi. There were smaller centres in southern Kiangsi and, again, in northern Kansu and southern Ningsia.

By 1950, as Dixon noted, the main areas of Australian concentration were in the south-west. Australia was represented in northern Yunnan, north-central Kweichow and central Szechwan. There was a small but important presence in northern Kansu. The south-west area to which the Australians were virtually confined at this time coincides with an area of the former Free China in which most Australians had worked during the Second World War.

The changing pattern of the Australians' distribution owed something to factors affecting the CIM as a whole such as the arrival of new missions (causing the CIM, in a spirit of comity, to withdraw from areas the new arrivals wished to work), the vagaries of the military and political situation, law and order considerations, and the perceived need for more outreach in certain areas at particular times. It owed the remainder to Australian-specific factors such as the denominational affiliations of particular Australian missionaries and their personal preferences about the areas in which they wished to work.

In the whole 65 years that the Australians of the CIM were in China, their main areas of activity were in Anhwei, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Szechwan, Kweichow, eastern Honan, western and central Hupeh, northern Hunan, eastern Kansu, the Kansu Panhandle, far-east Tsinghai, east-central
Ningsia, south-western Shensi, far-north Shansi, eastern Shantung and northern Hopei, with a presence at one time or another in each of the 18 provinces the Mission worked (see Chart 5).

The charts suggest that Australians were often used in the capacity of shock troops. They were at the cutting edge of the CIM’s expansion in south-western and western China for decades, and they served a similar, though more minor and intermittent role in north-west China. Yunnan, in the south-west, and Kansu in the north-west, in both of which Australians had an important presence, were reckoned among the most difficult provinces to evangelize. The long association of the Australians with the south-western provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechwan also hints at their major contribution to tribes work, as most of the Chinese tribespeople are located in those three provinces.

In addition to their presence in the south-west and north-west, Australians were also concentrated in some of the hardest and least receptive central and eastern provinces like Honan, where Robert Powell had experienced so many difficulties in opening Kaifeng, and Anhwei, where they also took on the role of storm troops.

Australians worked in terrain which varied from the humid malarial plains of central China to the deserts of the north and north-west and the rugged mountain and gorge areas of the south-west. The conditions in which they lived varied from the simple grass and mud huts of the south-west to the vermin-infested inns which dotted the country and

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262 Because a 1948 CIM map has been used throughout the chart to aid comparisons, the presence of Australians at the leading edge is not always apparent. Some of the stations shown on the 1948 map did not exist in 1910 or 1920. However, the Australian presence is always close enough to the coalface to convey the general impression.
Chart 5

Australian CIM Areas 1888 - 1953

Map Source: CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LIX, No 12, CIM, Melbourne, 1 December 1948, p.31
the palatial compounds in the huge urban conurbations on the coast like Shanghai. They suffered the typhoons of the coast, the stifling heat of the plains, the sandstorms of the north-east and the snow and ice of the northern latitudes in winter and the mountains throughout the year. They survived the flood, famine, war, earthquake and pestilence which visited vast areas of this huge country, and they made a significant impact in every area of the Middle Kingdom in which they worked.

3.2.1 Australian Male CIM Missionary Firsts in the CIM as a Whole

The Martyrdom of William Fleming

To Australia must be accorded the dubious honour of having provided the first CIM martyr, William (Willie) Small FLEMING, who was murdered near a town called Tsung-ngan-chiang, in the Pang-hai district of Kweichou, on 4 November 1898. Though not a native of Australia (he was born at Broughty Ferry, Scotland on 25 September 1867), he had settled there in his early twenties, and, after training in the Rev W L Morton’s Training Home, Belair Lodge, Adelaide had been accepted by the Australasian Council on 10 October 1894, and had sailed from Sydney for China on SS Catterthum on 20 January 1895, arriving in Shanghai on 21 February 1895.

After a period spent learning the language, Fleming was assigned to work at the West Gate at Gan-king, Gan-hwuy and, shortly afterwards, to work at Tuh-shan, Kwei-chau where establishment tables show him as at 1 January 1896 and 1897. He undertook at least two itinerating journeys of four and five weeks’ duration while stationed here, and appears to have spent some time in P’ang-hai, Kwei-chau
between 20 July 1897 and 1 January 1898. On these journeys he became acquainted with the Miao tribespeople, in relation to whom he expressed considerable admiration.

The establishment table for 1 January 1898 shows Fleming at Kwei-yang, Kwei-chau, but Fleming’s more than a year there, during which he was notionally living with Mr T Windsor, the station’s then Senior Missionary, was chiefly spent itinerating in the less-pioneered areas of the surrounding district. While on one of these journeys, Fleming and the evangelist P’an Ta-yeh (P’an-ta-ie) were murdered, to the plaudits of an appreciative crowd of about 200 Chinese and Miao people, near the small township of Tsung-ngan-chiang.

In a testimony to Fleming, Windsor wrote

We believe our brother’s death will mean the opening of the door of Life to those poor ‘Miao’ people. It is the wrenching away of the last bolt from the door which is shutting them out from hearing of Christ the Saviour. As one brother remarked: ‘Perhaps he did more missionary work in the last few seconds of his life than all the years before.’

Windsor’s statement proved prophetic, for it was among the Miao that the CIM was later to record its most stunning and enduring successes.

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263 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, 1 February 1899

264 See sections 3.2.4.7 and 4.2.4.8 in this regard.
The Martyrdom of David Barratt

David Barratt was the only Australian male missionary in the CIM to die as a result of the Boxer uprising in 1900. Born 1872, a son of Mr James Barratt of West Devonport, Tasmania, he became convinced of a call to China as a result of an address by Miss Edna Bavin, an Australian CIM missionary, when she was undertaking deputation work in his district. He was well-known on the northwest coast of Tasmania for his evangelistic efforts. He applied to the CIM on 6 February 1896 at the age of 24 and was accepted. After undertaking a short training course as the first trainee at Rev John Southey's Home in East Melbourne, he left for China from Sydney on the 'Australian' on 11 March 1897, writing upon his arrival in Hong Kong of his efforts to evangelise Chinese passenger friends on the ship on the way out. He reached Shanghai on 8 April 1897 and left on 16 April for Gan-k'ing, Gan-hwuy where he studied the language (which he found difficult) and other matters Chinese, being placed there on 20 July 1897 by a reference at the Annual General Meeting of the Australasian Branch of the CIM, and on 1 January 1898 by CIM establishment tables. In the Spring of 1898 he was posted to Kiao-hiu [Kie-hiu] (southern Shan-si) where he was still in situ as at 1 January 1899. Soon after a fortnight's itineration with Alfred Jennings following the P'ing-yang Fu Conference of 17-20 February 1899, he was posted to Yoh-yang [Yo-iang] (also southern Shan-si) where he was still working as at 1 January 1900. Here, when he was not itinerating, he laboured among the schoolboys or opium patients.

He set out for the Coast with William Cooper when the worst Boxer troubles erupted, and he only got as far as Lu-an

CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol 5, No 5, May 1897
(Shan-si). From there on 29 June at night with one or two Chinese converts, he fled to the hills for safety. His last letter placed him at U-u [U-wu/Yu wu] (southern Shan-si) on 6 July 1900 though he was then preparing to flee to Liangma. He was caught by the Boxers, possibly in the vicinity of T'ang-yeng near Lu-an (Shan-si) and taken to the temple of the "Black Tiger" (in Yoh-yang?) where he was hacked to pieces during the 7th Moon (July 26 to August 24) of 1900, aged 28, his body being burnt after death (see Chart 6 for the areas in which he was active). He was one of only two Australian CIM missionaries who perished during the Boxer uprising, the other being Miss Eliza Mary Heaysman. Barratt was the only Australian-born CIM Boxer martyr, however; Heaysman was born in England and migrated to Australia at the age of ten. Both were serving in Shan-si when the troubles overtook them. Barratt became the only Australian CIM male missionary to die during the rebellion, and Heaysman the only Australian CIM woman. Three Australasian CIM missionaries died in all. A New Zealand CIM woman, Edith Ellen Searell, also died (30 June 1900) in Shan-si during the uprising. 58 adults and 21 children of the CIM lost their lives in the rebellion, far more than any other Protestant society. 266

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266 During the Boxer Rebellion, the CIM and other missions in China came under heavy public criticism, even from committed Christians. In an apology delivered in Sydney in mid-1901, the Australian CIM missionary Rev John Southey, then a member of Council and later Australian Home Director, questioned the attitude of those critics thus: "When the tidings of the recent martyrdoms reached us, why was it that even some of God's children said that it was wrong and a sin to let those servants of God die out in China? ... It is well with them. They are with their God. ... May God forgive those who say it was a sin to let them suffer for His Name's sake. Do you ask, what is the C.I.M. going to do? We do not know ... when the due time comes we believe that ... men and women shall again go forth, and even if it be His will that they too pass through the fire into the glory, His will be done ...". - Rev John Southey, "The Glory of the Lord. A Missionary Address" delivered at the Annual Meeting of the China Inland Mission in Sydney on 27 June 1901, transcript pp. 14-15, located at C002.34 Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut, USA
Map of South Shansi showing the places at which David Barratt was stationed, Pingyang where he attended the missionary conference, and the locations through which he moved at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. (Map Source: Marshall Broomhall (Ed), Martyred Missionaries of the CIM with a Record of the Perils & Sufferings of Some who Escaped [Melbourne: CIM, 1901], penultimate sheet - "Map to Illustrate Routes taken by the Shansi & Honan Missionaries" - Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London)
The Pioneering work and martyrdom of James Robertson Bruce

A period of relative calm, official protection of missionaries by Chinese officials and encouragement for Christian evangelism followed the crushing of the Boxer rebellion. But there were still occasional outbreaks of violence. One such outbreak claimed the lives of James Robertson Bruce, an Australian CIM missionary, and R H Lowis, a British missionary from Cumberland.

James Robertson Bruce, third son of Mr and Mrs George Bruce, was born at Illowa, near Warrnambool, Victoria, in 1871. Brought up in a Christian home, he was converted in early life. He was a clerk in a Warrnambool law office prior to his acceptance by the CIM on 10 August 1896. He also spent time at the Missionary Training Home, Belair, South Australia. He left for China on the Chingtu on 24 September 1896 and arrived in Shanghai on 20 October 1896. Owing to the Ganking Training Home being closed because of the death of the OIC, Mr Lachlan, Bruce proceeded to Hankow where he assisted as necessary in the CIM Business Department while at the same time studying the language. He may, however, have later spent time at the Gan-king Training Home, as witness the Gemmell obituary excerpt below. He later had charge of business work at I-chang.

Establishment tables place him as at 1 January at Hankow, Hu-peh in 1897, at I-chang, Hu-peh in 1898, and at Ch'ang-teh, Hu-nan in 1899, 1900 and 1901, being associated with Thomas Clinton, another Australian missionary, and a friend of his from Warrnambool days, while he was there. In the last eighteen months of his life, he was in charge of the work at Chen-chou. On 15 August 1902, as a result of rumours attributing, either from superstition or malice, an outbreak of cholera to them, and following a female opium
victim's having scattered packets said to contain poison around the streets claiming that she was employed by the foreigners to do this, Bruce and Lowis were killed by a mob in Chen-chau (Ch’en-cheo) Fu, Hu-nan, Bruce being beaten to death and Lowis beaten and stabbed to death.

From 21 April to 15 May 1902, just prior to his death, Bruce had been engaged in an itineration of 775 li (258 miles) in the Hunan-Szechwan border area from his base at Chen-chou through Wang-shuen, Mao-tsi-ping, Iong-shuen Fu (Yung-shun Fu), Pao-chen-hsien, Iong-sui-ting (Yung-sui T’ing), Pao-chen-hsien (again) and back to Chen-chou. In a letter from Chen-chou describing this journey dated 2 June 1902 267 Bruce mentions in passing that

Although the road to Iong-shuen Fu (as far as I know) has not been traversed by a foreigner before, I found the people most agreeable. There are small villages every 15 li, and at each we delivered our message of life.

During this journey, then, Bruce was engaged in pioneering work along the Wang-shuen - Mao-tsi-ping - Iong-shuen Fu road.

In an obituary which appeared in the CIM’s China’s Millions Australasian Edition of 1 October 1902, 268 Thomas Clinton, one of Bruce’s friends, made some seminal remarks about the pioneering missionary life in general, and Bruce in particular, viz:

267 Published in the CIM’s China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol XXVIII, No. 7, CIM, Melbourne, September 1902

268 Vol. XXVIII, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, October 1902
To live surrounded by thousands of people and yet to feel "alone" is the peculiar position of the pioneer missionary. ... there is not a greater test to the reality of Christian character than to be isolated from Christian fellowship, bereft of all stimulating meetings, and to be surrounded by the terrible gloom of idolatry.

The life he lived was a silent yet powerful influence, and hundreds heard the gospel from his lips who had never had that privilege before.

As shepherd to the little flock at Chen-cheo, ... what an example he ever was, and many sick and suffering ones have cause gratefully to remember his loving ministrations. ... in the glory of manhood he fell at his post, doing his duty, and has now received the "Well-done."

An obituary by A E Glover 249 describes Bruce as "a man of purpose" and goes on to say

When the crisis came on August 15th, his determination to remain at his post in spite of warnings pressed on him was thoroughly characteristic.

It does appear, however, that Bruce did not take the rumours preceding his death very seriously until 10 minutes before he was actually killed. 250

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A further obituary by his friend William Gemmell describes some aspects of his missionary service:

Mr. Bruce's connection with the province of HUNAN commenced with his residence at I-chang, where we first met and became fast friends. His first real knowledge of the province was acquired in a missionary journey to Ch'ang-teh, undertaken with the late Rev. George Hunter. In due time he became associated with Mr. Clinton in the work of that station. The experience gained from observation of the work in Ch'ang-teh and across the border at Shih-sheo, in HU-PEH, proving of inestimable value in bringing to fruition the elements of a grand Christian character, zealous for the glory of God. During his term of residence at I-chang, as previous to that at the training home, Gan-king, Mr Bruce endeared himself to all his friends and associates as a sincere and humble follower of the LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Bruce and Louis were buried in Ch'en-cheo on 31 August 1902. They became known as "The Hu-nan Martyrs". Eight Chinese were beheaded and five Chinese officials were degraded in the aftermath of the martyrdoms.

The Lone Stand of Arthur and Ethel Nicholls and the Pioneering Work of Arthur Nicholls

During the Boxer Uprising, the only CIM missionaries in the whole of China who did not leave their post were an Australian married couple, Arthur and Ethel Nicholls, who

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were in Ta-li, in the far west of Yun-nan, during the rebellion. Arthur went on to undertake pioneering work among the tribespeople around Sapushan, Yun-nan.

Arthur Guy Nicholls of Adelaide, South Australia was born in 1871, was accepted by the CIM in June 1894 and sailed to China on the SS "Guthrie" on 12 September 1894. He arrived in Shanghai on 14 October 1894.

After study at Gan-k'ing, Gan-hwuy where establishment tables place him on 1 January 1895, he was posted to K'uh-ting, Yun-nan where establishment tables show him as at 1 January 1896-1899, and subsequently to Ta-li, Yun-nan, his bride’s station since 1895, where the tables show him as at 1 January 1900 (the year when the Boxer troubles broke out) and 1901.

The Boxer uprising began to be felt at the Nicholls' station of Ta-li-Fu when they heard that Yun-nan Fu, the capital, had been the scene of a riot on 10 June 1900. About a month after that, Ta-li-fu itself began to show signs of unrest, and the local French priests, in response to telegrams from their consul, left the city. The Nicholls awaited instructions from Shanghai, and when these came, they were to the effect that at that stage travel was too dangerous and that they should therefore remain where they were.

The resident Chinese general was shortly to leave the city, taking all his soldiers with him, and in the expectation of his imminent departure, some 300 or 400 ne'er-do-wells installed themselves in Ta-li-fu, with plans to attack firstly the mission station and then the larger shops on the street two days after the general's departure. However, the night before the general was to leave, he
received instructions from the Emperor that he was to stay in Ta-li-fu and defend it. The next day the ringleader of the insurgents was summarily executed outside the general’s quarters, some of his confederates were imprisoned and others fled. A number of the latter went on to a city a few days to the west, where rioting took place, and the prison and the Prefect’s quarters were burnt down. Arrests were subsequently made.

Though they heard wild rumours, it was not until some 7 months later, owing to the Uprising having disrupted communications, that the Nicholls received confirmation from Shanghai of the tragic fate which had befallen their fellow missionaries in northern China during the Boxer Rebellion.

Arthur Nicholls’ wife, Ethel Nicholls (née Reid) of Ballarat, Victoria, who was born in 1868, was accepted by the CIM on 1 July 1891, sailing for China on 14 October 1893 in SS “Menmuir”, leaving Hong Kong on 17 November 1893 and arriving in Shanghai on 21 November 1893 by the French steamer “Salzie”. Her first posting was to Yun-nan Fu, Yun-nan where she appears as at 1 January 1895. She was subsequently posted to Ta-li, Yun-nan where she is shown as at 1 January 1896-1901, having retained her station upon marriage to Nicholls in 1899. After surviving the Boxer crisis with her husband, she was forced to return to Victoria in failing health in April 1902 and died in October 1903.

At the end of his first furlough, during which his wife had died, Nicholls returned to China on the "T’ai yuen" which left Sydney on 9 September 1904. He was posted to Yun-nan Fu (the first station to which his wife had been posted), and he shows up there in establishment tables for 1 January
1905 and 1906. He felt called to open up new work among tribal people, and, after a useful period of study of the language and the people in association with Rev S Pollard, he opened in October 1906 a new station at Sapushan (8,500 feet above sea level in north-central Yun-nan), 15 days' journey south from Chaotung (northeast Yun-nan) from which it had received its evangelistic impetus, in country where few Europeans had ever been. Here he became the leader and pioneer of an exceptional movement towards Christianity, involving hundreds of people from the many different tribes in the vicinity.

Nicholls remarried during his time at Sapushan, his second wife, a Church of Christ adherent born 1887 and converted in childhood, being Grace Millicent Pascoe of Kersbrook, South Australia who had applied to the CIM in November 1917, had been accepted, and had sailed to China in September 1918. They both retired in 1944, and Nicholls died in August 1948 after a life devoted, very successfully, to the spread of the Gospel in China.

The Pioneering Literary Work of Robert Mathews

Robert Mathews was involved in literary work for the CIM from 1928 through 1937, producing a Chinese-English dictionary in 1931 which was still the standard text at least forty years later.

Robert Henry Mathews was born on 13 July 1877 in Ascot Vale, Victoria. He was a lithographer with Sands and McDougall in Melbourne, with only a State School education behind him when he entered Hope Lodge, Belair, South Australia for Bible studies, applying to the CIM from there on 13 May 1905 and being accepted on 21 August 1906 despite some reservations that he might be too old, at 29, to learn
the Chinese Language, though it proved to be a discipline in which he was actually to become a world expert. He sailed for China on the "Empire" on 5 September 1906. Denominationally he was originally a Congregationalist, but believed in immersion, showing a later penchant for the Baptist denomination. His views were conservative rather than 'modern'.

He was a student in Anking, Anhwei as at 1 January 1907, stationed at Chowchiakow, Honan as at 1 January 1908, and subsequently at Sihwa, Honan as at 1 January from 1909 to 1913. He was absent on furlough in Australia in 1914, then posted to Hweichow, Anhwei where he remained from 1915-1919 before moving on to Anking, Anhwei in 1920.

In 1908, Mathews had married Annie Smith of Victoria who had gone out in October 1902. Their son, Robert Arthur Mathews, born 4 February 1912, was to sail for China as a CIM missionary on 13 July 1938. Annie died in 1920.

In 1921-22 Mathews was back in Hweichow, then at Chengtu, Szechwan in 1923 and Kiunghchow, Szechwan in 1925. He was on furlough in 1926. In 1929 he was assigned to literary work in Shanghai, Kiangsu and he continued in this field through 1937.

By 1929 Mathews had married Violet Ward, who had sailed in August 1909. She assisted her husband in his literary endeavours up until the time of their internment by the Japanese in Shanghai during the Second World War. She died in 1954.

In 1928, Mathews was invited by the CIM to revise Baller's Chinese Dictionary, a publication of some 35,000 words then out of print and in any event requiring replacement because
of the escalating addition of new terms to the language. The result, after three years of intense labour, was a totally new work published in 1931 which had 1200 pages and listed 7785 Chinese characters. Because of the haste with which the book had been prepared, there were, however, many mistakes, and Mathews addended a list of errata. This edition was quickly sold out and another edition was requested. Owing to the print having been broken up, resetting was required, and, in the interim, the work was completely revised. Two thousand unbound copies had been printed by 1938, but the Japanese then occupied Shanghai and the whole exercise had to be deferred, and, when the war ended, the 2000 copies had disappeared.

Mathews was interned (with his wife) by the Japanese in Shanghai during the Second World War, and upon his release in 1945 he returned to Australia. He was asked to prepare another edition of the Dictionary but this assignment was not undertaken because of the progression of events. During the war, Harvard University had printed a pirated edition of his 1931 publication which absorbed his errata, and it was cheaper to purchase this book than to bring out a new work. The Communist Chinese Government in turn pirated the Harvard version, and the Mathew’s Revision of Baller’s Dictionary was still being printed as the standard Chinese-English text in the early 1970s.

Mathews retired from the CIM in 1946, having served the Mission in China for 40 years. His second wife had served for 38 years. Mathews’ literary contribution was recognized by Melbourne University in December 1962 when it conferred on him an honorary LL.D degree. He was 85 years old at the time. He died on 17 February 1970 in his 93rd year.

Mathews’ contribution to the training of a myriad CIM and
other missionaries in the Chinese language and to the preaching they performed and conversions they effected as a result of attaining fluency, was an invaluable and lasting one, and the honorary doctorate he was awarded witnesses to the high academic esteem with which his literary work was regarded.

The Pioneering Work of William Sjogren Strong

William Strong was one of a small party who were the first foreigners to enter Tsao-ho-kuan, Shen-si, arriving there on 29 May 1893. He was also the first foreigner to enter Fuh-tuan (23 October 1894) and Tien-So-Kuan (8 November 1894), both market towns in Shen-si province.

William Sjogren Strong of South Melbourne formally applied to the CIM in May 1892, having been sent the Principles and Practice and Schedule on 30 November 1891. He was accepted on 22 July 1892 and sailed for China on the SS "Catterthum" in November 1892, arriving in Shanghai on 15 December 1892.

He spent about three months at the Gan-k'ing, Gan-hwuy Training Home, where establishment tables place him in January 1893, leaving there on 27 March 1893 and spending over 15 weeks travelling first along the Yang-tse, and then along the Han River to his post at Han-chong-fu, Shen-si, which he reached on 12 July 1893. In the course of this journey, he and the three others in the party (Mr J E Duff, Mrs Duff [née Williams] and Mr E N Roberson) visited Tsao-ho-kuan, Shen-si at the invitation of the captain of the boat, who lived there, and who asked them to have tea at his home. This was an unscheduled stop, necessitated by the boat's requiring repairs. The event is recorded thus:

The whole township knew of our arrival, and very
soon we had after us a large crowd, and every
place we passed people went out to see the
foreigners, a sight never seen in this place
before. 272

Writing on 31 July 1894 273 from Uen Tang Ki during an
itineration which had involved him walking 40 miles from
Han-chong-fu to Mien-hsien in one day, and a walk of 15
miles from there to U’en Tang Ki on a subsequent day, he
remarked that since he had last written (apparently 7
August 1893), he had

visited and preached in about 80 towns ... I have
a very large district allotted to me, and roughly
taken, I should say 90,000 square miles, on which
area I am the only missionary open for
itinerating work.

Writing from Han-chong-fu on 5 December 1895, 274 Strong
described an itinerating journey he had undertaken between
20 September and 27 November 1894. In the course of this
journey he was the first foreigner to enter the Shen-si
market towns of Puh-tuan, which he arrived at on 23 October
1894, and Tiej-So-Kuan, which he reached on 8 November 1894
(see Chart 7). He describes his entries thus:

Rose early following morning in order to get to
Puh-tuan in time for the market. It was only 15
li [5 miles], and was downhill... Foreigners have

272 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, CIM, Melbourne, January 1894
273 Ibid, January 1895
274 His story was serialized in the CIM’s China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. 3, Nos. 4-6,
CIM, Melbourne, April-June 1895
Map of South Shansi showing William Strong's station (Han-chung), Mien-hsien, 40 miles away, a distance he walked in one day, and two market towns, Fu-ch'uan (Fuh-tuan) and Tieh-so-kuan, where he was the first foreigner ever seen. (Map Source: United States Army, International Map of the World 1:1,000,000, Pao-chi, Edition 2, DMATC, Series 1301, Sheet NI 48, 2-78 Defense Mapping Agency, Topographic Centre, Washington DC, 1975)
never been here before, so it was a new thing for them, and [I] was thus not left out of sight ...

Started for Tish-So-Kuan on the 8th, 60 li [20 miles]. In these places they have never seen a foreigner before, and thus although big crowds come together, they are so very much taken up with my person that they have hardly ear for the preaching ... I met two markets here, and sold a large number of books, and the people willingly accepted the sheet tracts.

Strong was to remain at Han-chong until 1897, much of his time devoted to itinerating. On 19 November 1895, however, Strong was neither at his post, nor itinerating, but at Pao-ning, Si-ch’uan, being married to Theodosia Mary Sorenson of Launceston, Tasmania, born 1866, who had applied to the CIM, been accepted, and had sailed from Sydney for China in SS "Menmuir" on 20 November 1890, arriving in Shanghai on 21 December 1890.

CIM personnel listings place her as at 1 January in the Training Home at Yang-chau, Kiang-su in 1891, in Lan-chau, Kan-suh from 1892-1893, then in Han-chong, Shen-si from 1895, at that time still single, and, as Mrs Strong, from 1896-1897.

The Strongs left Han-chong in 1897 owing to Mrs Strong’s extreme ill-health, and she died in New Zealand after a long illness in December 1899. They are both held against Han-chong, but shown as absent, as at 1 January 1898-1899, and in 1900, Mr Strong only is held against that post and shown as absent. (See also the segment on Theodosia Sorenson at Part 4.2.3 below.)
William Strong, who had long desired to take up work amongst Tibetans, returned to China some time after his wife’s death, and, though establishment tables place him at Ta-chien-lu (Western Si-ch’uen) on 1 January 1901 which would have seen him amongst Tibetan people, this is more indicative of the intention than the deed as, after two wrecks on the Yang-tse which delayed his forward progress, he was held up by malarial fever (with a temperature of 105°) and Consul’s orders at Chung-king and had not reached Ta-chien-lu as at May 1901. 275 He had reached Sui-fu, Si’ch’uan by 25 July 1901 and had resigned himself to looking after the church there for possibly 12 months. He is subsequently placed at Fu-shun, Si-ch’uen in December 1902 and on 1 January 1904-1906.

Strong remarried on 18 November, 1903 at Chung-king, Szechwan, West China. His new wife was Jessie Edith Blick, born 1873, of Nelson, New Zealand, a Baptist converted through the letter of a friend, who had applied to Dunedin Council on 21 April 1900, had been accepted by Mr Southey and Dunedin Council on 31 May 1901, and had sailed to China from Sydney on the "Eastern" on 19 October 1901, arriving in Shanghai on 16 November 1901 and proceeding to the Training Home at Yang-chau, Kiang-su. Establishment tables show her, as at December 1902, as an unmarried woman at Fu-shun, Si-ch’uen, then as Strong’s wife, still at Fu-shun as at 1 January 1904-1906. Strong and his second wife were held against this post but absent in 1907, and they both retired from the mission in 1908.

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275 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, CIM, Melbourne, October 1901, p. 114
The Pioneering Work near Gan-king, Gan-hwuy of Charles T Byford

While pursuing itinerating work around Gan-king, Charles Byford became the first foreigner to enter Lao-ma-shui-kiai.

Charles Byford was born in 1870, apparently in England (see below) but, at the time of his acceptance by the CIM to go to China on 6 December 1893, he was living in Redfern NSW. He sailed for China on the SS "Menmuir" on 16 January 1894, working his passage to Hong Kong as an Engineer and not arriving in Shanghai until 12 March 1894. Though under the auspices of the CIM, Byford was financially supported in China by the members of the Sydney YMCA.

Byford's stay in China was short, the China's Millions of May 1895 reporting \(^{276}\) that

Mr. C. T. Byford, partly on account of failure of health, has left the mission and returned to his home in England.

However, during his short sojourn there, he had the distinction of going where no foreigner had gone before.

Stationed at Gan-king, Gan-hwuy where he appears to have been kept on after language training there to work with William Westwood, another Australian missionary, he wrote from the West Gate Gan-king on 6 December 1894 of an itinerating journey he had undertaken during the period 12 November 1894 to 4 December 1894.

\(^{276}\) CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, CIM, Melbourne, May 1895
During those three weeks, he travelled "something like 500 li or about 160 to 180 English miles" into the north-eastern portion of his parish, 277 passing through Shen-kia-tien, Ts'ong-iang, Tang-ho-keo, Shih-ki-t'eo, Tang-kia-keo, Ts'ien-kia-cheo, Hong-chen, Tien-ling-chuang, Lao-ma-shui-kiai, T'sin-ts'ao-k'eh (sic) and Kan-luh-an, selling books and preaching. In relation to Lao-ma-shui-kiai, Byford reported as follows: 278

On Monday [26 November 1894] we pushed forward to Lao-ma-shui-kiai ... I was the first foreigner that has ever been there, and from the time I arrived until I left, I had crowds come to see me. We had a splendid time selling books, disposing of over two hundred.

It is clear that Byford was imbued with a pioneering spirit, and it was no doubt a matter of regret for the CIM that his health and other factors did not allow him to pursue like work for a greater length of time in China.

The Pioneering Work of William Thompson

In the course of an itinerating journey from Wan-hsien, Si-chuen to Chong-king, Si-chuen, which took place from 4 October 1894 to 5 November 1894, William Thompson became the first foreigner to enter Si-ku-ch'eng.

William Leonard Thompson of Sydney, born 1867, was accepted by the CIM on 22 July 1891 and sailed to China on SS "Catterthum" on 28 September 1891, arriving in Shanghai on

278 Ibid.
27 November 1891. CIM personnel lists place him as at 1 January at the Gan-k’ing, Gan-hwuy Training Home in 1892, at Han-kow, Hu-peh in 1893, at Wan-hien, Si-chuen in 1895 and 1896, in the Shanghai, Kiang-su Financial Department in 1897 and in the Shanghai Business Department in 1898. In 1895 he married Miss E Stoddard who went to China from England in 1893. Thompson retired from the mission in 1901, after a CIM career of a decade whose course is suggestive of declining health.

Diary excerpts published in the *China’s Millions* (Australasian Edition) of February 1895 tell of an itinerating journey between Wan-hsien, where he was then stationed, and Chong-king, which took place in the period 4 October 1894 to 5 November 1994.

The party consisted of Thompson, Mr Chang (who acted as Evangelist, bookseller and servant) and two coolies. They reached Li-chuan, Hupeh on 10 October, after a journey of 330 li (110 miles) from Wan-hien. They crossed over high mountains on the next leg of their journey, which brought them a week later into Si-ku-ch’eng, 405 li (135 miles) from Li-chuan. In relation to the last day of their journey into that city, Thompson reported:

> In the morning, knowing that the coolies would probably not be able to go the 100 li to the City in that day, Mr. Chang and I walked on ahead, and being purposely misdirected, we covered 130 li before we got in, the coolies coming early the next morning, having travelled the right road and stopped at a way-side inn 30 li away.

It is worthwhile emphasizing, at this point, the distance Chang and Thompson covered on foot in this one day - 43
miles - the longest day's walk I have noted for missionaries in the literature. \(^\text{279}\)

Thompson goes on to say

The crowds here were almost unbearable in their efforts to see the first foreigner; and when later on the Yamen [Mandarin's office] sent a few runners to prevent them crowding over me, I was quite glad to see them. I was much struck with the good humour and friendliness of everyone, and the high respect in which an Englishman [!] was held.

So Thompson stood where no foreigner had stood before in the course of this itineration. There is more of interest in this itineration further along the track, however, illustrative of the dangers associated with such journeys.

On enquiring the way to the next City, S'en-shui, the dangers of the road were so greatly exaggerated by the Yamen officials ... that my coolies were frightened ... The stories of tigers, wolves and brigands, were enough to frighten braver people than Chinese coolies. As the event proved we had nothing to fear, though in one inn we stopped at in that wild district, the daughter-in-law of the landlord had been eaten by wolves only a few days before our arrival. These creatures seldom attack other than the people (principally women) working in the

\(^\text{279}\) There is reference to Englishmen's penchant for walking in Paul Johnson's The Birth of the Modern World Society 1815-1830, (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), in the section entitled "Fresh Air", and Thompson, who identified as an Englishman though recruited in Sydney, certainly illustrates the point.
fields.

Pen-shui (or, as Thompson pointed out, "Tung-shui as it is wrongly printed on the map"), a further 365 li (122 miles) on from Si-ku-ch’eng, was reached on 25 October. From there they travelled down river through rapids for a day, then walked for several days the remaining distance to Nan-ch’uan, 435 li (145 miles) beyond Pen-shui. They finally travelled from Nan-ch’uan to Chong-k’ing, a further 265 li (88 miles).

Summing up this journey of 1800 li (600 miles), Thompson goes on to say:

Although I have only mentioned the names of the cities passed through, it must be remembered that even among the barren mountains, one or two large market villages were passed through every day, and in the more populous districts three or four; while the whole country is thickly studded with farmhouses. In all this vast district there is not a single resident Missionary, and only occasionally a flying visit such as mine paid to portions of it.

Such was the task, and such the missionary response to it at that time given the number of workers available. Australian missionary pioneers like William Thompson were important to the CIM in helping prepare the way for expansion of the Christian church in China by later missionaries and converts.

The Pioneering Work of Robert McIntyre

Robert McIntyre conducted pioneering work in towns around
Siaoshi, Szechwan during the period December 1902 to 1906.

Robert Lamming McIntyre of Queensland, born 1878, was a Baptist, converted by revival services in his church. He applied to the CIM on 11 May 1899, was accepted on 23 October 1901 and sailed for China in December 1901.

Establishment tables place him at Siaoshi, Szechwan as at December 1902, and as at 1 January 1904 to 1906. He married Emma Harriet Ann Spiller, another Queensland CIM missionary, in the latter year, and was in Luchow with his wife in 1907 and 1908. They then moved to Suifu, and were there as at 1 January 1909 to 1917 except for a furlough in 1912. They were then posted to Pushun, and were listed there as at 1 January 1919 and 1920. He died in October 1920, struck down with a fatal illness while ministering to wounded soldiers. His wife continued on in Szechwan at a number of different posts, and retired from the CIM in 1945.

Robert McIntyre began pioneering work very early in his CIM career. As early as 22 August 1904, he set out from Siaoshi with his colporteur on a 22-day journey which took him out through the Szechwan towns of Tao-pa and Ren-Huei-T'ing, into the Kweichow towns of Shih-Seng and Kuan-Tu, and back through the Szechwan towns of New Town, Kan-pa-tai, Uang Town and Ho-kiang. A total distance of 205 miles was involved.

In relation to two of these places, McIntyre was to remark,

At this town [Kan-pa-tai] and New Town (the preceding one), as far as I have been able to learn, I was the first foreigner to visit these places. At the latter place it was somewhat
amusing. Having arrived just after dark, in a little while it became known that a foreigner had arrived. People came in ones and twos sneaking about the door of the inn, to see this strange creature.  

McIntyre served the CIM in China for 18 years and died in harness. He made an important pioneering contribution to the spread of the Gospel in the territory surrounding Siaoshi in the early to mid-1900s.

The Pioneering Work of C Freeman Davies

Following his application to the CIM, Charles Freeman Davies was accepted, and sailed for China in September 1904. Following study at Anking, Anhwei in 1905, he served at Kweiyang, Kweichow from 1906 to 1910, and thereafter at Tuhshan, Kweichow from 1911 through 1912.

In a letter from Kweiyang, Kweichow published in the China's Millions (Australasian Edition) of 1 October 1907,  Davies reported an itineration of 16 days' duration he had undertaken with his teacher, Mr Hsu, in early March of that year. In the course of that itineration, they had spent several days at an outstation in a city called Kai-chow.

Using that place as a reference point, Davies relates -

From Kai-chow we visited two markets, having a day for each. In these places we were well treated, and managed to dispose of a fair number

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281 Vol. XXXIII, No. 10, p.74
of books. The last place we stayed at for any length of time was a place called Kwei Pang Pa. I was told that no other foreigner had been there before ...

It is interesting that as late as 1907, genuine pioneering work was still being done in relation to the opening-up of market towns in China, and by an Australian.

The Pioneering Work of James Gardiner

James W Gardiner of Victoria, who had sailed to China in September 1907, set out on a pioneering journey from his base of Nanchowting, Hunan in 1912. He described elements of his journey thus:

Some months ago I started out ... on a preaching campaign, to the Sacred Mountain in the north of the province of HUNAN. This mountain is called U-lui-shan, i.e. Five Thunders Mountain, and as far as we could learn had not been visited by preachers of the Gospel. During the 7th, 8th, and 9th Chinese months a steady stream of [Taoist] pilgrims are found coming and going to this famous peak, the busiest time being about the middle of the eighth month. This we chose as the best time to go. ...

Our party consisted of five Chinese helpers (two from the Christian and Missionary Alliance and three from C.I.M.), six coolies, five soldiers, Mr. McClure just from the Training Home, and myself. ...

On the second day we entered on territory where
a foreigner had not been seen before. ... In many cases they were afraid to accept the books. ...

I arrived in Changtek covered with mud from shoulders to feet, the latter cut by the sandals. But everything else was forgotten, in remembering the exquisite pleasure one felt in telling the Gospel to those who had never before heard, and who listened transfixedly. ²⁸²

This pioneering effort is particularly interesting in that it shows evidence of comity at work at the local level, with two Missions teaming up for a special evangelistic project. Gardiner was clearly the senior member of the party, and its leader, going where no preacher of the Gospel had gone before.

The Late Pioneering Work of Rowland Butler

As late as the northern Spring and Summer of 1936 the Australian CIM missionary Rowland Butler was able to be involved in genuine pioneering work in Kweichow Province, undertaking a series of itinerations in the Kweiting district, primarily to the south.

In relation to these itinerations he reported,

... it is joyful work to bring the Gospel for the first time to some places, and to tell it again in others. Returning from one trip we travelled by a very small track, and but for my compass we would never have found our way over the

mountains. We stayed for the night in a place where no preacher of the Gospel, either Chinese or foreign, had previously been, and it was a joy to preach late into the evening to those who gathered. In almost every place through which we passed we stuck up Gospel posters and texts, which remained as wayside messengers.  

This illustrates the point that there was still untouched evangelistic territory as late as 1936 and that Australia was involved in its penetration.

Arthur Mathews and the Goulds - the last to leave

Australians were not among the first CIM missionaries into China, but they were certainly among the last. Arthur Mathews was one of the last two active CIM missionaries to leave China. The other was Dr Rupert Clarke of England. They left on 20 July 1953.

Further, the erstwhile CIM missionaries Henry (Harry) Gould and his wife Elizabeth (née Swanton) after a short period of secular employment in China, were the last one-time CIM missionaries to leave the country. They left in July 1955, subsequently rejoining the Mission.

It was consequently Australians who maintained the CIM’s last missionary links with China.

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3.2.2 Australian Male CIM Missionary Firsts - Provinces and Posts

This thesis segment largely deals with Australian male firsts; section 4.2.2 deals exclusively with female firsts.

Although some of the provinces had been opened up by British missionaries well before the first Australians arrived, some had only just been entered, and many parts of those provinces had not then been visited by CIM missionaries. For the Australians who first went into a province, despite some minimal coverage already having been achieved by British predecessors, it remained a pioneering effort, requiring courage and an ability to face the unknown with equanimity. While they were usually superintended by more senior British staff in the earlier years, there was always a large degree of autonomy inherent in being away from base on short or long itinerations, or when residing at a station outpost. There were also segments of the work which, by their very nature, were largely independent of direct supervision, like work among the women and children where a male supervisor would be little inclined to intervene, and could breach etiquette if he did.

In this provincial pioneering work, nationalistic rivalries between Britishers, Australians and other nationalities represented in the CIM did not assert themselves, because the British had had free rein to enter the various provinces before other nationalities arrived, and had done so. Nonetheless, such feelings of rivalry doubtless existed; when Robert Powell 'opened' the capital of one of the provinces, the China's Millions coyly failed to mention that this feat, which had been unsuccessfully attempted several times before, had been achieved by an Australian.
The CIM made its designations of particular missionaries to particular posts after considerable discussion and prayer, having regard to the needs of the field and the personal qualities and backgrounds of the missionaries concerned. It can accordingly be argued that the missionaries who pioneered areas of China were those the CIM considered best qualified for this kind of work, and that advances in this sphere were not so much the result of individual ambition, so much as the outcome of careful personnel planning by the Mission. As a general rule this was the case, but there are instances where circumstances like the grounding of a boat caused missionaries to find themselves spreading the Gospel in villages in which Europeans had never been before. But that is at the local level; at the provincial level, it was careful planning by the Mission rather than sheer chance which found particular missionaries in a position to undertake pioneering work.

Mary Reed, who was a Tasmanian but recruited in London was the first Australian CIM missionary into Kiang-su Province. She studied at Yang-chau for 5 weeks in 1888 before being posted to a station in the same province. She is the first Australian CIM missionary recorded in China, though Charles A Ewbank, who was Australian-born, and was also recruited in London, went to China in 1888 too. As he was still studying when Mary was already in the field, it seems that she preceded him into the country.

Charles Ewbank was the first Australian 284 CIM missionary into Gan-hwuy Province, being engaged in study in Gan-k’ing

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284 In her 1978 thesis on the Australian missionary endeavour in China 1888-1953, Lesley Dixon agonizes over whether Charles Ewbank was or was not an Australian. Birth, death and marriage index fiche for the various Australian States, which have become available in major libraries since she completed her research, now enable it to be quickly established that Charles Augustus Ewbank was born in South Australia on 27 November 1865.
as at 1 January 1889, and subsequently being posted to a station in the same province. Following him into that province were O Burgess, A S A Devenish, A C Rogers and F Burden, who were the next to study at Gan-k'ing, being shown there as at 1 January 1891, while the first Australian missionaries to be stationed in the province after Ewbank were O Burgess and A Goold (1 January 1892).

C H Parsons was the first Australian CIM missionary stationed in Si-ch’uen Province, being shown there as at 1 January 1891, and Miss T Sorensen the first Australian CIM missionary stationed in Kan-suh Province, being recorded there as from 1 January 1892.

Mr and Mrs J Southey, Miss M E Booth and Miss E Steel were the first Australian CIM missionaries stationed in Shen-si Province (1 January 1892) and A S A Devenish the first Australian CIM missionary stationed in Shan-tung Province (1 January 1892).

F S Joyce and Miss J Lloyd were the first Australian CIM missionaries stationed in Ho-nan Province (1 January 1892) while Miss E Pysh and Miss L Aspinall were the first Australian CIM missionaries stationed in Yun-nan Province (1 January 1992).

A C Rogers and F Burden were the first Australian CIM missionaries stationed in Kwei-chau Province (1 January 1892) while Miss E Bavin, Miss K Fleming and Miss M Goold were the first Australian CIM missionaries stationed in Kiang-si province (1 January 1992). Also, Miss R Box was engaged in study in Kiang-si as at 1 January 1892 prior to posting.

H G Upham was the first Australian CIM missionary to be
stationed in Shan-si Province (1 January 1893) and the first Australian CIM missionary to die in China.

O Burgess, A Goold and W L Thompson were the first Australian CIM missionaries stationed in Hu-peh Province (1 January 1893) while T A P Clinton and J R Bruce were the first Australian CIM missionaries to be stationed in Hu-nan Province (1 January 1899).

O Burgess and A Goold were not only Australian CIM pioneers in Hu-peh Province but also early Australian CIM pioneers of Gan-hwuy, with Burgess having apparently been in the latter province earlier than Goold by virtue of having studied there in the previous year (1891). A S A Devenish had the distinction of being both one of the first Australian CIM missionaries to study in Gan-hwuy Province and the first to enter Shan-tung Province. A C Rogers and P Burden shared similar honours in relation to study in Gan-hwuy Province and being stationed in Kwei-chau Province. Women are well-represented in this group of Australian CIM pioneers.

The province of Chekiang was opened up to CIM missionaries in 1857, but the first Australian is not recorded in the province until 1 January 1915 when Miss E C Foot was listed on the establishment at Sinchanghsien, a station which had been opened up to CIM work as early as 1870.

The province of Sinkiang was opened up to CIM missionaries in 1905, but the first Australian to be recorded there was Aubrey Parsons, who had only left for China in 1931, but appeared in Tihwa (Sinkiang) from 1 January 1933.

The Ningsia area was first opened by CIM missionaries in 1880, and the first Australian missionary recorded there
was Matilda Fiddler (née Way), who was in Ningsiafu as at 1 January 1909 and remained there until 1926. In 1928, the area, which had immediately previously been part of Kansu Province, was constituted as the Province of Ningsia, and the first Australian missionary who worked in the newly constituted province was Ivy Dix, who was in Chungwei as at 1 July 1937 and Chungning (=Ninganpao) as at 1 February 1939.

The Tsinghai district was first entered by CIM missionaries in 1880, but the first Australian into the area after it became a province of China in 1928 was R A Mathews, who is listed there as at 1 January 1942, working at Lotu, a station which had been opened up in 1934.

The Australian CIM missionary Thomas Radford was the first Australian to be posted to Ta-chien-lu (Tatsienlu, later called "Kangting"), showing up in establishment tables there as at 1 January 1900 and 1901, just prior to his death from typhoid aged 26 in February 1901. Three other Australians were later assigned there - William Strong (1901), Walter Herbert (1909, 1910) and Mrs J H Edgar (née Lily Trudinger) (1919-1936). However, the Tarrants - George and Dorothy (née Pocklington) - were the first Australians recorded in the short-lived Province of Hsi-k’ang, being placed at Kangting, which had become part of the new Province, as at 1 April 1947. The Province was abolished and came within Szechwan again in 1955.

The criticism may be levelled that while these were firsts for Australians, they were not firsts for the CIM, and some doubt may be cast on their value to the collective effort. Other factors have to be taken into account however. Hunan, for example, was not entered by the CIM until 1898 (there is no reference to it in the establishment list of
1 January 1898), and the first Australians to go into the Province, T A P Clinton and J R Bruce, are shown there as at 1 January 1899. At that time they were running the CIM station at Ch’ang-teh in the absence of their seniors, George and Mrs Hunter, and were the only CIM operatives in the whole of Hu-nan apart from four others who were manning the three other stations then extant in the Province. This was true pioneering work both from a personal and a group point of view. At that stage, had the Hunters been present, there would have been (on the CIM’s population estimates, which I elsewhere point out were too low) one missionary per 2,625,326 people, or one per 9,290 square miles! (See Tables 7 and 8 for this and similar relationships in other provinces.)

In Hu-peh, where the CIM work commenced in 1874, there were only ten missionaries on establishment as at 1 January 1893 of which the first Australians in the Province comprised 30%. Five of the missionaries were absent from their posts at the time, so that there were only five missionaries present in the entire province as at 1 January 1893 of which the Australians comprised 60%. There were only three posts listed, of which one was vacant. O Burgess and A Gocld were running the station at Lao-ho-k’eo in the absence of the five other usual occupants, while W L Thompson was one of three manning the station at Han-kow. Had all ten missionaries on establishment been there, there would have been one missionary per 2,000,000 people or one per 7045 square miles. Again, it was not only personal but group pioneering work.

Though the CIM’s work in Kwei-chau had begun in 1877, there were only three stations and eight other missionaries operating in the whole Province when the first Australians became stationed there in 1892. A C Rogers and F Burden
Table 7

Rank order of CIM missionaries per square mile in various provinces at the time of the entry of the first Australian missionary into each of these provinces *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>CIM per 9290 sq.ml.</th>
<th>CIM per 2,625,326 people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hu-nan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 9290 sq.ml.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hu-peh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kwei-ch'au</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yun-nan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 217,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Si-ch'uen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 444,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ho-nan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kan-suh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 107,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Shan-tung</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 678,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Shen-si</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 225,806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kiang-su</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 909,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gan-hwuy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 375,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kiang-si</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 312,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Shan-si</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 per 121,622</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

Rank order of CIM missionaries per head of population in various provinces at the time of the entry of the first Australian missionary into each of these provinces *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>CIM per 2,625,326 people</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ho-nan</td>
<td>1 per 750,000</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Shan-tung</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Si-ch'uen</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Kwei-ch'au</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kan-suh</td>
<td>1 per 107,142</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*As at this time, there had been little penetration of these provinces by other Protestant missionary societies, the above figures represent, in most of these provinces, the situation in relation to all Protestant missions.
assisted five others with the work at Kwei-yang, while three other missionaries ran the other two stations. In the Province there was one missionary per 6455 square miles or one per 400,000 people at that time. Again, the Australians found themselves in a pioneering situation.

The Itinerations of Burgess and Goold

Australian men were involved in some very impressive itinerating journeys in Australia's early years in China. The work of Oliver Burgess and Athelstan Goold is especially memorable, particularly the work of the former.

Both were stationed at Lao-ho-k'eo, Hu-peh as at 1 January 1893, and both remained based there for most of the next two years. The establishment lists show them both as itinerating from Hing-an, Shen-si as at 1 January 1895 and 1896, after which Goold moved to Han-chung where he is shown as at 1 January 1897 as a single male, and subsequently with his wife as at 1 January 1898 and 1899. Burgess, however, continued to itinerate from Hing-an, being shown as thus engaged as at 1 January 1897 and 1898, after which he was stationed there with his wife as at 1 January 1899.

On 12 December 1892, Oliver Burgess reported from Lao-ho-k'eo, Hu-peh where he and Goold were both then stationed, that

Of the twelve months of this year, we have spent seven in travel. We have just returned from a six weeks' trip, during which time we travelled 400 miles and sold about 2000 books and tracts; visited six large cities and many market towns; had the pleasure of meeting with five or six
hopeful cases ... 285

One of the places visited was Shae-ki-tien (Honan) from whence they escorted Mr and Mrs H H Taylor 100 miles to the Han River at Lao-ho-k'eo.

On 13 September 1893, Burgess reported consolidation of church work at Lao-ho-k'eo, which appears to have anchored him temporarily although he reported a trip three weeks earlier to Fan-cheng, Hu-peh in which he rode and walked over 190 li (sixty miles) in one day, and his recent return from Shae-ki-tien, Ho-nan which had necessitated his being absent from Lao-ho-k'eo for nine days.

From 15 May 1894 to 23 June 1894 Burgess, in company with Goold again for part of the way, went on another long itinerating journey visiting cities along the Han River. This trip, which lasted some six weeks, took him over 740 miles, starting at Lao-ho-k'eo and going through to Han-chong. In one centre, Uin Iang Fai, he and Goold sold 1600 opium medicines and 1000 cash of books, while, between 5 and 15 June, he and Ekrall sold 1000 cash of books and preached in three cities and about 20 market towns. 286

The China's Millions (Australasian Edition) of December 1894 reported that

MESSRS. GOOLD and BURGESS have set out on a three months' itineration. "Our idea," they say, "is to proceed to Hsing-ngan Fu, calling at all the cities and markets on both sides of the river.


and within 70 or 80 li of the banks. We are taking a good number of books, but our main object is to preach the Gospel."

In September 1894 Goold wrote saying that he and Burgess had obtained from Mr Taylor permission to open up Hsing-an, the centre of a large Prefecture, in which there are at present no witnesses for Christ. For 250 miles north, south and east, a district containing many millions of people, there is no missionary and no Christian work of any kind. Two hundred miles to the west is an out-station of Ch'eng-ki, where one sister - Miss Harrison of New Zealand - is ministering the Word of Life to those willing to receive it.

He expected they would leave Lao-ho-k'eo on 17 September 1894, going by a roundabout route to Hsing-an so that they could visit some large cities and spend a few days preaching there. 287

Goold wrote from Hsing-an on 3 May 1895 288 saying that he and Burgess had as yet been unable to set up a permanent station there but had visited it some four or five times spending from four days to four weeks in it. He had been there a month on this occasion, Burgess being away itinerating. They had been driven out by the previous mandarin in November 1894, but the new mandarin had given them permission to stay "for a while" on this occasion.

288 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. 3, No. 9, September 1895
Burgess wrote, in various diary entries dated from 23 September to 7 October 1895 of an itinerating journey in which he had "covered 1,003 li or 344 miles in 30 days, preached in three cities, and about 20 markets, and sold 1,831 cash of books" while travelling between Cheng-ku and Hing Ang. Goold had travelled with Burgess as far as Si Hsiang where they had parted on 28 September, Goold taking the northeast route for Hing Ang while Burgess and his Chinese man took the southeast route, the two Australians arriving at Hing Ang within 5 minutes of each other on October 27. After overnighting there, Goold left for the north, and Burgess for the east, Burgess, after nine days in a coal junk, reaching Lao-ho-k‘eo on November 6th.

Burgess reported in diary entries dated from 14 November 1895 to 9 January 1896 that in three months he had travelled 1,316 miles, and sold 7,475 cash of books, including eight New Testaments. Most of the travelling was on foot, in cold, snowy weather. The cold induced headache and fever and his feet, at one time, were much cut about as, owing to his straw sandals not fitting very well, he had to discard them and walk barefooted. In some places the people listened well, and there were some enquirers, but in others there was perfect indifference.

Goold wrote from Han-chung (Shen-si) on 27 October 1896 reporting that he was now the only man in a district of four stations, Burgess having started out on yet another
itinerating tour. 292

Burgess wrote from Shen-si on 25 January 1897 293 telling of a journey he had recently undertaken between 12 November 1896 and 7 January 1897 during which he and his native companions had covered 500 miles and visited 17 markets and cities. They sold some 1,500 cash of books in Peh Shao Ho, a new and unvisited market, alone. To illustrate the kinds of problem sometimes faced, a section of his narrative is quoted here.

From this place [Peh Shao Ho] we began to climb the mountains, and our difficulties began. No food could be bought at the inns, and rain with strong wind drove into our face. Climbing higher, it was sleet and snow, and blowing a hurricane. The wind was bitterly cold, and all of us were wet through, and our sandals gave out. After 20 miles ascent we crossed the back of the range. It was the wildest of days amongst the wildest of scenery; perhaps the noblest scene one has ever gazed upon. The bitter wind and snowstorm continued for four days. We could change no silver, and had to continue our wintry march, carrying and cooking our own food. One night we were belated on the mountain, having had no dinner. We reached a little house but found it crowded, and no bedding to be had for my men. They watched the fire burn all night. For three weeks we did not get away, for the snow and ice was one and a half inches thick. Coming down the


river ... we preached ... The severity of the weather did not allow the shivering natives to listen for any length of time.

The work of Burgess and Goold was accorded some recognition in the "Editorial Notes" section of the Australasian Edition of *China's Millions* for June 1897 \(^{294}\) under the title of "Itinerant Work in Shen-si". The account was as follows:

In a large district on either side of the Han River and including parts of three provinces - SHEN-SI, HU-FEH, and SI-CH'UEN, Mr O. Burgess has for some three years been engaged preaching the Gospel ... The twenty walled cities, and scores of market-towns have also been systematically visited, a period of six months being required to complete the round of the district. During these years several attempts have been made to secure a permanent footing in the prefectural city of Hing-an; but these have hitherto been unavailing.

For some time accompanied by Mr. Gould (sic), Mr Burgess has latterly had only native companions on his journeys, three Christian men ... Mr Burgess has been preserved amid many and varied dangers, while from wreck and robbery and murder GOD has also graciously shielded.

A later *China's Millions* report \(^{295}\) contained a Burgess letter dated 16 May 1897 in which he tells of having

\(^{294}\) Vol. 5, No. 6, p. 51

reached Lao-ho-k’eo some days earlier after ten weeks of travel during which he, a Mr Crofts, two coolies and an Evangelist covered slightly less than 1000 miles and visited some eight cities and nine districts including over twenty markets and an annual fair. He visited Hing-ang-pu and reported that the prospects for obtaining a residence there appeared better. He and his party had sold gospels and British and Foreign Bible Society "portions". 296

In the Australasian Edition of China’s Millions for June 1898 it was recorded 297 that "Mr and Mrs Burgess are seeking to obtain an entrance to Hsing-an in Shen-si."
The ambition of Burgess and Goold, expressed in their request to Mr Taylor of September 1894, had still not been realised approaching four years later, despite the not inconsiderable effort which had been put into its achievement in the interim.

The China’s Millions (Australasian Edition) of 1 July 1898 reported that Mr and Mrs Burgess were expecting to have little difficulty in renting a house in Hsing-an, that of 1 October 1898 that they had secured three rooms in an official inn in Hsing-an and hoped to live there until a suitable house had been obtained. The mandarin recognized their right to rent premises and had promised to lend assistance to them.

In a letter dated 26 May 1898 from Hsing-an Fu, reported in the China’s Millions (Australasian Edition) of 1 November 1898, Burgess reported that they had rented premises in Hsing-an at last despite he and Goold having been driven

296 "Portions", as the name implies, were extracts from the Bible.

297 Vol. 6, No. 6
away repeatedly by officials there in earlier times. Mr Ma, a local official, had helped him on this occasion. Burgess saw this as a strategic triumph, giving the CIM "another link in the chain of stations on the Han river, being about half way between Lao Ho Keo and Han Chong Fu" and providing the CIM with "a centre from which to reach the eight walled cities lying around us. Scores of markets are scattered around these cities, and, so far as we know, there are only two Christians in the whole district." The China’s Millions (Australasian Edition) of 1 December 1898 carried similar information in its "Notes from Shanghai" segment.

Up to this point, taking into account only those instances where his mileage is given (and it is apparent that there were many other lengthy trips not recorded and quantified in this way), Burgess had travelled well over 4000 miles, much of it on foot, between 12 December 1892 and 26 May 1898 spreading the Gospel. There is no doubt that his contribution (and Goold’s, particularly in the earlier years) towards the CIM endeavour of preaching the Gospel to every creature was a very significant one, covering, as it did, an area of 225,000 square miles which included sizeable parts of three provinces - Shen-si, Hu-peh and Si-ch’uen, and involving preaching at many previously unvisited settlements (see Chart 8).

While on furlough in 1901, Burgess addressed the CIM Annual Meeting in Melbourne, and summarised his activities to that point in time. The excerpt below 298 picks up some of the highlights.

My work for the last seven years has been in and around the borders of Hu-peh, Shen-si and Si-

298 From CIM, China’s Millions (Australasian Edition), CIM, Melbourne, September 1901
Map of China, showing the general area (shaded) in which Burgess and Goold itinerated from Hingan. (Map Source: Stanford’s Geographical Establishment, London - map prepared for the CIM showing its stations as at 1 January 1904)
ch’uan, with Mr A. Goold as my colleague. We were much upon the roads during that period. It took years to get into the city of Hing-an. We were driven out repeatedly. ... It was a long game of perseverance and wit, and after much dodging they allowed the "devils" to stay in the city. ... My first acquaintance with China was mingled with brickbats and stones. The Tang Tsi riot had commenced. One night a missile, shot probably from a sling, just missed my head and indented the wall. ... We have had junk-wrecks. One slept on the roof of a submerged junk, about two feet above water ... We have had to deal with robbers with their drawn swords just in front of us ... We had to travel some 1,600 miles in order to escape during the recent Boxer trouble ... we escaped down river on junks. ... I have travelled some 16,000 miles in that country and visited some 48 walled cities and very many large towns and villages. One has been lost upon the mountains at night more than once, and has lain down to die, as one thought, by the road-side, and been carried home ill by my faithful native companions in weariness, loneliness, fever, cold, hunger and thirst. We had one march of 26 days through rain and mud, and one tramp through three weeks of snow. One has waded the icy-cold rivers, thigh deep, many times, and one has reached and preached to tens of thousands of people. And I have proved that God does give grace for this hard pioneer work.

The itinerations of Burgess and Goold stand out in the annals of CIM history. Theirs was pioneering work of a high order which brought the Gospel to tens of thousands of
Chinese in Hu-peh, Shen-si, and Si-ch’uen who, without their evangelistic efforts, would never have received it.

The pioneering work of Douglas Fowler Pike

Douglas Fowler Pike undertook pioneering work in Kwei-cheo in 1903 while still a missionary probationer.

Douglas Pike of Tasmania, who was born in 1877/8 was accepted by the CIM on 16 July 1900 "to go to China when the way opens" (the Boxer uprising causing havoc at that time), and sailed for China in the "Changsha" on 20 December 1901. He was a Methodist who had been converted "by himself deciding" and had trained at Belair, South Australia, before his embarkation. He had applied to the CIM on 14 September 1897 and been advised on 13 October 1897 to reapply later. He had reapplied on 8 January 1900 and this time had been accepted. Establishment tables place him at Kweiyang, Kwei-chau as at December 1902 and thereafter at Tuh-shan, Kwei-chau as at 1 January from 1904 through 1909. He married Louisa Boulter, an Australian CIM missionary, in 1906 and they spent most of their life together in Tuh-shan and Anshun, Kwei-chau. Their children, Mary Allison Pike (a trained nurse) and Walter L Pike also became CIM missionaries, sailing to China in September 1930 and on 24 September 1932 respectively after their father had been killed by brigands in the south of Kwei-chau province on or about 14 September 1929.

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299 Candidate records covering Pike’s application of 8 January 1900

300 Ibid.

301 Keith Butler, Church Architect, of Mitcham, Victoria, Douglas Pike’s grandson, who was born and up until the age of 16 lived in China, told me that Douglas Pike was shot, and his corpse thrown into a lime pit, so that no body was ever found. (Telephone conversation between the author and Keith Butler, 20 October 1994)
Pike described in the CIM's *China's Millions* (Australasian Edition) of January 1903 a journey he had taken in company with a group of new missionaries - Messrs Chenery and Embery (from England) and Mr McLean (from Canada).

Setting out from Chung-k'ing (Si-chuan) on Monday 16 June 1902 in sedan chairs, they crossed the border into Kwei-cheo on Saturday 21 June 1902 and rested on the Sundays of 22 and 29 June, subsequently passing through Tsuen-i-fu where the CIM had a mission house but no missionary at that time.

In the course of describing this journey, Pike commented as follows:

On this journey, you travel for days together and do not come to a place where there is a missionary. You pass by and through villages and see quite a number of people who know nothing whatever of the gospel ... Before leaving Ch'ung-k'ing, we each had some gospels and tracts given to us to sell on the way. It would have done you good to see how desirous the people were of buying these ... To see this people buying the books made us feel that we should like to be able to tell them of Jesus, but none of us could speak their language. We can and did pray that the Lord would help them by His Spirit as they read His word that they might be brought to the Saviour.

This was pioneering work with a difference, missionaries with no knowledge of the language handing out gospels and tracts in Chinese to people who had hitherto known nothing

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Vol. XXVIII, No. 11, CIM, Melbourne, January 1903
of the Christian religion.

The opening of Kai-feng-fu by Robert Powell

In a letter to China's Millions, dated 8 January 1902, Robert Powell, an Australian CIM missionary, announced with obvious delight his opening up of the last provincial capital city in China previously unoccupied - Kai-feng-fu, the capital of Ho-nan.

This he reported in the following terms, which are provided in detail to convey the magnitude of the difficulties Powell had encountered in the lead-up to his eventual success:

It has surrendered! The last of the capital cities of China has bent beneath the will of our Master. For long years it has resisted all attempts at entrance, let alone residence. So strong has this opposition been, that it is only of late years that one could get comfortably within the walls, and so wide did this influence extend that when the Mission a number of years ago managed to secure a place fifteen English miles from here ... opposition commenced, and grew so strong that the station had to be abandoned.

Three years ago, one tried to creep unobserved through the gates, but was caught in the act ... A stay of eight days was however made, and all passed off peacefully. Two years ago one was

again stopped at the gate.... The Mandarin soon came and urged a daylight departure, but ... I stayed twelve days.

Having just been able to get an entrance back into the province after the [Boxer] troubles of last year, an early visit to the capital was thought advisable ... There was no difficulty this time at the gate ... The gatekeeper was sleeping off the effects of an opium smoke and paid little or no attention ...

Houses to let were numerous, but to find a landlord with courage enough to let to a foreigner was a different matter ... at last one was found ... I ... went to the Mandarin and told him I had rented a house, and asked him to put out a proclamation to protect the hall, the landlord, and the Christians. ... At last he said "I cannot but protect you for fear I lose my office. I cannot force you to go." I said, "Will you protect the landlord?" After some hesitation he said he would. "That is all I require", I said, "and now everything is settled nice and peaceful (sic)."

Powell's efforts were big news, and were acknowledged in the "Editorial Notes" section of the China's Millions (Australasian Edition) of June 1902 304 thus:

**The Opening of K'ai-feng-fu -**

This city, the capital of HO-NAN ... is the last

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304 Vol. XXVIII, No. 4
provincial capital to hold out against the residence of the Christian missionary. Many attempts have been made at different times to secure a permanent position there, and now at length ... the long-closed door has been thrown open, an entrance has been effected and residence secured.

Early in this year Mr R. Powell, one of our missionaries, having obtained the sanction of the officials, rented and took possession of a house in this city. Mr Stevenson (China Director) in communicating this pleasing intelligence, writes: - "We are greatly rejoiced at the opening of Kai-feng Fu, and beg that you will solicit prayer for that city, that many hearts may be opened to receive the LORD JESUS."

This achievement was again brought to the notice of readers of China's Millions (Australasian Edition) in an article entitled "The Last Provincial Capital" by R. Powell which appeared in the September 1902 issue. 305 This was surely one of the most noteworthy and recognised achievements by an Australian CIM missionary in China.

3.2.3 Australian Men's Contribution in a support role to other CIM missionaries

The support work of William Westwood at Gan-k'ing (Gan-hwuy)

William Westwood carried out important support work for the CIM at Gan-k'ing, Gan-hwuy from the mid-1890s to the early

305 Vol. XXVIII, No. 7, p. 99
1900s.

William Westwood, of Brunswick, Victoria, applied to the CIM in June 1892 and was accepted in July of that year. He sailed for China in SS "Catterthum" in November 1892 and arrived in Shanghai on 15 December 1892. Establishment tables placed him studying at Gan-k'ing on 1 January 1893, and he continued on there, performing evangelistic work after completing his time at the training home, being still placed there from 1 January 1895 through 1 January 1911. In late 1895 he married a CIM missionary, Miss Marchant, who had gone to China from England.

J J Coulthard, in an article entitled "The Province of Gan-hwuy" in the CIM's China's Millions of March 1903 paid tribute to William Westwood thus:

The work at Gan-k'ing has suffered from frequent changes, but now, after earnest and systematic effort for some years by Messrs. Westwood and Gray, there is promise of blessing and far more encouragement. The church has been robbed of some of its members to supply the need for helpers and servants at other stations.

After many years of service with the CIM in China, William Westwood died in 1945.

Others

There were many other similar support contributions by Australian men, eg by Charles Parsons, who played a very important support role amongst the Anglican hierarchy in

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36 Vol XXIX, No. 1, CIM, Melbourne, pp. 3-5
Szechwan for many years, but they remained largely unsung in the missionary literature.

3.2.4 Australian Men's Contribution to special types of work undertaken by the CIM

Much mission station work was pastoral by nature, and the kinds of daily routines which this entailed are briefly discussed, amongst other things, in Appendix I, which derives from interviews and correspondence with surviving CIM missionaries. The 1909, 1911 and 1912 diaries of Arthur Moore, British CIM missionary, and father-in-law of the Australian CIM missionary Amy Weir, provide an excellent window to this aspect of mission life. His routine involved morning worship, followed by helping the school boys with their lessons until 10.30 or 11.00 am seven days a week, Local Secretary work Monday to Saturday, normally in the afternoons, preaching in the "preaching shop" in the afternoons or evenings most days, and playing games with his boys about tea-time each day. Part of each evening was spent preparing for the morning worship service. Each Saturday evening was spent preparing for the morrow's afternoon service, and Sundays featured the afternoon service, including communion services, and an evening service of song with the servants. Other ad hoc tasks had to be fitted in, such as meetings of various church members, the School Committee, correspondence, and medical work. He was able to share some of these tasks with Chinese church members, which allowed him to turn his attention to tasks which he would not otherwise have had time to address.

While this kind of work was always proceeding at mission bases, and it played a valuable role in consolidating gains made through pioneering and institutional work, most of it
represented the more humdrum, consolidatory aspect of missionary life and it is rather the pioneering and institutional work which has been concentrated upon in this dissertation. Having discussed pioneering work above, I now turn to an examination of institutional work in which CIM missionaries were engaged.

3.2.4.1 Medical

The CIM had an involvement in medical work from the time of its inception in 1865. Its founder, Hudson Taylor, had a medical degree, and was involved in medical missionary work around Ning-po in the early years. The contribution of the CIM and other missions to the genesis of modern medicine in China, though currently little acknowledged, cannot be underestimated. As Leslie Lyall put it,

... numerous Christian doctors ... served the Chinese people sacrificially and pioneered modern medical services throughout China. They set up hospitals everywhere, established the first medical schools and trained the first doctors and nurses. Leprosy was treated and the leprosy patients were lovingly cared for in institutions. Many Christian doctors laid down their lives in the service of the Chinese people ... 

307 The CIM medical effort in China, because of the Mission's comparatively greater focus on evangelism, was never as great as that of the bulk of other missions in the Middle Kingdom. In 1915, for example, the CIM's medical force comprised only 2.6% of its field complement, compared with 8.26% for all other missions in China. - Harlan P. Bach and Burton St. John, *World Statistics of Christian Missions: Containing a Directory of Mission Societies, a Classified Summary of Statistics, and an Index of Mission Stations Throughout the World*, (New York: The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1916), Medical Tables; consulted at Yale Divinity School Library January 1997.

However, the recruitment emphasis in the CIM was on piety, morality and ardour rather than on formal medical qualifications, and this focus was no different in its Australasian arm.

At some stage in their preparation for going to China, it was anticipated that Australian missionaries would have absorbed some rudimentary medical knowledge. Occasionally, a prospective missionary would be placed for a short term in a hospital in Australia to pick up some basic training before going overseas; at other times they acquired the knowledge after they had arrived by working as an assistant in one of the CIM's few medical clinics in China. Rarely, they had been partially or fully trained as doctors or nurses themselves. Some never received any particular medical training but picked it up in the field.

Once in the field, they were often seen by the Chinese as purveyors of Western medicine, and found themselves approached to provide drugs for ailments which ranged from cholera and malaria to influenza and pneumonia. CIM stations characteristically carried supplies of basic drugs and dressings, and their staff fairly rapidly acquired the elementary expertise required to effectively use them. In applying for medical help, the Chinese opened themselves to exposure to the gospel, which was dispensed for the soul in tandem with curative potions and lotions for the body.

Many Chinese took the physiological cure and did not return to receive further spiritual healing, but it was in the area of opium rehabilitation that the CIM made a great many of its evangelistic conquests in the medical field.

Here, typically, addicts lived in an 'opium refuge' run by the CIM station concerned, until a 'cure' (there was some
recidivism) was effected. During this period, which could take several weeks, they were subjected to non-stop preaching along with assistance to help them through withdrawal. The missionaries maintained that without the Christian faith to fix onto, the chances of lasting success were poor, and to some extent this belief seems to have been borne out in practice. The association of Christianity with a cure for opium addiction moved many Chinese, perhaps in gratefulness, to embrace the foreign religion; it also appears to have helped them stay off the opium once they had given it up. Opium thus proved a two-edged sword to the CIM - when people were under the influence of the drug they could not be reached by evangelism, but when they had an earnest desire to break the habit, this situation proved an absolute boon to the spread of Christianity throughout China.

Opium refuges were one of the CIM's most successful mechanisms for converting the Chinese people. There were anti-opium medicines which could be dispensed by virtually untrained staff, and these medical fledglings were seen to effect impressive cures, making the recipients more open to accepting other things the missionaries were putting forward. It was a fertile evangelistic field because there were entire villages, and significant components of large cities, given over to the habit, while whole provinces were recognized as being significantly under the influence of the curse. It was noted by Mr E C Barber, an Australian CIM missionary, at the time of the Annual Meeting of the CIM's Australasian Branch in mid-1908, that 30,000 men and women had broken the habit since opium refuges were first started, and that "a small proportion of these people" had
entered the Church. \footnote{309}

Australians were well to the fore in this field, either administering habit-breaking drugs and life-giving antidotes themselves \footnote{310} or monitoring the work of Chinese helpers managing opium refuges.

A description from a *China's Millions* (Australasian Edition) provided by Arthur Sanders in a letter of 2 March 1897, helps illustrate the kind of work done.

We are called out almost every day to go and save someone who has swallowed opium. Most of these cases are women who have found life not worth living, and of these a fair proportion are slave girls. ... We go and give the psychic and wait until danger seems to be past, and then leave the house ... Having saved the life of the patient, we have a splendid illustration right at hand to speak of the the importance of saving life, and the far greater importance of saving the soul. Our going out to opium cases breaks down a deal of the suspicion against foreigners, for the people can see ... that our presence here means to help them. We also thus get an entrance into all kinds of houses ... These times are the only occasions on which many of the women in some families have the chance of hearing the "Good News." \footnote{311}


\footnote{310} Walter Pike, for example, was involved in this kind of work, as he explained to me when I interviewed him on 6 December 1994.

R W Middleton was also engaged in helping opium addicts. He reported as follows:

We have been kept very busy with the opium patients this Winter. In one village we opened a refuge last month, where, I am told, that all except three of the opium smokers in the village have been under treatment. Three from this village, who went through our refuge last year, are standing well, and are regular attendants at the Sunday services. It is through their influence that one of the villagers invited us to open the refuge, giving his home for the purpose. Our medicine ran short, or we might have had several hundred under treatment instead of only one hundred.

He reported a year later in the following terms:

At the beginning of the year, we were kept busy with our opium refuges, having many more applications than we were able to receive. We opened refuges in three villages, which also gave the villagers an opportunity of hearing the Gospel.

R H Mathews, an Australian CIM missionary who became famous worldwide as a Chinese linguist, was nonetheless very much involved in other missionary endeavours, including medical work, at various times. In his 1910 annual report for the

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313 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol.XXXVIII, No. 1, CIM, Melbourne, 1 January 1912, p. 4
station of Sihwa (Honan) he mentioned that

The dispensary has brought many to hear of the Saviour, and a few have become regular attendants. We believe that twenty-six lives have been saved from suicide by opium and other poisons. 314

In general terms, however, the contribution of Australian CIM men in the medical field, while not absent, was not huge. It was perhaps not helped by the CIM’s rejecting, for reasons other than medical ability, or not following up quickly enough the applications of a number of fully qualified doctors. Few Australian CIM missionary men were formally qualified as doctors or other medical professionals, unlike their female counterparts, though there were two males qualified as doctors, two as pharmacists and one as a bacteriologist. That is not to say that the others received no training in this field: the contrary was the case, and some examples of the kind of less formal medical training received by Australian CIM men are described below.

R J Rowland Butler, who was to rise to one of the top positions in the CIM hierarchy (Acting Overseas Director) on account of his high capabilities as an administrator, learned medical skills while a student at the Melbourne Bible Institute by attending operations at the Alfred Hospital, including, particularly, dental operations at

314 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol.XXXVII, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1911, p. 30
which he became quite adept. He was also a useful mechanic, bookkeeper and builder.

Medwyn Pascoe attended The Australasian Chapman-Alexander Bible Institute at North Unley, South Australia in 1919 and 1920. Students enrolled for the Diploma course there were expected to gain "some knowledge of medicine and surgery" as well as the usual theological subjects, and no doubt while there he did.

Peter Olaf Olesen finished a course of training under the Ambulance First Aid Association in Brisbane in September 1903, two years before leaving for China. Ewan Lumsden, BA, a schoolteacher, learnt practical First Aid while with the RAAP during World War II, a useful skill for his time in China.

Even in the field of alternative medicine there was at least one representative. Jack Robinson, an old Scotch Collegian and the holder of a BA from Melbourne University was described as being "taken up with faith healing" in the report issued upon his leaving the Chinkiang Chinese Language School in October 1919.

Many Australian CIM men, as well as women, had, of course, been visitors to the sick in hospital prior to their time in China, so that they could hardly fail to absorb something of hospital systems and medical procedures. Maurice Hutton, who went to China in 1911, was in this

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315 He mentioned an example of his medical handiwork in a letter to his parents of 26 October 1931 thus: "I ... was called down to reduce a dislocated jaw and it went back with a click! It was my first attempt, and I had to go on theory from a lecture we had from a Dr. at M.B.I." In an unusually frank communication with his parents of 25 April 1932, he also wrote of having treated a woman whose nose was degenerating from the effects of syphilis. Copies of these letters are held by the author.
category, and there is no doubt that he engaged in medical work while there, though not necessarily always meeting with medical success, as the following report by him when he was stationed in Panghai, Kweichow in 1922 shows:

One letter told of five families having turned to the Lord in a certain village ... This work began in October 1920, when we dispensed medicine in vain for a baby boy. Finally ... we prayed for the baby, and after four days the child was healed. The father then believed, then a son, and later the mother". \(^{315}\)

What medical training Charles Fleischmann had received is not known, but it did not prevent him from becoming involved in some very serious surgery in 1922 while stationed at Kutsing Fu, Yunnan, as the following account by his wife reveals:

Well at last they [the brigands] got the required money, and fled, leaving one hundred wounded men behind for us to look after. We had not sufficient medicines, etc., for so many people, but got the officials to get all the wounded men brought into the Temple of Wealth, next door to our compound, and we attended to them for eleven days, until arrangements were made to send them on to the hospital in the capital five days' away. There were no red cross nurses or supplies with these defeated men, poor fellows - broken arms, legs, hands, ribs, shot in the head, right through the body, some shot in the lungs and

\(^{316}\) CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLVIII, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1922, p. 95
stomach; it was a sight not soon to be forgotten. My husband and I, with a Chinese to help sometimes, attended to them. My husband did the bad cases, and I did about fifty of the lighter ones each day; my husband took out several bullets and a piece of shell. 317

Qualified Australian male medical personnel were almost non-existent, but those who were had the ability to diagnose and treat a wider variety of illnesses and injuries than their less-qualified fellow missionaries, and also, typically, had access to hospital facilities which their brethren did not. Accordingly they had better opportunities to impress the Chinese with their expertise and, by association, with the beliefs which they espoused in conjunction with their medical treatment. Examples of formally qualified Australian CIM male medical personnel appear below.

**Doctors**

*Dr Delwyn Vaughan Rees*

Delwyn Vaughan Rees was born in Melbourne on 13 January 1895. He attended State School, Melbourne High School and Melbourne University, first qualifying as a State School Teacher and working with the Education Department for a while, but a medical student when he first applied to the CIM on 13 July 1920. He was then living with his mother in St Kilda, his father residing elsewhere, and he was unsure whether or not he had his father’s consent to his becoming a missionary in China when he forwarded his application,

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though he assumed no difficulty. He was also engaged to be married at the time of his application to the CIM.

A Baptist when he was converted at age 19 at an evangelistic mission, he gave his denomination as "previously Baptist. At present no particular denomination" when he applied to the CIM. One of his referees added to this by describing his doctrinal views as "evangelical". His doctrinal statement did not appear until 4 August 1921, and by that time he had qualified as an MB, BS.

Rev C H Nash MA, Principal of the Melbourne Bible Institute gave him a favourable reference on 8 August 1912. Another referee, Henry Baker, remarked on 10 August 1921, "I should say the fact of his being a medical practitioner should specially qualify him as a missionary." Frank E Southwell of Williamstown commented that, "He has trained and passed for Medical Work and enthusiastic in it."

The result of his application was acceptance, and he sailed for China in October 1921, entering the Chinkiang, Kiangsu Language School on 25 November 1921 and leaving there on 27 March 1922, showing good progress in the language and being deemed on 10 July 1922 suited for medical and evangelistic work.

By 1 January 1923, Rees was stationed at Anshunfu, Kweichow as a single man. The OIC of the station was E S Fish, MD, who had gone to China in 1911, and the post boasted a hospital where both doctors could put their medical knowledge into practice.

By 1 January 1925, Rees had married, his wife having arrived in China a year before him, and he continued to work at Anshunfu under Dr Fish, and also Mrs Fish, who had
come out in 1921, as well as with Morris and Mrs Slichter who had come out in 1915. Rees and his wife were still there as at 1 January 1926, and still under Doctor and Mrs Fish, the latter now being described as an R.N. (Registered Nurse), possibly having qualified while in China under her husband’s auspices. The Slichters were still there in 1926, and the station’s complement had been augmented by Miss M 1 Craig R.N. who had arrived in China in 1925.

By 1 January 1929 Rees was on furlough, his wife having apparently died in the interim, but by the opening of 1930, he had returned to China, being stationed "pro tem" at Pingyao, Shansi, seemingly to give him a respite from things medical as there were no hospitals, dispensaries, or other medical institutions there.

The following year found him at Lanchow (Kansu) where there was a hospital and dispensary and, when the dispensary closed down during the 1930s, a leper colony, so that there was ample outlet for his medical expertise. Here he worked under E J Mann, and with Dr A G Taylor MB, ChB, DTM and Mrs Taylor (née Reynolds) SRN, she having come out in 1923 and he in 1926.

By the following year (1932), Rees had remarried, his wife, also an SRN and née Reynolds, apparently being Taylor’s wife’s younger sister, who had come out in 1928.

Rees and his second wife continued under Mann at Lanchow (by then denoted Kaolan) until 1936, being joined by R A H Pearce MBBS, MRCS, LRCP 118 in 1933. By 1 January 1937 Rees was no longer at Kaolan, and he retired from the CIM in

118 The latter qualification is perhaps less widely known than the others. It stands for Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians.
1940.

Rees was the first qualified doctor in the Australian CIM contingent, and during the 19 years he laboured in China he made a valuable contribution to the CIM medical effort, first at Anshunfu, Kweichow and later at Lanchow, Kansu. Dr Lorna MacColl, the next Australian CIM doctor, and its first female physician, was not to arrive in China until October 1938, almost at the time that Rees was leaving.

Dr Thomas Norman Chenoweth

Born 3 August 1920 in Mackay, Queensland, Chenoweth, originally of the Open Brethren persuasion but as from 4 August 1948 desiring to be known as a Baptist, was educated to Senior Public School level at Brisbane Boys' College and subsequently completed a medical course at the University of Queensland, graduating in September 1944. He then had nine months at the Brisbane General Hospital as a Junior Resident before joining the AIF in July 1945 and serving in Perth until his discharge in March 1947. He then took up a position in the Repatriation Department as Medical Superintendent of the Repatriation Hospital Greenslopes, Brisbane and subsequently an appointment to Mooroopna District Base Hospital, Victoria where he was working when he applied to the CIM. He was converted during the last year of school through a visit of Johannes Bjelke Petersen under the Crusader Union. The date of his application to the CIM was 17 August 1947, and he attended Council on 21 October 1947 but at that stage was concerned that he lacked surgical experience. His application was, however, accepted by letter of 24 October 1947, and he sailed for China on 15 October 1948. His language school report noted that he had "a clear call to China for medical-evangelistic work" and was "a practical doctor".
In granting his Junior Missionary Certificate on 24 November 1950, the CIM noted that he had been performing surgical work in the Shanghai Nursing Home weekly and visiting and helping in the Gospel Hospital two or three times a week, also making time once a week for a Bible class in English. The Mission observed that he should make an excellent missionary doctor with an emphasis on surgery, linking prayer with medical practice.

He arrived back in Australia in January 1951 observing that there may be very little future for medical missionaries in China, and spent the next four years in general practice before being readmitted to the Mission on 26 August 1955 and serving in Thailand. He and his wife Joan Margaret resigned from the Mission in late 1966, their resignation being accepted as operating from 12 October 1966. They had four children, the first of whom was stillborn.

Dr Chenoweth’s medical contribution in China, though only of some two years’ duration and made under trying circumstances, was nevertheless valuable.

While Rees and Chenoweth had acquired formal medical qualifications, such medical skills as had been picked up in a less formal manner by other Australian CIM men did not go astray, and no doubt helped them in their evangelical endeavours from time to time. But it was the women who made the much more impressive impact in this field, and their contributions are discussed in detail at part 4.2.4.1 of this dissertation.
Pharmacists

Walter Pike

Walter Pike was a qualified pharmaceutical chemist, but found little outlet for these skills in Tuhshan, Kweichow where he was based for some seven years engaged in evangelical work. His main medical contribution lay in the occasional provision of opium overdose antidotes and medicines designed to assist local Chinese to break off the opium habit.

James W Gardiner

James Gardiner, who went out to China in September 1907, appears to have completed PhC studies when on furlough at some time during the period 1 January 1926-29, as there are no earlier references to his possessing that qualification despite the qualifications of others being shown around the same period. Armed with that Certificate, he was posted to Kaifeng, Honan, where the CIM established two hospitals in 1929, and had a hospital and a dispensary in 1930 and 1931 and either one or two hospitals in the following several years. With these medical institutions and doctors in situ, there was ample opportunity for Gardiner to practise his profession, and he was accordingly able to make a worthwhile contribution in this field.

Bacteriologists/Biochemists

Donald Grant

Likewise Donald Grant, a bacteriologist and biochemist, spent years in China performing outdoor evangelical work, and his medical expertise remained virtually untapped,
although he was serving as a senior technician in the large Lanchow Mission Hospital just prior to the Communist takeover.

3.2.4.2 Educational

Missionaries as educators in China faced a formidable task right from the outset. Illiteracy and ignorance were the rule rather than the exception. Even as late as 1924, after many decades of Protestant missionary presence in China, Stauffer \(^{119}\) could comment as follows:

A statement commonly heard in China is that less than ten men in every hundred, and less than one woman in every thousand are able to read and write. Against this background we have the statement that approximately sixty per cent. of the male communicants, and forty per cent. of the female communicants within Protestant churches are able to read their New Testaments in character, Romanised, or phonetics.

Nothing is more promising for indigenous Christianity than the rapidity with which members of the Christian constituency are being educated. While China has about one in every seventy-five of her total population in school, the Christian constituency reports about one out of every three now in school.

In relation to the education of the approximately one

million in this "Christian constituency", he stated that -

Over two hundred thousand children are attending Christian primary schools in China to-day, while approximately sixteen thousand are receiving education in more than two hundred and fifty middle or high schools. Large areas are still without adequate or even any Christian educational facilities.

This account, while pointing to relative mission success at that time compared with the efforts of the Chinese Government in the educational field, did not, in the latter segment, explain the situation fully, as there was an abundance of casual teaching of the Chinese by missionaries outside the formal classroom environment. It did, however, point to the very real deficiencies which, despite that factor, still existed as late as 1924 in relation to the education of Chinese Christians, whose ability to absorb the scriptures and other Christian literature and convey the Gospel effectively to others largely depended upon their level of literacy.

The Australian CIM missionary Graham Hutchinson also wrote in 1924 about the state of education in China, drawing on knowledge of both Government and Mission Schools to inform his comments. He remarked, rather despondently, as follows -

China's hope lies in her younger generation. In the past, two of the greatest hindrances were the ignorance and superstition of the people. The

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introduction of western methods of education have remedied the first to a slight degree, but education will not save nations or individuals. The educated Chinese are quick to adopt western ideas and along with them western atheism ... The change from eastern superstition to western atheism is a very doubtful "advance" and presents an added problem in missionary activity. ... 

In the Government Schools Christianity is taught as a comparative study with Buddhism, Confucianism, and other forms of superstition and worship, and Christ is on a level with other good "teachers." The Mission school is fighting a good fight and needs your prayers, for missionaries, for Christian teachers, for funds, but above all, for souls.

To the old missionary problems of erasing ignorance and superstition in order to facilitate the spread of the Gospel, then, was added by 1924 the new difficulty of coping evangelistically with a rising tide of atheism, especially among the Chinese educated in Government schools.

Overall, the contribution of the CIM and other missions to the evolution of education in China cannot be underestimated. As Leslie Lyall reports,

It was missionaries who opened the first schools and pioneered education for girls. The sixteen Christian universities ... and four hundred and nineteen middle schools were institutions of which no country in the world would have been ashamed. These were never allowed to be
institutions for indoctrinating students ... with Christianity, but were places where the Gospel was explained, Christian ethics were taught and high moral standards demonstrated by the Christian staff. In the 1930s fully one third of all leading Chinese received their education in a Christian institution. Not a few of the early Communist leaders were educated in such schools.

In a relative sense, the CIM's contribution to the education of Chinese was, as Lutz states, "little". Figures for 1935-36 provided by Parker support this view, showing that the CIM was responsible for only 11.8% of Protestant elementary schools and 5.8% of the pupils, and only 1.2% of high and middle schools. They provided no special schools while other missions provided 116. They did, however, often furnish educational facilities in areas where there was no other mission presence, so that they were locally important.

The writing was on the wall for missionary-run schools by early 1931 following a Nationalist Government edict.

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324 There had been earlier edicts, eg the Ministry of Education, Peking, Rule No. 5 of 16 November 1925 forbidding religious proselitization in schools, and another shortly before the CIM's China Council meeting of 11 March 1927 requiring students to assemble every Monday morning before a portrait of Dr Sun "to listen to the reading of his will and to remain in silent meditation for at least 3 minutes." Both of these proscriptions were anathema to the CIM, and they resolved not to register their schools though they remained in operation. The difference in 1931 was that the
effectively forbidding Christian education in Chinese schools. As reported in the China's Millions of 1 February 1931 -

There are 250 Mission schools in connection with the C.I.M. in Inland China, with over 7000 pupils, most of whom are the children of Chinese Christians.

In these schools the Scriptures are taught daily, morning and evening prayers are conducted regularly, and there are besides many opportunities for the children to become Christians. In addition the scholars receive a sound education under the best possible conditions.

The Chinese Government has issued orders that all private schools (including Mission schools) must be registered with the Government. The terms of registration include the following: -

(a) No scripture to be taught, and the Bible to be excluded entirely.
(b) No religious services of any kind to be held in primary schools (i.e., among scholars under 16).
(c) No influence to be exerted to make the children Christians.
(d) The portrait of Sun-yat-sen (the founder of

the Chinese revolution in 1911) to be worshipped.

The China Inland Mission has decided not to register any of its Mission schools under these conditions.

The Chinese Government has declared its intention of closing every school that will not register and thus comply with these impossible conditions, though so far this has not been pressed in every district.

Pray that the Mission Schools of China may be saved from this calamity. 325

A further elaboration of the official policy was reported in the China's Millions of 1 May 1931 thus:

The Ministry of Education in Nanking is reported to be willing to grant passports to students to study abroad only upon the condition that they will not include any religious subjects in their studies. The Executive Committee of the Government party's headquarters in Shanghai have declared that graduates of non-registered Christian schools shall not receive treatment on an equal basis with graduates of registered schools. ... there is an implication that Christian schools may be left to go their own way, but students from them will receive no credit for the standard they have obtained, nor any recognition of diplomas they may receive.

Thus, from educational, commercial, professional and social points of view they will be at a disadvantage. 326

The Mission schools continued in business in areas where Government policy was not enforced, and efforts were also made to get around the proscriptions such as by calling a school an "Industrial Home" 327 but schools were progressively forced to close, and this sphere of missionary endeavour became comparatively less important than other evangelistic work as time went on. While the edict was later rescinded 328, this branch of Christian endeavour did not revive in a number of areas.

While the education of the Chinese was not solely left to the female missionaries, the men certainly played a less obvious role. The literature abounds with tales of women running Sunday Schools, women's and children's classes and being involved as teachers in more formal CIM educational institutions (e.g. the schools at Chefoo discussed at 4.2.4.2 below), but there are relatively few references to the men being involved in activities falling under the rubric of education. Nonetheless, there are occasional mentions, and Australian males performed some valuable work in this sphere. The literature points to the men having been more usually involved in Bible Institute and Bible-class work,


327 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLIII, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1932, p. 55

328 This occurred in April 1938 but, as Kessler comments, "it was a Pyrrhic victory at best. The Japanese conquerors of China were more hostile than the Chinese to the Western presence, and the ultimate impact of the Sino-Japanese War was to disrupt irreparably the missionary enterprise." - Lawrence D Kessler, The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895-1951, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p. 90
a very important aspect of the CIM's role in the context of a Chinese church expected to become self-propagating. Some Australian CIM male missionaries who undertook teaching duties are mentioned below.

Charles Parsons

Parsons, who arrived as an individual in China in 1890, before the first Australian party, was well qualified to manage a native clergy training program. He was an ordained clergyman of the Anglican Church and held a Bachelor of Arts degree, which placed him head and shoulders above most of his Australian peers in terms of academic and ecclesiastical background.

He was accordingly assigned in 1907 to run a "Native Helpers' Training Institute" at Paoning, Sichuan, to which location he removed from Kweichowfu, Sichuan during that year. One of his two assistants was another Australian, C B Hannah, who had gone to Paoning from Wan-hsien, Sichuan by 1 January 1906.

Parsons described his second term there thus:

My second term commenced March 21st and ended July 5th. There were fourteen students, coming from some eight different districts. I had no native help this term, but Mr Hannah kindly taught the geography and Mr Andrews the singing.

As before, the men usually went out part of the

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229 During 1934, 12,557 persons attended Bible Schools connected with the CIM's work in China (CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLVII, No. 1, CIM, Melbourne, 1 January 1936, p. 9)
day preaching. ... We were enabled to study the Old Testament books from Joshua to 2 Samuel and also 1 Chronicles. In the New Testament, we finished St. Matthew's gospel and also did 2 Corinthians. I need not mention the other subjects - Church History, Homiletics, & c.

... The exams, were written except one, viz., the repetition of Scripture (some 120 verses having been learnt during term). ... It is a pleasure to see these men make progress, remembering that these (a number of them at least) are the coming helpers, and in some cases will perhaps be pastors. There is a great need now for properly trained native helpers. 330

The latter point was certainly true, and Parsons made a useful contribution in this field.

In a later elaboration of the work he was undertaking at what was now being referred to as "the Diocesan Training Institute at Paoning", reported in the "Shanghai Letter" of 25 February 1909 331, Parsons described the course thus:

The course of study this term comprised: Old Testament : 1 and 2 Kings, with parallels in Chronicles, and an introduction to the books of the contemporary Prophets; New Testament : St. John's Gospel, Galatians, Ephesians: Prayer Book: The Collects from Trinity Sunday to All Saints' Day; Church History, A.D. 680-1157; Articles


XIX.-XXVIII.; Homiletics: Repet. of Scripture, Geography, and Singing. The last two subjects, as before, were taken by the Rev. C. B. Hannah and Mr. Andrews respectively. ... As to Christian work, the students have, besides conducting morning prayers by turns, gone out in parties for street preaching on alternate days as far as practicable.

Parsons' input into the development of a native clergy in Szechwan cannot be underestimated. His was certainly a valuable contribution in the training sphere.

J Howard Kitchen

Howard Kitchen, born 28 August 1902, a former Melbourne University (attending lectures in Logic, Psychology and Ethics) and Melbourne Bible Institute student, and an Associate of the Australian Insurance Institute, served at the Shansi Bible Institute, Hungtung from 1933 to 1935 and, following a furlough in Australia and the UK to allow his British wife (Lilian Binnington) to recover following the death of twin daughters, from 1936 to about 1940, teaching at various times New Testament I, Service, Apologetics, Doctrine, Hebrews, and Pilgrim's Progress.

They were evacuated to Chefoo, Shantung for several months when the Japanese took over Hungtung, and then moved to Pingba, Kweichow where they started another Bible School, which they worked for almost 5 years, up until the end of 1944 when they were again evacuated in the face of Japanese advances, to Calcutta, where they spent about a month. From here, in 1945, they went to the UK for about 18 months, arriving there in March 1945, and then Australia for about a year, on a further furlough.
They returned to China in about September 1947, taking up work at the Chungking Theological Seminary, Szechwan where he taught Old Testament and other miscellaneous subjects and, as before, also did secretarial work, and she taught music and singing. They remained there until early 1951 before leaving China in the face of deteriorating relationships with the Communists (who had taken power in Szechwan in late 1949) and arriving in Australia on 14 April 1951.

Howard Kitchen was thus involved in the Bible training of Chinese students in three Provinces over a period of 18 years, and made a significant contribution in this area.

Harry Bailey

Harry Roberts Lewis Bailey, who arrived in China in September 1938, operated in several different spheres for the CIM. In the nine year period through to October 1947, he had been involved in study, itineration, pastoral duties and business work. After returning to China from furlough in September 1949, he was posted to Tunghai, Yunnan for 6 months and Kunming for 15 months and, during this 21 month period, though primarily involved in secretarial duties, he also undertook Bible teaching work and was able to make a contribution to the CIM's endeavours in this area.

Geoffrey Malins

Geoffrey Hunter Malins, during the six year period between his arrival in China in 1939 and his departure on furlough in 1945 was posted to Tali, Yunnan for 6 months, Kwanhsien, Szechwan for a year, Yanghsien, Shensi also for a year, Ninkiang, Shensi for 1½ years, Kwangyuan, Szechwan for 11 months, and Chengtu, Szechwan for 3 months. Apart from his
time in Kwangyuan, where he functioned as Transport Manager and Local Secretary looking after travellers passing to and fro, his time was spent in evangelistic and teaching work, so that he was able to make a solid contribution in the educational field over a period of about four years. He continued with Local Secretary work upon return from furlough in 1947.

Ewan Lumsden

Ewan Wallace Lumsden, BA (Melbourne), was trained as a schoolteacher and also spent a year studying at the Melbourne Bible Institute. He sailed to China on 15 October 1948, and, at the language school was deemed best suited to work among the young, Bible teaching or teaching school. He was placed in such a field, undertaking a full teaching programme at the CIM School at Kuling, where he also had a large share in the boys’ sports and shared responsibility with Mr Brailey for the Middle School Boys’ Bible Class, being described as having gifts as a worker amongst the young. After leaving China proper in March 1951, Ewan spent six weeks in Hong Kong before sailing for Singapore on 13 April to open up teaching work among students there and remaining for 14 months. After a brief furlough in Australia, he accepted a posting to Malaya (later Malaysia) where he spent most of the next 15 years, rising to Superintendent of South Malaysia. His contribution of over two years in China, however, was principally in the education and surrogate parentage of missionary children, nonetheless important, as it helped free up missionary parents’ time which could then be more completely devoted to evangelistic duties.
3.2.4.3 Relief Work

**Famine Relief**

While they had been involved in earlier famine relief operations in China, Australians were particularly prominent amongst those undertaking famine relief operations of considerable scale in northern Kiangsu and part of Anhwei, in the region of the Yellow River, between February and June 1907.

In response to an appeal from the Central Committee for Famine Relief, Mr Oliver Burgess (an Australian mentioned earlier in this dissertation) travelled to the famine-stricken district to render assistance for a time. He and Mr H J Mungeam gave their time to the superintendence of this work in Antong, Tsing-kiang-fu and the surrounding neighbourhood, assisted by Mr A R Saunders at Yangchow, Kiangsu, Miss Maggie Reed (a New Zealander) and Miss E Trudinger (an Australian) of Antong. They were shortly joined in the Antong/Tsing-kiang-fu districts by Messrs A Gracie, R A McCulloch (an Australian), C J Anderson, C Jensen and W E Tyler.

Some 30,000 refugees from the stricken area flowed through Chinkiang, Kiangsu where Dr J E Williams (who died on 1 June 1907 of typhus contracted through attendance on famine patients) opened a free dispensary for their benefit, receiving support from his wife (an Australian, née Johanna Lloyd) who, with the help of native Christians, made clothes for them, she acting as a seamstress in the production of 150 garments.

On 12 May 1907, Oliver Burgess summed up the situation as follows:
The week ending yesterday has been a busy time. We have had the following number employed:- Digging canal, 7,600; road making, 3,000; carpenters, 40; bricklayers, 30; barrowmen, 60; stonemasons, 60; food staff, 30; mill-men, 6; drain-men, 10; police staff, 50; paymasters, 12; total, 10,898.

Our expenses are $1,500 per day. Our income for sales of $1,000 per day ...

Thousands of tons of earth have been carried, miles of road made, ten miles of old canal redug, and two or three miles of a large new canal connecting this city with the Salt River are nearly finished ... Three months ago I saw these thousands starving, and questioned "Does God care?" and now I ride through the ranks of over 10,000 men daily and I see them eating a meal of bread ... The 3,000 coolies ... are paid for each load, and the more they carry the more money they make ...

We are selling the Shanghai flour, broom corn, potatoes, & c., and using the income; as also the China Inland Mission fund and the "Christian Herald" funds, and have $30,000 to circulate. This will last till the end of May, and will have tided many thousands over the worst time ... Many refugees are in a deplorable condition. The local gentry feed 3,000 of these daily. Mr Tyler has been giving workmen's badges to a number also. Mr McCulloch (sic) is with me on the canal ...

It is helpful to know that great and good work is
being done now in many other centres by our missionary friends, thus saving the lives of many thousands of people. 332

In a subsequent report of 9 June 1907 he reported that

Our relief work has supplied a city [Antong] of at least 55,000 people, and but few have died. The passing immigrants die in numbers on the roadsides, in the temples and city gates, and the wretched dogs eat the carcases. Roads, canals, drains, swamps, &c., have all had our attention and have given useful employment to these worthless, penniless men. 333

In addition to the efforts by Burgess and others mentioned above, which were mainly confined to the Antong/Tsing-kiang-fu area, other famine relief work was undertaken by Mr Dugald Lawson, Mr Hammond, Mr McCulloch (again), Mr Tyler (again) and Mr C E Parsons (another Australian) who visited other districts and ministered to a large number of destitute people ...

Messrs McCulloch (sic), Tyler and Parsons ... distributed 30,000 bags of flour in a district 40 odd miles north east of Antong, where they found great destitution, and received a hearty welcome


333 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXIII, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1907, p. 59
Mr R.A. McCulloch was again active a few years later in relief work when famine affected North Anhwei and North Kiangsu. His involvement was reported in the "Shanghai Letter" of 17 March 1911 thus -

... R.A. McCulloch, and others, have been ministering relief from the special funds received from the home countries for the purpose. The Chinese officials and gentry have co-operated in the distribution.

Another famine, which affected Szechwan and Kweichow, occurred in 1921, and several Australian CIM missionaries were involved in famine relief work at that time. Walter Herbert, then positioned in Yungning, Szechwan reported in 1921 that

As we were at this time sending in grain to the starving people in the neighbouring province of Kuei-chow, I promised our Miao friends that I would come in to them as soon as this work was well in hand, and could be left to others ...

Peter Olesen, at that time located in Tsunyi, Kweichow was also involved in the same work, reporting as follows:

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336 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLVII, No. 11, CIM, Melbourne, 1 November 1921, P. 130
Funds being available to undertake famine relief work in this district, we began a thorough investigation in the surrounding country. In this way we gave [free rice] tickets to over 500 families. ¹³⁷

Medwyn Pascoe was involved in the famine relief work with Walter Herbert, as the following account establishes:

It was a beautiful day, towards the end of September [1921] when Mr Herbert and I, with about a hundred men carrying rice and cloth, set out for a city two days' journey from Yungning. This city had suffered much from famine, and a large number had already died from starvation, so we decided to take them some relief ... It was about 3 p.m. when we reached our destination ... And oh, the sights of poverty and disease! People, their skin dark with the privations of the famine crowded there, and came up the steps with baskets and bags and buckets and old rags, anything that would hold rice ... We worked on for hours, and the official sat through it all, and saw something of famine relief work. ¹³⁸

In this community service area of the CIM's operations, then, Australians played a vital role.

¹³⁷ CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLVII, No. 12, CIM, Melbourne, 1 December 1921, p. 140

¹³⁸ CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLVIII, No. 1, CIM, Melbourne, 1 January 1922, p. 6
3.2.4.4 Literary Work

In order to bring the Christian message to the Chinese, a wealth of translation work had to be accomplished, and the work of the Australian, Dr R H Mathews (see part 3.2.1), was one of the dominant forces in this field. Also important, however, was the production by missionaries of works describing aspects of their lives in China, as these served as stimulants to sponsors at home to give to the missionary cause and to young people to follow in CIM missionaries' footsteps, while the sale of such pieces also contributed to the funds necessary to transport missionaries to, and sustain them in, China. Mary Reed, the first Australian CIM missionary into China, was an early pioneer in this field of literature, but there were other Australians who made worthwhile contributions in this sphere.

The Australian CIM missionary, Arthur Sanders, produced a booklet entitled "Firstfruits", which retailed at a modest 1d in February 1911, telling of his first converts amongst the 'Aborigines' of Yunnan, West China. 339

Others produced literature geared to stimulating the Chinese to join and take up active work for the Christian Church in China. In this category was a work by the Australian missionary T A P Clinton, entitled "A Chinese Saint" referred to by James Gardiner, another Australian missionary, towards the end of 1912 thus:

Being Taoist priests, we aimed at them all

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getting also a copy of the late Mr. Clinton’s famous tract "A Chinese Saint," which is translated into Chinese by Mr Baller under the name of "The Truth Sought and Found." It deals with the conversion of a Taoist priest, who later became one of Mr. Clinton’s evangelists and was stationed at one of our Nanchowting out-stations.  

The account goes on to tell of how a Buddhist priest read the tract and, as a consequence, attended the following Sunday morning’s service.

The Australian CIM missionary Rev Charles Nedham Lack produced a 21 page work entitled "Power of the Gospel. Remarkable Instances of Conversion", which served as an encouragement to fellow missionaries and native evangelists labouring amongst the Chinese.  

341 He also produced a 53 page booklet entitled "Farmer Wu: The Man who Baptised Himself". This was the biography of farmer Wu, who sought and found God after briefly talking with a colporteur. The book concludes with exhortations to readers to bring the Gospel to others like him.  

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The Australian CIM missionary Maurice Hutton was responsible for transcribing into Black Miao Script and

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340 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol.XXXVIII, No. 12, CIM, Melbourne, 1 December 1912, Supplement p. 3. A copy of this 16 page booklet was located at CN 215, Box 7, Folder 1, "Publications ca 1890-1951", Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA

341 CIM, Newington Green, London, not dated; located at CN 215, Box 7, Folder 1, "Publications ca 1890-1951", Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA

342 This was published by the CIM, London in collaboration with the Religious Tract Society in December 1927. It was located in the Billy Graham Center Library, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA under Ref. No. BV 3415.L335
having printed, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, a hymn book, a catechism and portions of Scripture "setting forth the plan of salvation", in this way furthering evangelistic work among the Black Miao tribespeople in the Panghai, Kweichow Mission centre for work amongst that tribe. He went on to translate the whole New Testament, distribution of which began in late 1935, and a book of simple theology which included scriptural portions from both Old and New Testaments. Following those achievements, he began work on the tongue of the Keh Deo tribe, and by 1937 had completed the Gospels of Mark and John, a catechism and a hymn collection in this language.

The Australian CIM missionary Thomas Binks completed in late 1931 the translation of St John’s Gospel into the language used by the Laka people.

The China’s Millions of 1 February 1936 observed that the Australian CIM missionary Mr. A. G. NICHOLLS is remaining in Shanghai for a few months to see certain tribal translations of the Scriptures through the press.

This literary contribution added to Nicholls’ very

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343 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LV, No. 11, CIM, Melbourne, 1 November 1929, p. 168


successful evangelistic work among the tribes.

3.2.4.5 Social Consciousness

In 1928 or shortly thereafter, a Jewish writer, George E Sokolsky, wrote an absorbing five page paper entitled What Matters in Missions?, which developed an argument that the real usefulness of the Christian missionary [lay] in the remaking and rebuilding of China \(^{347}\), in the revival of a vital personality among the leadership of a people who had grown stiff and sluggish and forceless through ages of crude materialism unrelieved by social responsibility.

He went on to say \(^{348}\) that

It is the role that Christianity has played in the creation of a distinctive personality that has made the missions so attractive to me. ... China requires leadership, and the Christian mission has done more than its share in the reorientation of the Chinese mind from Confucian selfishness as evidenced by the family system to a social consciousness as evidenced by the effort of an increasingly large number of Chinese men and women to serve China in a modern manner.

He pointed out that

\(^{347}\) He was writing just after the divisive period of warlord supremacy which had lasted from about 1920 to 1927.

\(^{348}\) It is worthwhile quoting at length here, because Sokolsky has a point, which he puts with compelling clarity.
Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a direct product of missionary effort. The Soong family [into which Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek married] represents the peak of the missionary's influence upon personality, for the father of this household, Charles Jones Soong, was himself a missionary, a teacher of religion and English. The missionary influence upon character may produce such an absurdity as the "Christian" general, Feng Yu-hsiang ... Chiang Kai-shek may have ... become a Southern Methodist to please his mother-in-law, but ... his officers' Moral Endeavour has engendered an altogether new spirit and attitude toward the Chinese masses in the armies under his control.

I have no desire to write a "Who's Who in China," but it would not be difficult to trace the effectiveness of missionary influence on personality in political leadership, in education, in science with particular emphasis on medicine, and in business. ... the Christian missionary's principal task is character building and the results of his work can be measured only in an analysis of the type of individual produced under Christian influences. I feel that all other measures of effectiveness are unrealistic and meaningless.

And if this is the measure then it is impossible to say that the missionary has failed.

He illustrates at the local level the kind of influence to which he is alluding thus:
The presence of a missionary in a Chinese city, far from his own people, serving strangers, unselfishly asking nothing in return, not even fees for his church, providing aspirin or castor-oil, binding a wound, teaching the children, quarreling with the local magistrate in the interest of his parishioners, braving bandits to rescue the kidnapped (sic), living in moral and physical cleanliness -- how this contrasts with the opulent Chinese official or the local gentry!

... the Christian missionary ... should come just to be there. He should come as a living example of the selfless life. He should come as a spectacle of self-sacrifice. He should come as an interpreter of the western assumption of social responsibility to a people who still live (sic), on the whole, in stark individualism.

He goes on to point out that

In the moulding of personality the mission educational system has served China more advantageously than any other foreign agency

and that

The missionary's contribution to health has been even greater than in education.

Sokolsky's point is well made, though one could carp about matters of detail like his suggestion that no other measures of missionary success other than their track record in developing a social consciousness are of value, his comment about arguing with the local magistrate on
behalf of parishioners, which, in the case of the CIM, was against Mission policy though it no doubt occasionally occurred, and his remark about missions not asking for fees, which was becoming less apposite at that time as missionaries were busily attempting to place financial control of the local churches in the hands of Chinese committees and getting out of the business of financing them from Mission funds. One could also argue that with the re-establishment of a measure of central governmental control by the time Sokolsky was writing, which had to an extent unified the country, the field was ripe for the growth of nationalism, which may well have provided fertile soil for the parallel growth of social consciousness, irrespective of missionary input.

All missionaries, to a greater or lesser extent, however, participated in the strategy of leading by example, and of influencing those with whom they came in contact towards feelings of social consciousness. They were aided and abetted by an ever-expanding group of influential Chinese who had absorbed various elements of their values, and the ultimate outcome, perhaps linked with growing nationalism, was the spread of social consciousness far beyond that portion of the populace the missionaries were able to personally reach.

Australians, no less than other nations represented in the CIM, just by living amongst the Chinese, played an important role in this social metamorphosis.

3.2.4.6 Field Management

To Mary Reed fell the honour of being appointed the first Australian officer-in-charge of a CIM station in China. John Southey was the second Australian and the first
Australian male to receive that recognition. The third (Oliver Burgess), fourth (Alfred Rogers), fifth (Frank Burden) and sixth (Thomas Clinton) Australian OIC positions were also taken by males, and the seventh (Isabella Coleman) by a female. Australian women who distinguished themselves in this way are further discussed at part 4.2.4.7.

John Southey was appointed as OIC of Kwang-yuen (Szechwan, opened 1889) by 1 January 1893 when he was shown in that capacity in establishment tables. He was accompanied by his wife Edith, both of them only having sailed for China in March 1891, so that they shared the task of running a relatively new station with only a minimal amount of language training behind them. Illness forced Southey to return to Australia in 1895, and he and his wife afterwards served the CIM magnificently on the home front in Australia, Southey rising to the position of Home Director.

The irrepressible Oliver Burgess, who had sailed to China on 20 November 1890, had become acting OIC of Lao-ho-k’eo, Hupeh, in the absence of the King and Black families, by 1 January 1893, but he did not assume a permanent OIC position until six years later. He and Athelstan Goold, working virtually autonomously, itinerated from Hingan, Shensi for a couple of years, being shown as thus occupied as at 1 January 1895 and 1 January 1896, Burgess subsequently operating alone from that centre through 1 January 1897 and 1898, and officially assuming the mantle of OIC by 1 January 1899, by then accompanied by his bride (née Alice Thomson) who had sailed for China in September 1895. They continued to run Hsingen until 1917, before shifting to Luanfu, Shansi and exiting the Mission. Athelstan Goold, Burgess’ companion and friend in the early itinerating years at Hingan, was transferred to Han-chung,
Shensi (opened 1879) as acting OIC by 1 January 1897, and was subsequently temporarily in charge of Hingan as at 1 January 1901 in the temporary absence of the Burgesses. Later he was OIC of Shih-tsun, Shensi (opened 1903) as at 1 January 1904.

Alfred Rogers was placed in charge of Tuh-shan, Kweichau (opened 1893) by 1 January 1895, but in his absence as at 1 January 1896, another Australian, Frank Burden, took over the reigns, and held them until 1899, after which C H Laight, who was not Australian, took over.

Thomas Clinton appears as OIC of Taiho, Gan-hwuy (opened 1892) from 1 January 1896 to 1898 then of Changteh, Hunan (opened 1898) from 1 January 1899 and up until his tragically early death in 1908.

Other Australian male missionaries given either acting or substantive OIC positions included Alfred Biggs (Hopeh = Chau-kia-k'eo North of River [Honan, opened 1884] 1 January 1898 to 1 January 1901); Benson Barnett (Yingchau [Gan-hwuy, opened 1897] 1 January 1898 to 1907); William Westwood (Ganking [Gan-hwuy opened 1869] 1 January 1898 to 1913); and Robert Middleton (Moi-hien [Shensi, opened 1893] 1 January 1897 to 1917).

Other Australians like William Strong, Norris King, Arthur Nicholls, Francis Joyce, William Thompson, William Entwistle, David Barratt, Charles Lack, Robert Powell, James Platt, George Rogers, Robert McCulloch, Percy Ambler, Walter Herbert and Charles Parsons also managed stations for varying periods of time in the early years (to 1906). In many cases they were ably assisted by wives who were often also Australians, and this aspect of station supervision is also discussed at part 4.2.4.7.
Being in charge of a station gave one representation on provincial councils, but not on the China Council, for which eligibility was confined to the General Director, Deputy China Director, up to three Assistant China Directors, the Treasurer, the Secretary, and provincial or area superintendents.

Nine Australian men succeeded in gaining membership of the China Council as provincial or area superintendents in the period 1930 to 1953. These were Charles Hannah, Francis Joyce, Charles Parsons, Gladstone Porteous, Frederick Smith, Augustus Trudinger, Jack Robinson, Cyril Edwards and Rowland Butler. In 1935, six of them served on Council simultaneously and comprised 21.4% of the Council membership of 28. In 1933, 1934 and 1936, five of them (17.2%, 17.2% and 26.3%) served on Councils of 25, 25 and 19. In these years, Australian membership was well in excess of their representation in the field. From 1930 to 1932 and in 1942, four Australians served on Councils of 31, 29, 28, and 26 and comprised 12.9%, 13.8%, 14.3%, and 15.4% of the Council membership respectively. In January 1937, July 1937, 1949 and 1950, with three on Councils of 21, 22, 24 and 22 respectively, Australians comprised 14.2%, 13.6%, 12.5% and 13.6% respectively of the membership. In these years, Australian representation would have approximated or slightly exceeded their representation in the field.

Sometimes, however, Australian membership on the China Council was a gross underrepresentation in terms of their field numbers, being down to 2 from 1939-41 and from 1947-48 and to one (Butler) from 1952 to 1953, though it should be borne in mind that Australian numbers in the field were
also significantly thinning in the latter period. 349

Butler, however, was a very significant figure. He appears as one of the two Assistant Overseas Directors in April 1952, on a six-person Overseas Council including himself, the other Assistant Overseas Director, Rev. F L Canfield, and the Overseas Director (OD) H A J Lea, the Treasurer, and two secretariat staff, the General Director (GD) position being shown as vacant at the time.

In June 1953, Butler appears on the Board of Directors of the CMF as one of its eight members, the GD position still being shown as vacant, and also on the Overseas Council, as one of the two Assistant Overseas Directors (Canfield the other) under OD H A J Lea, in a 13-member Council. Butler was a powerful figure in the CIM towards and during the close of the CIM's association with China, and also afterwards when it moved on to other mission fields.

There is no doubt that the Australians were an important element of the China Council for many years, and that that forum would have been impoverished without their collective experience to bring to bear on the weighty problems which that body considered during the turbulent war and strife-torn years of the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s. Butler's presence on the Mission's Councils towards the end of the CIM's association with China helped substantially to pave the way for its move to other mission fields in the Far East.

An interesting illustration of how highly members of the Australian contingent could be regarded is found in the case of Howard Kitchen. Howard, whose wife was British, was

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349 No figures are available for 1938, 1943-46 or 1951.
in Britain from 22 February 1945 to 21 September 1946 on furlough, and, as would have been the case had he spent that period on furlough in Australia, he was given deputation work to do during that time. Stationed at Leigh On The Sea on the northern side of the Thames Estuary, he took deputation trips as far north as Birmingham and as far west as Devon, usually utilising public transport, and attended meetings of the London Home Council each month. On 14 January 1946 he took up the position of Acting Deputation Secretary (ie Acting Head of the Deputation Department), a post he retained until he left Britain in September 1946. Another example is that of the Australian CIM missionary Arthur Mathews, who married the American CIM missionary Wilda Anita Miller in Toronto, Canada on 15 September 1946 and subsequently became leader of the North American CIM.

3.2.4.7 Tribes and Border Work

Tibet

The CIM positioned itself on the borders of Tibet with a view to entering the country should it ever open up to missionary penetration. Nominally under Chinese control, the country operated virtually autonomously, and the

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350 J Howard Kitchen, Diary unnumbered - (5 year diary) 1 January 1945-31 December 1949


352 As Cressey remarked in 1934, “Around the eastern margins of the lofty Tibetan plateau are a series of sheer snow-clad mountains and tremendous gorges, which have steadfastly resisted Chinese penetration. Unlike the deserts of Mongolia and Sinkiang where elements of Chinese culture, if not always of political authority, have long been established, Tibet has had but limited contacts with China.” - George Babcock Cressey, China’s Geographic Foundations: A Survey of the Land and Its People, First Edition, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934), p. 383
freedoms extended to missionaries within China proper were never extended to them in Tibet. Tibetans traded with Chinese at marketing centres outside their borders, however, and at such places the missionaries were presented with an opportunity to deliver the gospel message to Tibetans whom, it was hoped, would carry the glad tidings back with them to their people on the other side of the border or at least to Tibetan enclaves within China proper.

One of these market centres was Tatsienlu, Szechwan, population 10,000, 2000 miles from the sea, 8,400 feet above sea level, and surrounded by mountains rising a further 6,000 feet above the city. Not far from the post the missionary could view mountains 20,000 feet high, covered with perpetual snow. Here Walter Herbert, an Australian CIM missionary, laboured for two years, being stationed there as at 1 January 1909 and 1910 before moving on to Kiatingfu in the same province by 1 January 1911. He described the setting in the following terms:

... it is a meeting place for Chinese and Tibetan traders, and is generally crowded with ponies and yaks from Tibet with wool, deer, horn, musk, butter, herbs, &c. These the Chinese buy, and the Tibetans go back laden, as a rule, with tea and cloth, &c., which they buy from the Chinese, who come from all parts of the Empire. The Tibetans also bring goods from India, such as cashmere, rugs, corals, elephants' tusks, and precious stones.

... The work is hard, and the messengers are few. Only those who have physical strength, and are spiritually strong as well, could stand living in these regions, often in an altitude of over
14,000 feet. The missionary often has to sleep on the bare ground in his tent, and not wash his face for months, so as to be like the Tibetan!

... The folks are like the climate, "cool." We have frost all the time now, but the lovely sunshine compensates, and we have much to be thankful for. 353

For two years, under trying conditions, Walter Herbert carried the Gospel to Chinese and Tibetans on the China-Tibet border at Tatsienlu. He was just one of a number of Australians who worked there. Others were T O Radford (as at 1 January 1900 and 1902), W S Strong (1 January 1901) and Mrs Edgar (née L Trudinger) (1 January 1919 through 1 January 1934). The conditions took their toll, as none other than Lily Edgar stayed longer than two years, but Australians were nevertheless amongst those who helped maintain this post at the frontier of CIM expansion.

Another of these border posts was Siningfu, Kansu which was located not far from the border wall between Tibet and China, and boasted a special Tibetan centre which was run like an inn, with accommodation for a large number of guests, stable room for camels, yaks, mules, horses or donkeys, a kitchen in which guests could cook their food, and a preaching hall. 354 Here at Siningfu the Australian CIM missionary Jack Mathewson laboured for about three years, the only Australian to serve at this border post, arriving there during 1924 and evacuating the post on

353 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, CIM, Melbourne, 2 January 1911, pp. 6-7

consular instructions because of banditry and civil war then afflicting China, towards mid-1927, departing in the company of a German scientist [later identified as Dr Filchner] and the American missionary Mr Plymire, via a westward route planned to take them over the Karakorum mountains, through Kashmir and on to Calcutta. Letters he posted on 4 June 1927 in Tibet itself reported that they had been travelling with Tibetan yak at the rate of 15 miles a day for a number of days along the southern shores of Koko-Nor Lake, some 12,000 feet above sea level and 60 or 70 miles in length. Another letter dated 7 June 1927 said that they had left Koko Nor, turned southwestward and negotiated a mountain pass before travelling westwards and camping on the shores of the salt lake having the Tibetan name of Tsa Ka. At that stage they were undecided whether to continue westwards via Leh or take a road on the west side of Lhasa and make for Darjeeling, though Calcutta would be the final destination in either case. Almost three months elapsed, and then official news was received by the CIM in Shanghai to the effect that he and his two companions had been murdered in Tibet.  

Obituary notices were published and memorial services conducted, but then his parents received a cablegram on 10 November 1927 in Brisbane saying that he was nearing Darjeeling in the Himalayas in North India.

The China's Millions of 1 April 1928 reported that a cablegram had been received announcing Mathewson's safe arrival at Leh, the principal town of Northern Kashmir. It was observed that at that stage he still had a high pass to

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356 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. LIV, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1928, p. 51
negotiate before reaching Calcutta via Srinagar. The *China's Millions* of 1 May 1928 \(^{357}\) confirmed that he had left Tibet.

Extracts from private letters to his parents published in the *China's Millions* of 1 July 1928 \(^{358}\) established that he had arrived in Leh after being ten months on the road and had been there a week waiting for a frostbitten foot to heal, staying with a Moravian missionary (Mr Peter), and indicated that his intention was that as soon as he was well enough to travel again, he would proceed to Kashmir.

The *China's Millions* of 1 September 1928 reported that Mathewson was expected to arrive in Brisbane during the first week of September 1928. It also carried a brief report from Mathewson of his Tibetan travels, during which, amongst other things, he distributed Christian literature. How he accomplished this is explained as follows:

Our ten months across Tibet journey was among nomad tribes, Mongols, as well as Tibetans. Their tents were securely hidden in valleys among the mountains. Travelling with our slow moving caravan of yak, at the rate of about fifteen miles a day, it was possible on horseback to search out the tents, which we did, and place in their hands the printed Word. We would thus reach as many as twenty encampments in one day. \(^{359}\)


Further developments in the Mathewson saga were reported in the *China’s Millions* of 1 November 1928, including his marriage to Miss Gwen Davies on 20 September 1928 in Brisbane, and the following statement:

During the Home Director’s visit to Brisbane, he conferred with Mr Mathewson as to his future. The prolonged journey through Tibet has proved a heavy strain on his nervous resources, and it will be necessary for him to have several months’ rest, after which he will probably engage in deputation work for the C.I.M. for a while. 360

Mathewson survived, despite the rigours and physical dangers of travelling through brigand-infested territory and over mountain passes in excess of 16,000 feet, his story a monument to his courage and stamina. A special meeting of the China Council was held in Shanghai on 4 January 1928 to consider Mathewson’s letter of 22 April 1927 to the China Director in which he explained his decision to evacuate through Tibet and Kashmir rather than through Tientsin. The Council “felt that they must record their disapproval of his action” and “felt obliged to regard Mr Mathewson’s action as automatically severing his connection with the Mission, taking effect from the date on which he left his station”, at the same time recording “their regret at thus losing a worker whose Christian character and pleasing personality had gained the regard of those associated with him.” 361 Interestingly, despite the China Council’s decision, the Australian Home Director


361 Minutes of a Special Meeting of the CIM China Council held in Shanghai at 10.00 a.m. on Wednesday 4 January 1928
apparently did not regard the matter as settled, as he was still talking with Mathewson about his future as late as September 1928, and expecting him to undertake further duties for the Mission after a period of rest. Mathewson decided otherwise, separating from the Mission before the close of that year.

Dr Vaughan Rees also travelled in the Tibetan area, to Denga, beyond Chinese jurisdiction, three days' journey into Tibet across the Tao River border, from whence he moved from village to village performing medical and evangelical work. This was real frontier work. He described the conditions as follows:

Here exist no accredited authority, no police, no gaols, and no punishment of evildoers. Life is a tangled skein of patched-up truces, blood feuds, and robberies awaiting settlement. 362

While there, Rees performed surgical operations under the most primitive conditions, running the gauntlet of huge, fierce Tibetan dogs, and a populace described thus:

... not a man but is armed. Every one is a potential robber ... 363

In such environs, under the most trying circumstances, Dr Vaughan Rees carried on medical missionary work within the borders of Tibet.

The Australian CIM missionary Arthur Pocklington was

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362 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLIII, No. 6, CIM, Melbourne, 1 June 1932, p. 86

stationed in Mowkung, Szechwan as from 1 January 1934 and studying the Tibetan language with a view to undertaking evangelistic work among Tibetans in the Kinchwan area and further afield. The China's Millions of 1 July 1934 carried a report of his having travelled to Tanpa, which he used as a base for a trip of four days up the Geshe River,

distributing literature amongst the dirty and unkempt though most lovable woollies of that valley and beyond.

and as a drop-in centre where he was visited by "many lamas who came repeatedly", and in particular,

one group from Badi who were on pilgrimage to the famous Murdo Mountain, thirty li [ten miles] up the Hsiao Kin from Tanpa, which is regarded as so sacred because of its shorten-shaped summit.

He also reported having met, the day before he left Tanpa, "a lama from the forbidden precincts of the principality of Choskia" to whom he presented copies of all four Gospels.

He concluded that

Tanpa is truly a wonderful strategic centre for our work. It was with mixed feelings that I took my departure, the three weeks had engaged me in such happy service. 364

It should be noted that though missionaries could not enter some Tibetan areas, Tibetans from those areas would visit

the missionaries and carry Christian literature back with them together with such teaching as they had absorbed. In this manner, the Gospel often carried considerably further than its messengers. Arthur Pocklington was stationed at Mowkung for only two years, engaged in this sort of work, but remained in Szechwan for several more, utilising his knowledge of the Tibetan language whenever occasion permitted. His contribution to the CIM’s Tibetan border work was a relatively brief but useful one.

Pocklington continued to work in frontier areas after his Mowkung stint. In the 1 May 1935 China’s Millions, he reported from Luting, Szechwan where he was working from an inn. From here he was able to undertake evangelistic work amidst scenery of unsurpassed splendour. His description of the place waxes lyrical:

The Tung Valley here is very deep. The Eastern Wall is 8000 feet high, and the Western is 15,000 feet. In full view of the town on that Western wall there is a magnificent snow-capped range, which must be 20 or 30 miles along the summit. It presents a majestic sight and to-night I saw it at sunset, with a great wall of golden clouds in the background.

He also reported having visited Ngangchow in the previous week, describing the situation thus -

The situation of the settlement is about 3000-4000 feet above the river ... a large creek, which drains the whole basin, makes its escape through a narrow ravine in a series of roaring cascades to the Tung River, away below. ... Besides distributing a good number of tracts and
selling a hundred Gospel portions en route, I had
a good opportunity to preach. 365

He also spent a period in the same general time-frame in
Tatsienlu, moving about and pursuing evangelistic
activities as he went.

The Australian CIM missionary Norman Amos was also
stationed at Mowkung, Szechwan during 1934, and he reported
in the China’s Millions of 1 November of that year on a
month’s trip he had taken around part of the Kinchwan
field, visiting Tanpa, travelling a short way up the Geshe
River, entering the Bon lamasery, staying for four days at
Ts’onghua, going to Hsuching and from there over two
mountain passes in relation to which he noted that

This road had not been traversed by foreigners
previously.

He then returned to Mowkung, observing that

This trip, though short, and only barely touching
the fringe of things in the Kinchwan, was worth
while, and of value in that we gained some idea
of the enormous task lying ahead of us in
evangelising this field, with its different
peoples and languages, and the binding force of
lamaism. 366

During this trip, Amos trod where no foreigner had ever

365 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLVI, No. 5, CIM, Melbourne, 1 May 1935, p. 70

trodden before, in a pioneering effort which placed large quantities of Christian literature into Tibetan and other races’ hands.

In the *China’s Millions* of 1 January 1935 Amos and a Dr Jeffrey were reported to have spent over six weeks at Ts’onghua, studying Tibetan under a Lama Bishop whom Amos had met on a trip there with the Australian CIM missionary Arthur Pocklington in June 1934. The Bishop offered to give the missionaries a passport to other parts of the Kinchwan such as Choskia, Ngolok, Ngaba, Zungkang, Damba, Chogschi or any of the other principalities, and to provide guides who could also act as interpreters. On the basis of this offer, Amos planned a trip for mid-September 1934 which would take him away for three months and through to the Kansu border. In the meantime he was able to minister to and distribute the Scriptures among Kiarung who came in from the country surrounding Ts’onghua. 367

Amos remained based in Mowkung during 1935 and 1936 and was able to build on these contributions to CIM work on the China-Tibetan border.

**Sinkiang**

Aubrey Frederick Parsons of Burnie, Tasmania, sailed for China on 19 September 1931. After study at Anking (Anhwei) where he was located as at 1 January 1932, he was posted to Tihwa (=Urumchi/Wulumuchi) (capital of Sinkiang Province, China), an administrative and commercial centre situated near the Kazakhstan and Mongolian borders, in an area amongst the most remote and desolate in the world. Tihwa

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lay at the junction of a number of caravan routes linking Kashgar (Shufu, also in Sinkiang) with the USSR and with Lanchow (Kansu Province, China), and had a polyglot population including Chinese, Uighurs, Mongolians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Tatars, Tahurs and Russians, many of whom were Moslems. Located on a string of oases along the northern face of the T'ien Shan, it had mountains rising to over 22,000 feet behind it, and arid desert before it. Few places on earth could have been more daunting for a missionary or more fascinating from a purely secular point of view. Parsons was located here as at 1 January 1933, 1934 and 1935, subsequently serving at Linfen (=Pingyang), Shansi from 1936. He was back in Australia by 21 November 1944 when he attended Council and spoke of his work in China. He retired from the Mission in 1945 owing to his wife's ill-health. Given that the CIM had very few workers in Sinkiang, Parsons' work there over a period of three years undoubtedly represented an important contribution to the CIM's effort in that evangelistically difficult Province.

The Miao and Neighbouring Tribes

The Miao constituted the CIM's major success story. Situated in Yunnan, Szechwan and Kweichow, they were a primitive people who had suffered under Chinese domination for centuries when missionaries first began to arrive in their districts. With little more than some superstitions about devils to serve as a religion, and lacking the millenia of association with theosophical traditions which stood as obstacles in the way of the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity, the Miao literally found Christianity a revelation. The concept of someone (Jesus) actually caring for them and the prospect of rewards in Heaven (in juxtaposition to the reality of virtually none
on earth) must have had tremendous appeal to this downtrodden and simple people. Christianity spread like wildfire amongst the Miao, the Lesu, the Nosu and other tribes in southwest China. Whole villages became converted virtually overnight. The Gospel was accepted unquestioningly as revealed truth. Great slabs of Yunnan and Kweichow became christianized. An indication of the relative importance of this movement occurs in the China’s Millions, (Australasian Edition) of 1 April 1911, when of 397 CIM baptisms reported throughout the length and breadth of China in January 1911, 113, or nearly a third, were "amongst the aborigines in the district of Wutingchow, in the province of Yunnan." 368

Australians were very much involved in this wholesale conversion of masses of people, with A G Nicholls and Gladstone Porteous particularly active in the Sapushan/Wutingchow area of Yunnan. In the same edition of the Millions, Porteous was able to rejoice in their having baptised 173 Miao on the previous Sunday, 87 men and lads and 86 women and girls, with 400 subsequently gathering for communion. 369

The tide of Miao conversion continued to roll on, and, in November 1912, of 840 baptisms recorded throughout the CIM’s missionary field in China, 337 or 40% were attributable to Miao in the district of Anshun, Kweichow where the CIM missionary J R Adam was working. 370 Though Adam was not an Australian, the conversion of the Miao,

368 Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, p. 31
369 Ibid., p. 28
370 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, CIM, Melbourne, 1 February 1913, p. 15
whose territory covered parts of both Yunnan (where Nicholls and Porteous were working) and Kweichow, was very much a well co-ordinated CIM effort.

From the Miao, Porteous moved on to the Nosu, amongst whom he undertook very successful evangelical work for many years. In 1924 he was able to report the baptism, during one weekend, of 71 tribespeople, including 38 men and 33 women, with 700 tribal folk present at the Sunday midday meeting. 371

The Australian CIM missionary Cyril Edwards was involved in teaching work at the Tribal Bible School in Kopu, Kweichow from 1941-44. He also travelled among the churches for classes and meetings, advising church elders and others. The school provided graduation diplomas after three years' instruction, each term being of 5 months' duration. For the first time, in 1942, women enrolled, two of them taking their place amongst the 20-30 students in the school. This school provided instructors and helpers for the Miao churches, and the advent of the women heralded a new era in the CIM's efforts to effectively reach out to Miao women. In addition to this Bible School in Kweichow, there was a similar one in Yunnan. 372

The fruits of these labours amongst the 7,500,000-strong Miao, scattered around southwest China and broken up into many sub-groups, each with its own dialect, making evangelization difficult, are measurable today. Though the major movement to Christ occurred in the 1906-08 period and

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included the labours of Nicholls amongst the Flowery Miao, whose numbers of converts had risen from perhaps 900 in 1906 to nearly 5000 in 1909, the CIM continued its evangelical efforts amongst the Miao, so that by the time all CIM missionaries had to withdraw from the area in 1952, the Miao church was very strongly established; in Wuding, for example, 90% of the Miao population was attending services at 19 CIM chapels.

When the missionaries withdrew, the Miao church had to stand alone, and a Miao pastor, Wang Zhiming, was made general superintendent of all the Miao churches in Luquan and Wuding. However, he was arrested in 1959 and shot in 1973, his two sons and 34 Miao elders and deacons being sent to labour camps. The Miao church continued to be heavily persecuted during the cultural revolution, all the churches eventually being forced to close down, and through to 1979 when house-church meetings were resumed in Sapushan, in the area previously worked by the Australians Porteous and Nicholls. In 1981 church services were permitted to become overt again in Wuding, and at Christmas of that year over 1000 met in the open air to celebrate. There are over 30,000 Miao Christians in Wuding today and more than 50,000 Christians among the Yi, Miao and Lisu in neighbouring Luquan compared with 8,000 in 1949. The church could currently number over 150,000 in Yunnan and over 200,000 in Guizhou (previously Kweichow). 373 The Lisu Christian numbers in Yunnan were depleted through the migration of twenty thousand to Burma in late 1959 because of Communist Chinese persecution. 374

373 See OMF International’s Pray for China Fellowship for September 1995, pp. 1-2 & 7
As at September 1996, official statistics gave up to 800,000 Christians in Yunnan, of which 90% were non-Han minority people. Of the 25 minority groups in Yunnan, 12 had established churches, and among the Lisu, Jingpo, Miao, Yi, Lahu and Wa, there were some villages which were described as "Christian". 90% of the Lisu in Fugong County in northwest Yunnan were Christian. 375

In 1987 the Wuding area of northern Yunnan, which had been evangelised by CIM missionaries who had witnessed many converts among the Miao and Yi in the early decades of this century, had 20,000 believers worshipping in 60 churches (20 Yi, 20 Miao, 7 Lisu and 13 Mandarin). As at September 1996 these churches were still thriving, with as many as 60,000 Christians. 376 There is evidence that FEBC has been listened to in this area since at least 1994. 377

There were also tribespeople in Szechwan, and Percy King, an Australian CIM missionary, undertook pioneering work among them for some five years between September 1935 and October 1940.

Born in Boat Harbour (near Wynyard), Tasmania on 25 August 1911, he was converted through the influence of a Christian girl and later heard the call to China through a lecture by the Australian CIM missionary Stanley Eaton. A farmer, and a Methodist who also worshipped at Churches of Christ and Baptist churches, he held fundamentalist views. He applied to the CIM on 22 March 1934, was accepted, and sailed for China on 22 September 1934. He entered the Anking training

home on 25 October 1934, and his departure certificate was
signed on 14 March 1935, his progress in the language being
adjudged very good and he best suited for "general"
missionary work.

He was posted to Luchow, Szechwan for 6 months, where he
carried out itinerant evangelism among the Chinese, then to
Kiating and Mapien districts, Szechwan where he took on
pioneer work amongst the tribespeople.

As his Canadian wife, Ventress Lydia King née Greenfield
born 19 June 1908, was expecting a child (Vincent, their
only child as things transpired) in November 1940, they
proceeded on furlough on 21 September 1940, being at that
stage entitled to 13 months expiring in October 1941. He
enlisted as a serviceman, spending 3½ years in the Canadian
Air Force, two of which were spent in Europe. He was
discharged in Canada when the atom bomb was dropped in
Japan and the Japanese surrendered. They set up a home and
business in Benalla, Victoria, investing in timber,
woodcutting and haulage. He was a salesman when he
reapplied to the Mission on 10 December 1953, being
accepted on 12 January 1954. He subsequently worked in
Malaya, Indonesia, West Borneo, Sarawak and did Chinese
work in Kuching (5 March 1968 to 1 March 1972). He is last
noted in CIM archival records on furlough for 10 months
after his stint in Kuching.

Percy King had a long and varied career, much of it with
the CIM/OMF. As to his service for the CIM in China, the 5
years spent in pioneering work among Szechwan tribespeople
made a valuable contribution to the CIM’s efforts in this
domain.

Work among Szechwan tribespeople never received the
publicity which it enjoyed in Kweichow and Yunnan, undoubtedly because there was less of it done. This had an inevitable aftermath as is illustrated by a Pray for China Fellowship article of November 1996 which ran as follows:

There are 4 million Yi people in Yunnan, of whom at least 150,000 are Christians; but in neighbouring Sichuan only a handful of the 1.8 million Yi (Nosu) are believers. Pray for Christian witness among the Yi. 378

3.2.4.8 Work among Soldiers

Work among soldiers was a male domain because Chinese soldiers were typically male in the period under study and, as has been noted, because of considerations of etiquette and custom, male evangelists tended to work with males, and females with females. There were some spectacular evangelistic successes amongst soldiers, notably amongst the troops of the famous Marshal Feng where, for example, on 11 March 1924 3000 soldiers were baptised, making 20,000 out of his 34,000 men Christians 379, but also in other army segments.

In this field, the work of the Australian CIM missionary Henry Lyons was of considerable importance. Though he did not work exclusively amongst soldiers, his successes, at least in 1923, were almost confined to that group. Illustrative of this situation were statistics cited in


379 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. L, No. 7, CIM, Melbourne, 1 July 1924, p. 99. The degree of commitment involved may not, however, have been great, officers under Christian Generals typically perceiving that not becoming a Christian might hinder their promotional prospects.
1924 which disclosed that in one year (1923) he had baptised 76 officers and lower ranks out of a total of 88 for his church. As in the previous year he had converted a secretary who had subsequently become a lieutenant, he had converted 77 from the one camp. When some missionaries went for years without a single convert, such figures were indeed enviable.

Lyons' successes didn't end there. Five months later the *China's Millions* gave the following account:

**Work Among Soldiers.** - Mr H Lyons reports the baptism of seventy-one officers and men at Luanfu, Shansi, making in all two hundred and eighteen who have thus publicly confessed Christ there. All the officers of the 2nd Company ... and twenty-seven petty officers and men were among those baptised. Of the officers this leaves only a captain, two commissariat officers, a secretary, and a lieutenant unbaptised of the whole battalion. 281

Although the same article carried an account of a non-Australian missionary (Mr T Darlington) having also baptised seventy-one soldiers, but at Wanhsien (Eastern Szechwan), these types of results were rare enough to be newsworthy. Even the baptism of 21 soldiers at Hungkiang, Hunan by the non-Australian CIM missionary Dr Witt rated a mention in J Stark's "Items of Interest" of 19 June 1924.

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The Australian CIM missionary Rowland Butler was also active, albeit briefly, in this area. While at Kweiting, Kweichow during the northern spring and summer of 1936, he reported that:

With Communists and other troubles tens of thousands of soldiers have passed through this place, and we have had the privilege of leading a number of these boys to the Lord, and of helping others who were professing Christians. One division stayed here for two months, and several men made a bold stand for Christ, two officers especially being very bright. We have since heard of them from another station through which they travelled, and they appeared to be doing well. 383

3.2.4.9 Revival Meetings

From time to time it became apparent that converts were becoming less than enthusiastic in their Christian observance and witness. In missionary parlance they had become "cold". At such times, the local Chinese Church and/or the missionary might request the assistance of a team of evangelistic revivalists to put some life back into the local congregation and attract new believers. Such teams were in popular demand, and there are records of them touring various centres throughout the mission literature.


Sometimes they consisted of particular missionaries who had a special calling in this direction, who would hold such meetings at their post and invite participants from near and far, or leave their posts in charge of other missionaries or Chinese Christians and help out in this way at other posts for a limited period of time. These revival meetings were frequently arranged to accommodate the needs of a number of different missions in a spirit of comity and no doubt economy. The Australian CIM missionary Charles Nedham Lack was such a revivalist, being assigned to conduct a united evangelistic campaign at Wuhu in March 1924. This type of work was not a male precinct, however. At the same time as he was assigned to Wuhu with this aim in mind, Miss C F Tippet was assigned to tour Chekiang and Kiangsi with a similar object in view. Miss Jessie Gregg performed similar work in Shansi not much later. Australian CIM women were seldom involved in this type of activity, however, and it was an area where Australian CIM men were more prominent.

Reverting to Lack, however, there is no doubt that his March 1924 mission proved popular and successful. Writing to J Stark of the CIM on 21st of that month, he reported that:

On Sunday I preached to a united gathering of about 900 Christians in the morning, whilst about 1,200 students heard the Gospel in the afternoon, and since then each evening the large mat-shed has been crowded and as many as 1,300 or 1,400 have listened with keen interest to the message.

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Each evening several hundred stay for an after-meeting and quite a large number have confessed their faith in Christ. Several hundred Christians come each morning to a service at 10.30.  

3.2.4.10 Building

Many CIM missionaries, with little initial knowledge of building, became involved in the construction of chapels, Mission accommodation, and even, in the case of George Rogers, a cathedral. While this was not exclusively a male domain, it was predominantly so, though the managerial skills required to oversee Chinese workers and arrange the procurement of appropriate materials also resided in women missionaries, as a few instances attest. In this area Australian CIM missionaries like Rowland Butler, who was originally an umbrella manufacturer but constructed a large mission house in Tuhshan, and George Rogers, who had no knowledge of building at all before he began his first project, the erection of a brick house in Wanhsien (Eastern Szechwan) some 18 months after he arrived in China in October 1899, were prominent. Douglas Pike built a church in 1908, which Rowland Butler reported on 4 May 1931 to have been "the best and biggest one I have seen in Kweichow - too big for the present congregation." Later, some trained draughtsmen /architects like Ken Budge arrived in the field, but Ken was a Nineteen Forty-Niner and had little opportunity to put his skills into practice while in China.


385 The house had "30 windows and 25 doors, besides the staircase and some more partitions". Letter of 26 October 1931 to his parents, page 5. A copy of the letter is in the possession of the author.

Reverting to George Rogers, however, he went on to build churches at Yingshan, a station four days’ journey from his own at Liangshan, at Liangshan itself (as well as rebuilding the Mission premises there), a chapel at Kueifu, and other buildings at Paoning and Tachuh. His work culminated in the building of the cathedral at Paoning which began in the Summer of 1911 and was virtually complete by 3 March 1915 when he left for Lancheo to erect the Borden Memorial Hospital there, leaving it in an advanced stage in October 1915. Both the hospital at Lancheo and the cathedral at Paoning were severely shaken in the great earthquake of 1919 but survived without damage. 389

Many of the buildings erected by the missionaries survive today, a lasting monument to the determination and skill of those who built them. From about September 1958, when the enforced denominational unification of the Protestant churches began in earnest, rationalization of church property by the Three Self Movement resulted in many places of worship passing out of the hands of their original owners and into the hands of the secular state. As a result of this and other political developments, many of the churches erected in the missionary period, while still extant, are being used for different purposes. For example, the Little Flock church in Shanghai and the Anglican cathedral in Peking became factories. 390

Johnston and Erh in recent years have been involved in locating and photographing the western architectural heritage in China, and had produced three sizeable volumes


by 1996 with two more slated to follow. The most relevant to the theme of this thesis is their "God and Country: Western Religious Architecture in Old China" which establishes that the missionaries left behind a wealth of architectural relics throughout China, many of which are still used for Christian worship today and serve villages which may have populations over 90% Christian, showing that not only the edifice but the belief has survived, and, sometimes in the case of the latter, even grown.

Buildings erected by the missionaries ranged from humble chapels to large churches; some were of barnlike proportions, and could house 1500 people. Some showed distinct signs of Chinese architectural influence, though this influence was rather muted because of the desire not to convey syncretism symbolically by employing features which had originally been designed to ward off evil spirits. For similar reasons, and because of a certain architectural puritanism brought to such structures from the Western side, the interiors were often spartan, though this was not inevitably the case, with the Chinese adorning the insides of the church with gaudy banners proclaiming God's glory. Most churches were simplified to at least the extent of having Christian slogans in Chinese character displayed in conspicuous areas of the building. Western architectural styles employed ranged from the byzantine, more in the northern areas where there was a strong Russian influence, to the gothic, with its typical cruciform floor plan, much employed in the Westernized treaty ports of the

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391 Old China Hand Press, Hong Kong, 1996

392 One such, located in a large city in North Central China was described thus: "It was of brick [presumably mud brick], but had a thatched roof, ... and the floor was just earth. There was no pulpit, and no nice pews like you have at home, just a small, rough table and a chair for the preacher, and some narrow, high forms for the congregation." (CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. 58, No. 5, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1947, p. 157)
east coast.

In relation to the south-western tribal churches, which had a larger measure of independence from missionary intervention early in their development than the majority of the Chinese churches, the structures, while often large, were frequently quite rudimentary, with stamped earth floors and thatched roofs, reflecting their own dwellings, which were much the same but on a smaller scale. The missionaries usually had little to do with the building of these structures, apart from providing the initial teaching which inspired them, and their influence on the architecture was minimal.

Preaching halls were often rented rather than built, though they frequently underwent extensive renovation to suit missionary needs. When missionary houses were rented or bought, they also normally underwent considerable renovation. Missionary houses were often built from the ground up and owned by the mission, though they were occasionally rented, particularly until more favourable premises could be constructed on mission-purchased land. Some of them incorporated a preaching hall. Styles ranged from Western to Chinese to combinations, with the design in large measure dependent upon whether they were bought, rented or constructed.

While much of what the missionaries built has disappeared, there is still a wealth of architecture in China today which stands as a monument to their innovation and endeavour.

3.2.4.11 Prison Work

As in other areas of Christian evangelistic and social work
Australian CIM missionaries were active in prison work.

Robert Ament, then of Tzeyang (Shensi) reported in 1937 that

The prison work continues to be encouraging. Some more of the prisoners have expressed a desire to believe on the Lord, and they seem to be really in earnest and drink in the message. The prison official is quite sympathetic, and is himself showing interest in the Gospel. I have had a long chat with him. May the Lord lead him to repentance. 393

Thomas Andrews, then stationed in Chekiang Province, was also involved during 1937 in this area of missionary endeavour. He wrote as follows:

Today we commenced work in the two city prisons. There are about three hundred prisoners in the two prisons, and we have excellent opportunities. The official in charge is most interested in our going, and does his best to make everything convenient. My wife begins in the women’s prison on Tuesday. One feels the need for a clear presentation to these men, particularly in the one prison where men are detained awaiting sentence. There are not a few ‘Reds’ there who have little hope, and each time of going may be the only opportunity they have of hearing the Gospel. 394

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393 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLVIII, No. 7, CIM, Melbourne, 1 July 1937, p. 110

3.2.4.12 Anglo-Chinese Relationships

An important question which arises in connection with the work of the CIM missionaries under study is whether they ever really came to like the Chinese. Was the mentality of the Mission merely directed at parachuting troops in, leaving them there for a while to sack Chinese religions and values and build a Christian structure in their place, and then to airlift them out with scant interest in the formation of genuine, equitable and enduring relationships between its operatives and the people? A number of indicators would suggest that this was the case.

One of the indicators is mobility. A glance at the "Stations" appendix to this thesis (Appendix V) will quickly disclose that many missionaries were shifted about quite frequently. A few, like the Australian CIM missionaries A G Nicholls and Gladstone Porteous, stayed in one place for decades and had the opportunity to form long-lasting relationships with the people amongst whom they laboured. But for a lot of the missionaries, and particularly single probationers, it was a case of moving on at rapid intervals, so that any desire to form enduring friendships was tempered by the knowledge that one would be moved out sooner rather than later. Single missionaries tended to be used by the Mission as gap-fillers for other missionaries who went on furlough or left the mission; understandably so, as they were the easiest group to mobilize. Married couples were not moved about as much, and it was usually a married couple which headed up a station.

There was an effect here which may not have been entirely fortuitous, and this was that romantic attachments between the Chinese and the missionaries never had much of a chance of starting. There were, of course, other reasons too. The
missionary women dealt largely with the Chinese women and the missionary men with the Chinese men so that opportunities to intermix were limited by considerations of etiquette. There was also a class ingredient. Most of the missionary converts came from the lower social classes, while the missionaries, as has been shown earlier in this thesis, came from the middle class, and would have perceived themselves to have been downwardly mobile socially in any association with the Chinese. Linked with those considerations were also differences in educational attainment, standards of hygiene and, perhaps in some cases, pure racism.

Linked with those differences between missionary and Chinese is another indicator, and that is intermarriage. It is a telling fact that there is not a single case on CIM record of any marriage between CIM missionaries and the Chinese amongst whom they lived. If that were a matter of policy, one must ask why the policy was put in place. There is certainly reason to believe that the Mission would have regarded such a relationship as abhorrent. They saw the missionary's role simply as an evangelistic one, from which entanglements with the locals would have diverted them, and their puritanical attitudes towards public displays of affection between engaged couples within their own ranks, sometimes referred to in Language School reports, gave every indication that intimacy with the Chinese would have received little sympathy.

Yet another indicator is the number of missionaries who actually settled in China following their retirement. The answer is virtually nil. The Westwoods were the only Australian CIM missionaries to do so. All the rest shook the dust of China from their boots and settled back in their home countries. While missionaries may have retained
a soft spot for China in their hearts, they preferred, after all, to go back to where they originally came from. Similarly, while missionaries were happy to escape from the heat of lowland stations to the coolness of hill resorts like Kikungshan or Kuling during the summer months, their furloughs were inevitably spent back in the homelands, not in other parts of China, scenically appealing or culturally interesting though they may have been.

Another indicator is training course content, as the more intimate aspects of Chinese life like beliefs and ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death, superstitions and rites throughout the year, and popular ideas regarding man in this life and after death were appended to the course proper as mere suggestions, recommended for missionaries to follow up in their own time (if any), but not taught, examined or policed in any way.

A knowledge of these features of Chinese existence might have been expected to assist missionaries to understand and better interact with the Chinese, and their non-inclusion as core subjects in the course but as areas of learning left to chance, raises doubts as to how close the Mission really wanted its operatives to get to the Chinese.

Yet another indicator is the function of the missionary compound. Was it a fortress which insulated the Westerners from contact with the Chinese except on their own terms? Was it a sanctuary to be used by all, Chinese and Westerners alike, in times of civil and international strife? Was it a sanatorium where Chinese Christians and Westerners could find rest and recuperation in times of illness and stress? Was it a beach-head for invaders of a foreign land? How did the Chinese react to it? How well did it function as a half-way house between the Mission and the
alien culture in which it had placed itself? To what extent was it open, and to what extent closed?

The answer is that it was all of those things at different times, its efficacy as a half-way house varied throughout its history, it was sometimes more open and sometimes more closed, and the Chinese reacted to it differently depending upon prevailing circumstances.

The Mission compound could be virtually self-contained. It could cover up to several acres and might include schools, a church, a hospital, several missionary residences and Chinese servants' quarters, a large vegetable garden and sufficient pasture to run some cows, pigs or goats, surrounded by a high, thick wall, though it was usually far more humble than this, particularly as one moved away from the large urban centres. (See chart 9 for a ground plan of the Southern Presbyterian Jiangyin compound, which illustrates some typical features.) The compound at Chefoo, Shantung, for example, contained the boys' boarding school (80-100 students), the girls' boarding school (80-100 students) both with "big" playing fields, the preparatory co-educational boarding school (50-60 students) with a "small" playing field, tennis courts, housing for single staff and cottages for married staff (36-39 staff), a memorial hall, a "little" prayer hall, a business department shop, a small hospital, a house for the schools' dedicated doctor, an isolation unit on a hillside separated by a gully from the other buildings, boat houses and forested areas. It was described as "quite a large

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396 The Southern Presbyterian compound at Jiangyin, 100 miles up the Tangtse River from Shanghai, which was probably typical of the bigger mission compounds, covered about 28 acres. - See Lawrence D Kessler, *The Jiangyan Mission Station*, (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1996), p. 8
complex". The compound also evidently had room to raise its own crops. Margaret Leaf recalls that her father (Ray Viloudaki, son of silk merchant Nicolas Viloudaki and the Australian CIM missionary Faith Viloudaki née Box) and his friends used to go occasionally "to the mission to shoot birds as a way of protecting mission crops." 397

The compound initially had a role as a bulwark against Chinese antagonism while the Opium Wars and the quashing of the Boxer Uprising were still fresh in the Chinese mind, and as a deterrent to the numerous thieves who plagued Chinese society. As Quale 398 remarks,

The realization by Chinese of the relationship between Western might and Mission inviolability was a factor in the resentment against foreign privileges which led in the 1920s not only to China's insistence upon treaty revision but to the success of the Kuomintang ...

At this stage the attitude of the Chinese to the compound was decidedly negative, and tied up with the question of extraterritoriality, which rankled, and had always rankled, large sections of the Chinese community. But attitudes were to undergo some change as Quale goes on to say. 399

396 CN 208, Transcript T1 Tri, Transcript of interview with Doris Embery (daughter of William Embery and the Australian CIM missionary Ethel Embery née Potter) by Janyce H Nasgowitz and W Gregory Thompson completed July 1994, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA

397 Letter to the author of 6 October 1995, p. 1


399 Loc. cit.
During the war with Japan, Chinese accepted the special position held by US [and, I might add, other] Protestant missions: their humanitarian services assisted the nation and its people under a foreign invader.

Mission protection was extended to non-Christians and Chinese lives were saved through the humanitarianism of the missionaries. 409 As Quale comments,

The heroic labours of missionaries and other Westerners who joined them in affording protection ... were appreciated by the Kuomintang government. 401

Quale further remarks 402 that

In the battle with Japan, the assistance was not resented as a hindrance to her [China's] acceptance as a modern sovereign state so much as it was regarded as a help in her effort to establish her stability.

Certainly at the outset, the Mission compound was a haven for Westerners, but it later became a sanctuary for the Chinese as well. The British CIM missionary and author, Leslie Lyall, criticized its former role, but did not

400 Ibid., p. 283
acknowledge its later one. Initially the compound was a hindrance to Anglo-Chinese relationships, but it later became a catalyst. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the developing independence of the Chinese Church and its progressive assumption of control over Church property were factors in this transmogrification.

The compound virtually never, however, appears to have functioned as a place where Chinese and Westerners met socially on an even footing. There are many references in the literature to CIM missionaries extending hospitality to other missionaries (within the CIM and from other Protestant Missions) but there are few to missionaries having invited Chinese Christians around to share similar hospitality. Though they interacted more or less equitably during church services, special missions, street preaching, house-to-house visitation and other activities integral to church life, they largely led separate lives socially. While occasionally one reads of a Mandarin or his wife inviting a missionary to an audience or a banquet, which it was considered polite manners to reciprocate, social contacts between the Chinese gentry and missionaries were rare, and noteworthy when they occurred, and the kind of converts missionaries made, generally came from lower demographic strata with which the missionaries wanted no social truck. They may have been one in Christ; they were not one in life.

So little did missionaries and Chinese get together in a social context that the Mission considered it a matter

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403 Leslie T Lyall, Red Sky at Night: Communism Confronts Christianity in China, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), pp. 105-106. The travelling sceptic, Dr G E Morrison, was quick to note (in 1894) the disparity between missionary opulence and the surrounding squalor. He observed that "Among the most comfortable residences in Hankow are the quarters of the missionaries". - G E Morrison, An Australian in China, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1895), p. 7
warranting a note on his personal file when a young Australian CIM missionary became extremely chummy with the Chinese. Such close relationships were very clearly the exception rather than the rule. Some missionaries, when they came to China, discovered that they had no particular fondness for the indigines, and in exemplification of this is an article in the China's Millions (Australasian Edition) where a young Australian CIM woman missionary prays that she will learn to love the Chinese. Few had thought sufficiently of the Chinese to work among them or study their language before they left for China, and few returned to work among them when they went home, preferring to minister to WASP congregations in a lay or ecclesiastical capacity and find their friends among their own kind.

There is a plethora of articles in which the missionary reports on Chinese hygiene with ill-disguised revulsion. When itinerating, missionaries frequently received hospitality in the form of bed and board from local Chinese Christians, and many are their descriptions of eating the grossest food in conditions of utter filth. Scarce wonder that one does not hear of reciprocal invitations. The missionary's house was his castle, and the use of the latter epithet carries with it all the symbolic implications of moat, drawbridge, portcullis, and high, thick walls which in reality accompanied the medieval original. The missionaries could go out to the Chinese, but

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404 Personal file of candidate [name and number suppressed for privacy reasons], applied to the CIM on 6 December 1948

405 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. I.V, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1944, p. 115
there were barriers to the Chinese coming in to them. 406 Marcus Cheng criticized the missionaries for their insular attitudes, and he did it with some justification.

Another indicator is educational institutions. No attempt was ever made to integrate Western students into Chinese schools or Chinese students into Western schools, despite the fact that most missionary children were born in China and understood at least the spoken language perfectly well. In the Chefoo Schools the insularity was further compounded by a prohibition on the exclusively Western students speaking Chinese on the premises. Also, it is significant to reflect that Mandarin was not taught as a subject in CIM schools located right in China. This educational apartheid continued unabated throughout the whole period of the CIM’s occupation of China. Missionary children were accustomed to Chinese servants around the house, and there was little in their schooling, apart from Christian precepts about loving one’s neighbour as oneself, which would have helped break down the master-servant relationship which existed between themselves and the Chinese, and an accompanying inner conviction that they enjoyed a position of superiority over them. The Chefoo Schools functioned like a British Public School, with Oxford examinations at the end of one’s schooling, and they perpetuated feelings of privilege and uniqueness.

For tertiary studies, CIM children returned to their home
countries; they did not attend Chinese universities.

There is no suggestion in any of this that the missionaries ever intended their families to develop strong associations with the country and its people although, paradoxically enough, quite a few of their offspring returned as missionaries themselves. In doing so, however, they may well have merely transported back to that country feelings of superiority they had absorbed while at home and at school. [87]

Another indicator is forms of address. Missionaries were typically addressed as "teacher", and it is difficult to escape the student-teacher analogy which flows from the term, with its implications of a superior-subordinate relationship. Even as the Chinese church became more independent, with its own pastors preaching to and shepherding the flock, its own church councils handling the church's financial affairs and its own evangelistic bands touring the countryside seeking fresh adherents, the missionary retained a high position in the church hierarchy as advisor and, frequently, Bible teacher, so that the teacher role was seldom relinquished even under conditions of Chinese church independence. Both residual missionary roles involved a Chinese perception that the missionaries had superior knowledge and expertise in certain areas of church activity.

All in all, there are many indicators which suggest that

[87] On the subjects of paternalism and superiority, Varg had the following to say: "Another barrier to success was the paternalistic attitude of many of the missionaries and especially the sense of racial superiority among a few of them. ... it was a frequent source of irritation and sometimes of disgust. It must be said ..., however, that missionaries were not as guilty of arrogance as other groups of Westerners in China." - Paul A Varg, Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 321
the missionaries did not wish to get very close to the Chinese, preferring to retain some social distance. This statement does not exclude Australians, who displayed the same attitudes in relation to this aspect of missionary life as did CIM missionaries of other nations.

Nor was this keeping of social distance confined to the CIM, and Rowland Butler thought the CIM was better in this respect than Church (as distinct from Faith) Missions. In a letter of 5 June 1932 to his parents from Chungking, Szechwan, he made the following pertinent comment:

At the present time [the depression] all these Church Missions are in debt. ... in spite of this, those on the field still live in a most luxurious way. Their dwelling houses are beautiful places with every convenience and very well furnished; ... only people quite comfortably off could afford such places at home. For instance [while visiting such a Church Mission home], I had a bath in a Doulton bath with hot and cold water laid on ....

W F Rowlands of the Council for World Mission, formerly London Missionary Society, provided in 1946 a revealing insight into aspects of the Mission's previous relationships with the Chinese when he suggested that

we should avoid all building, especially of foreign types of houses, and the creation of a Mission compound walled off from the rest of the community and flaunting its wealth and higher standards of living before the eyes of the native

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495 pp. 3-4 of a copy of the letter in the author's possession.
population ... if some building was unavoidable it should be done in Chinese style similar to the other buildings in the town ... no doubt this will necessarily involve the sacrifice of some of that fellowship with missionary colleagues which was one of the happiest features of the old compound life, but such loss will be more than compensated for by the closer fellowship with the Chinese which it would inevitably bring. 499

In 1946, only five years before the missionaries left China, this realization proved a case of too little, too late.

CHAPTER 4
THE SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTION OF AUSTRALIAN WOMEN TO THE CIM MISSIONARY EFFORT

4.1 Discrete methods for gauging female missionary achievement in China

4.1.1 Conversions

With specific reference to the contribution of women, it should be noted that CIM baptismal statistics, which give some indication of conversion levels, are not attributed to individuals but to stations, and are not sexually disaggregated except in missionary letters and articles. These would provide a rough sample which could give indicators of the relative success of women's work in comparison with that of men's, but the process of gathering the data would be arduous and time-consuming.

A more readily-obtained comparison, however, is to be found in juxtaposing the baptismal results in female-run stations and those in male-run stations, and Kiangsi province is an ideal area in which to make this comparison for reasons which will become apparent.

A particular feature of Kiangsi province was the relatively large number of female-run stations, many of them on the Kwangsin River. In 1909, for example, eleven of the 29 CIM stations in that province were female-run (and also female-staffed in terms of European personnel).

Now comparing the baptismal rates of male versus female-run stations in Kiangsi in that year, it is found that there were 150 baptised at the male-run stations, which had 67
European staff, and 243 baptised at the female-run stations, with 43 European staff (all females). The male-run stations thus had a conversion rate of 2.24 per missionary, and the female-run stations a conversion rate of 5.65 per missionary, with the female rate clearly much superior. This example indicates that a number of female-run stations could be capable of greater efficiency than a number of male-run stations in the same province within an identical period of time.

This is somewhat simplistic, however, as the women had 132 Chinese helpers while the men had only 86, so that 153 workers produced 150 conversions at the male-run stations, giving a conversion rate of 0.98 per worker, whereas 175 workers produced 243 conversions at the female-run stations, resulting in a conversion rate of only 1.39 per worker, but still considerably in excess of the male-run station rate.

These figures certainly indicate that women could run stations at least as well as, if not better than, their male counterparts in terms of producing baptismal results.

Two of the female-run stations were managed by Australian women, Anjen, overseen by Miss H B Fleming, which had 25 baptisms by 14 workers at a rate of 1.79 per worker, and Hokow, run by Miss F E McCulloch which had 59 baptisms by 36 workers at a rate of 1.64 per worker. Both of these rates were above the female (and male) average. Clearly Australian women were comparatively successful in this province.

4.1.2 Communicants in Fellowship

Less oblique indicators of the effectiveness of the work of
women missionaries than baptismal figures at female-run stations are to be found in statistics of communicants in fellowship which are sexually disaggregated.

Female communicants were usually (though not invariably) drawn to the church by female mission folk and male communicants by male mission people, so that it becomes possible to roughly compare the relative drawing powers of each sex by comparing communicants per active female missionary with communicants per active male missionary in particular years.

Taking as an example the statistical survey of 1 January 1906 it is found (see Table 9) that in none of the 15 provinces the CIM was then working did women mission personnel attract churchgoers at a greater rate than men. Overall, men attracted churchgoers at 3.2 times the rate of women.

Prima facie this is a considerable indictment of the efficacy of women's work, particularly as there were 423 active women missionaries to 272 active male missionaries at the time (ie women missionaries outnumbered men missionaries 3 to 2). However, the story is not as simple as this. In addition to male and female missionaries, there was an extensive retinue of native helpers. These comprised paid ordained pastors, assistant preachers, school teachers, colporteurs, chapelkeepers and biblewomen, together with unpaid evangelists, deacons, elders and biblewomen.

It is immediately apparent that the bulk of these categories were male, and, as each of these native helpers

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419 CIM, China and the Gospel, CIM, London, 1906
Communicants in Fellowship per CIM missionary by province and sex, 1 January 1906

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Female Missionaries/ Female Communicants</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
<th>Male Missionaries/ Male Communicants</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Kansuh</td>
<td>22/67</td>
<td>1 : 3.0</td>
<td>16/80</td>
<td>1 : 5.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Shensi</td>
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<td>25/388</td>
<td>1 : 15.5</td>
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<td>50/642</td>
<td>1 : 12.8</td>
<td>40/1207</td>
<td>1 : 30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1 : 1.0</td>
<td>8/78</td>
<td>1 : 9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chih-li</td>
<td>7/22</td>
<td>1 : 3.1</td>
<td>4/60</td>
<td>1 : 15.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>16/728</td>
<td>1 : 45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiangsu</td>
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<td>12/78</td>
<td>1 : 6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>38/1425</td>
<td>1 : 37.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>9/185</td>
<td>1 : 20.6</td>
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<td>12/20</td>
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<td>29/842</td>
<td>1 : 29.0</td>
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<td>Nganhwei</td>
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<td>18/462</td>
<td>1 : 25.7</td>
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<td>1 : 37.9</td>
<td>28/3718</td>
<td>1 : 132.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
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<td>1 : 3.6</td>
<td>11/134</td>
<td>1 : 12.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Hupeh</td>
<td>9/43</td>
<td>1 : 4.8</td>
<td>6/55</td>
<td>1 : 9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>423/4618</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 : 10.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>272/9460</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
was expected to engage whenever possible in evangelistic endeavours, that men, by and large, outnumbered women when it came to active evangelists virtually anywhere in the field.

When that factor is taken into account, the female contribution to the CIM evangelistic effort may be better gauged. If the numbers of these helpers is examined as at 1 January 1906, it is found that paid staff comprised 18 ordained pastors, 365 assistant preachers, 169 school teachers, 206 colporteurs and chapelkeepers and 130 biblewomen, and unpaid staff comprised 232 evangelists, 68 elders, 81 deacons, 2 school teachers, 1 chapelkeeper, 2 missionary children, 1 uncategorised and 7 biblewomen.

Excluding the 2 missionary children and 1 uncategorised from the count, it is seen that, as all missionary helpers except biblewomen would almost invariably have been males, men helpers totalled about 1142 and women helpers 137. If we add these figures to the respective men and women missionary counts we can begin to move towards a better basis for assessing the relative contributions to the attraction of churchgoers of male and female mission folk. Men then total 1414 and women 560. The number of male communicants per male missionary worker then becomes 6.7, and the number of female communicants per female missionary worker 8.2. On this rough comparison, the female contribution to CIM evangelism on a per capita basis was higher than the males.

4.1.3 Difficulties overcome

Narrative accounts tell us to what extent women faced and overcame similar obstacles to the men. Some of these obstacles are described below.
The weather affects men and women alike, and China is subject to some absolute extremes. Lying in the typhoon (cyclone, hurricane) belt, all of coastal China is subject to these vicious storms, which may have winds of up to 150 mph and drop many inches of rain in a few hours, causing widespread floods which in turn may cause severe damage to, or destruction of dwellings, and loss of life.

To the Victorian, Mrs Mary Curtis Waters née McInnes, stationed 2½ months travel inland in Kweichow, typhoons were, to say the least, a novelty. Yet, upon arrival in Shanghai in 1910 after a period of furlough in England with her British husband, she experienced a particularly violent one, which lasted a week, and was described by her as "dreadful". 411

With the celebrated Australian CIM missionary Alice Henry, one of the difficulties was heat. In describing an evangelistic campaign directed at pilgrims to the shrine of the Goddess of Mercy near Yangchow (Kiangsu) she spoke of great heat such as you have never known in Australia. This went on for eighteen days and nights, and at 4 a.m., when we went out, ... the heat baffled description. 412

Amy Weir also remarked on the heat on the second page of her autobiographical account entitled "War Years 1941-1945", describing the Summer of 1941 thus:


The summer was one of the worst we had known in South Shensi with day after day of burning heat sometimes up to 106°F and high humidity as well. Everybody was longing for rain ... but ... the rain held off and the skies were like brass.

Women like Mary Curtis-Waters, Amy Weir and Alice Henry learned to live with all that nature could throw at them in the way of appalling weather.

Amy Weir's biographical accounts also describe overcoming ordeals by food. Some examples follow:

Sugar and salt come in big 10 kilogramme parcels and always so full of dirt, sticks, beesheads and other unappetising things that they ... have to be cleaned.

How do I do it? I get the biggest saucepan I can find, tip the sugar in and cover it with water. Then I crunch up several handfuls of egg shells saved specially for the purpose, add them to the sugar and bring it all to the boil. As it boils the dirt and sticks and other things all come to the top and I skim them off. Finally I strain it all through a muslin cloth and boil it again hard until it "spins a thread" when I beat it until it granulates again. By that time it looks a lot cleaner than it did. I treat the salt more or less in the same way. ...

I used honey for sweetening. I bought it in bulk - kerosene tins full in the winter when it had solidified because when it was sold in liquid form the Chinese put carrots into it. The honey
dissolved the carrots and the bulk was increased though looking at it one could not know it was not pure honey.

... I bought eggs a hundred at a time. The seller of the eggs was not at all surprised when I brought out a pan of water and tested each egg before I bought. If the egg floated I discarded it, if it sank to the bottom I put it aside to buy.

Amy also described a number of travelling hazards which she overcame. Some of them are described below:

The following account relates to a cycling trip:

Another five day trip with Percy [Moore, her husband] followed, still on the Hanchung Plain. We had a terrific struggle pushing our heavily laden cycles over narrow bumpy tracks and across boulder strewn rivers to Sintsi. ... I saw for myself the size and character of the Christian Church in this far away part of China and appreciated also the sheer physical ordeal of trying to be of some help to it. Percy and I got home at last with splitting headaches and upset tummies and were in bed for several days after it.

Travelling by ship also presented discomforts, as Amy noted in the following account:

We were overcrowded, far from comfortable and lacking all sense of privacy but worse was to follow. A storm blew up as so often happens in
the China Sea and we had to keep the portholes shut to prevent the waves coming in and the hatches above us were all battened down. It was stifling and then as the ship rolled and tossed people were sick everywhere. The floors of our "cabins" (sleeping areas) were only inches above the corridors and most people as they felt sick just leaned over and vomited into the passage. If we wanted to get to the toilets we had to pick our way through the mess. ... The rolling of the ship and the awful mess in the passages and the smell that pervaded everything was bad enough but when we reached the washrooms and toilets it was even worse. The wash basins were full and overflowing where people had been sick and the toilets in such a filthy mess that I had to carry Alan [her son] to find a reasonably clean place. Then we had to go back through it all again! Percy was feeling so nauseated that he dared not move. The new girls were horrified at this their first taste of China ... Fortunately I am a fairly good sailor and was thankful I was not feeling nauseated myself.

Amy also experienced difficulties journeying by train, as the following narrative illustrates:

From Gee An on ... the second train was absolutely crammed with people and we could hardly get in much less find a place to sit, or sleep for the night or even stand. Percy found a first class compartment with nobody occupying it so we were all crowded into that and stayed there till the conductor came to make up the beds for the night and turned us all out. We stood in the
corridor then while Percy vainly tried to find a vacant seat where we could spend the night. A guard finally gave us his own seat in a corner which was so narrow that five of us managed to squeeze onto it but only with our knees pressing against the wall[.]. Most uncomfortable! ... 

Dr Adolph of our Mission was on the train ... When he saw how uncomfortable we were he insisted that I go back with him to his first class sleeper where the two children and I could have his bunk and he would get in with his wife in the other one. ... while I would not say it was the most comfortable night I have spent it was one hundred percent better than sitting up all night.

During the years of the Second World War, many Australian missionaries became accustomed to regular Japanese bombings. Rowland Butler mentions this hazard occasionally in his letters home, and Amy Weir makes several mentions, among them the following:

I learned just how many minutes I could afford to go on kneading dough after the air alarm sounded before I must cover it in a warm place and make a dive for the dugout where everybody else had already gathered.

The horrors of the Sino-Japanese War were graphically described by the Australian CIM missionary Mrs R H Mathews (née Ward). She wrote from Shanghai in 1937 as follows:

I wish I could describe the havoc wrought and the awful results of modern warfare. It is terrible to live here and witness a part at least. The
medical forces are quite inadequate to meet the situation ... limbs left unburied, and some men, not yet moved out, with wounds dressed in brown paper. ... Many of them have broken limbs, unable to have treatment for days together. ... Terrible sights have been witnessed ... of the results of these bombings. A mother lying dead, with a little living baby still sucking at the breast. Babies born at the terrible moment of death. Men, women, and little children lying about in hundreds, dead or dying, some with all their limbs torn from the body. Sleepless nights made hideous with the noise of battle ... This compound has had its share of the missiles from guns and aircraft, but thus far the Lord has seen fit to keep everyone of us from ... injury. 413

Though preserved from injury herself, she passed through grim sights, suffered from the uncertainty and anxiety of never knowing whether the next shell or bomb would obliterate herself and other missionaries on the compound, and heard the most harrowing stories during this period of the hostilities. There was never, however, a sign of her wishing to withdraw from missionary work in the face of this ever-present danger.

In the same conflict the Australian CIM missionary Mrs Stanley Eaton (née Elizabeth Herbert) was evacuated from Suancheng under heavy Japanese attack. Her tale was picked up in the "Special Items for Prayer and Praise" segment of the China's Millions of 1 January 1938 and told thus:

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413 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLIX, No. 1, CIM, Melbourne, 1 January 1938, p. 6
The city was heavily bombed on two occasions with incendiary bombs, one of which fell within 50 yards of the party; in God’s mercy this proved to be a dud one, and so their lives were saved from what would otherwise have been certain death. For the first day or two they took shelter in the hills; later they escaped, with a few of their belongings, to Wuhu, and from there were able to board a boat that took them to Hankow. 414

This sort of trauma may well have caused the less courageous to give up on Chinese missionary work, but, though her husband died in Shanghai during 1938, she continued her evangelistic work in that country until her retirement in 1941.

4.1.4 Comparisons between the effectiveness of the work of females and males given their unequal opportunities

Accepting that women were not given the same opportunities as men, one must to some extent judge their degree of success against a background of the restrictions under which they were forced to work. It might be possible, for example, to say that allowing for the limitations placed upon them, their success was remarkable, or, on the other hand, that even making due allowance for the restrictions under which they laboured, their contribution to missionary goals was negligible. The results suggest the former rather than the latter conclusion, and various indicators discussed both above (see 4.1.1-4.1.3) and below illustrate the point.

4.2 Australian CIM Women Missionaries' Penetration of China

Women played an important part in the opening up of China to the gospel. They were, by and large, exceedingly tough, and able to withstand privations at which their female counterparts at home would have blanched. One has only to read the sagas about Gladys Aylward to gain some idea of their resilience, and China's Millions is full of tales which demonstrate their durability. Some served for decades in China and died in harness. They faced, and overcame, obstacles before which many men would have quailed, and they were not afraid to die for their beliefs, as Mary Heaysman did. An instance of their stamina appears in the CIM's China's Millions (Australasian Edition) for May 1904:

Miss F E McCulloch was a passenger by the "Australian," which reached Sydney at the end of April [1904]. She left for China in October of 1893, and has the distinction of having remained in China without a furlough longer than any of our other Australian workers. She will be going to her home in Urana, New South Wales, for a time of rest.

Their work was fundamentally different to that of the men, who, besides a certain amount of station work, undertook the bulk of the open-air preaching and the longer itinerating journeys. The women, like the men, engaged in evangelistic work at the station itself, but apart from that, tended to either pursue house visits among the women in the city in which their station was based or its

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415 Vol. XXX, No. 3, CIM, Melbourne, May 1904
outstations, following a tradition which had a long history in the annals of evangelism, or to conduct itinerations in the market towns, hamlets and villages immediately surrounding their base. It was in the course of this latter work that many opened new centres to the Gospel. Some, however, went outside these expected confines to break new ground for the CIM as a whole, and others rose to importance at the Provincial level. Australian women were prominent among these missionary pioneers.

Nor should married women missionaries be forgotten, though their work was often hidden because it was allowed to be overshadowed by that of their husbands. Bacon reports that

CIM wives were seen as partners in the work and were expected to contribute along with their husbands ... thus [becoming] involved in itinerant evangelism and church planting throughout the whole interior of China. 416

Where this expectation was not realized, the missionary wife could come in for a measure of contempt, as is evident from the content of a letter of 3 January 1950 from the CIM’s General Director to Rev H M Funnell of the CIM, Auckland, New Zealand in which he speaks of the Australian CIM missionary Ruth Searle née Draffin thus:

You may have heard of the birth of Keith William Searle on January 1st [1950]. Mrs Searle has not had very good opportunities for getting out into the work, and I think she needs prayer that she

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may not become a mere missionary's wife. 417

Leaving alone the devaluation of the role of wife and mother implicit in this statement, this type of criticism was seldom justified on work grounds because most missionary wives laboured exhaustively to achieve the Mission's objectives. It is true, however, that the bulk of the pioneering work by females recorded in the CIM literature was performed by single women; that done by married women was usually concealed within the achievements reported for their husbands.

4.2.1 Australian CIM Women Missionary Firsts in the CIM as a whole

Susie and Annie Garland

Susie Jane Garland was the inventor of a system of Chinese Braille which was accepted for use throughout China in 1912. Both Susie and her sister Annie were pioneers of women's work in the district surrounding their station at Ts'in-chau/Ts'in-cheo, Kan-suh/Kan-su.

Born in 1862, Annie, and in 1870, Susie, of Brunswick, Victoria, became convinced of a call to China on hearing Hudson Taylor during his visit to Victoria in 1890. Susie was accepted by the Australasian Council of the CIM on 27 January 1891, Annie on 5 April 1891, and they both sailed for China in SS "Guthrie" on 29 August 1891, arriving in Shanghai on 26 September 1891.

Establishment tables show them first at Kao-yiü, Kiang-su as at 1 January 1892, and thereafter almost continuously at

417 AR 5.1.4, Box 1.6, CIM/OMF Archives, OMF HQ, Singapore
Ts'in-chau/Tsin-chow, Kan-su, apart from three periods of furlough commencing 1901, 1912 and 1920.

In relation to their pioneering work around Ts'in-chau, there are several China's Millions (Australasian Edition) references, and these are recorded below.

In a letter from dated 2 May 1894, Ts'in-cheo, Susie Garland reports that

On the third day at evening, we reached Si-ho (one of the sixteen cities governed from T'sin-cheo), in which nothing had been done for the women. Mr Easton, Mr Hunt and others had visited the place for work amongst the men, but the women had never heard of Jesus and His love.

This situation is referred to again in a later issue of China's Millions which records that

The MISSES GARLAND, with their native woman and a native colporteur, have been visiting some of the cities south of Ts'in-chau. Being the first foreign women seen, considerable curiosity was evoked.

In August 1895, the CIM's China's Millions (Australasian Edition) was again acknowledging the pioneering work being performed by Susie Garland around Ts'in-chau. Described in brief was a long itinerating journey taken by

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418 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian edition, CIM, Melbourne, September 1894

419 Ibid., December 1894

420 Vol. 3, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, August 1895, p.84
Susie in company with Miss Holme during which they travelled 1,200 li (about 400 miles) in an absence from Ts‘in-chau which lasted for two months. A segment of her diary is quoted, viz:

The road was so steep and slippery, that it was scarcely possible to keep one’s footing. I was constrained at last to give in and follow the oft-repeated advice of the coolies and hang onto my horse’s tail, till I was splashed from head to foot with mud. This was going up hill; though not so tiring, progress down hill was in some ways more difficult, many were the brief and unintentional rests I took by the way; that thirty li seemed interminable, but having started walking we were soon too wet and muddy to ride, and so had to keep on.

The report goes on to say that

They passed numbers of towns and villages, all without the Gospel, and there are eighteen large cities in that district without a single witness for Christ.

Writing from Sau-iang-ch’uang on 28 September 1895, Annie Garland told of an itineration she was involved in with her Biblewoman, Mrs Chau, during which they visited, on horseback, several country villages. In the course of this journey, she reported as follows:

The village, Mao-ma-ch’uang, to which we went, had never been visited before, and we knew no one there. As we drew near the village, we saw a young girl washing clothes in a pond. She was
very much frightened, and called out anxiously
"What do you want? Who do you want to see?" Mrs
Chao told her we had come to preach the gospel,
but the girl was not much wiser, and left her
clothes to run off and give her friends warning.

The account goes on to say that contact was, however,
successfully made with the village women, yet another
instance of pioneering work by the Garlands.

Susie Garland opened up another village in Kansuh on 14
March 1896, some 10 or 11 miles from Ts‘ing-an. She
described the event as follows:

The people were afraid of us at first, but when
some one had courage to invite us in the women
came crowding in, and we had such a good time.
There seem to be some hearts prepared for the
seed way up here, visited for the first time with
the "Story of the Cross." 422

Annie Garland undertook further pioneering work in an
itineration commencing on 24 April 1896. 423 Of Shih-li-
pu, a village visited on the way she remarked,

Never have I seen a village that seemed so open
the first time it had been visited. As we went
down the street, the women came out in crowds to


423 Reported in the CIM’s China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. 4, No. 12, CIM, Melbourne,
December 1896, pp. 132-133
see us. ... one group ... invited us in, and the very orderly crowd followed and listened well. Proceeding further down the street, we were invited in again, and so it continued all the day; we might have entered nearly every house.

They continued on their journey to a village 10 li from Si-ho. Annie then remarks,

After quitting this large village we came on 30 li to Shih-pao-ch’eng, a small market-town where no foreigner (certainly no lady) had ever rested before ... our room was filled with women in a very little while ... I am not sure how much the women really took in of our Message. It was late, and they were thinking of the evening meal they had to prepare, while all the time longing to see and handle the foreigner’s clothes ...

Annie Garland wrote from a village 70 li south of T’sin-cheo on 12 September 1902 where she was staying in an inn with an unpaid Biblewoman and her husband, having left T’sin-cheo nine days before. She recounted part of her experiences as follows:

Every day when the weather would permit, we went out to one or more of the surrounding villages. It was on Sunday ... we were in a village where the Gospel had never been preached before. The people were rather shy of us, and most of them indifferent to our message ... They did not believe the word we had come so far to tell them ...

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424 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXVIII, No. 11, CIM, Melbourne, January 1903
Annie Garland, her servant "Sea Fountain", Mrs Lee the Biblewoman and her husband (Annie on a horse and the Biblewoman on a mule, the others on foot) went on a journey to the "South villages" prior to December 1903, when their trip was reported in the CIM's China's Millions (Australasian Edition). In the course of that journey, they visited Fan-kia-chau, "a village ... that had never been visited by a servant of CHRIST", and shortly after that,

Down one steep hill, up another, along a mountain ridge, and we are at another village. There, too, we are the first messengers of CHRIST to arrive.

Towards the end of the trip, there is this further item:

We went to two more villages on Tuesday and Wednesday. One was quite new to us; the people had never heard.

Excerpts from Annie's diary dated 26, 28 and 29 October and 4 November 1903 cited in the China's Millions (Australian Edition) of 1 February 1904 speak of further trips around Ts'in-ch'oo. One section in particular is of interest.

On the day [30 October 1903] after my last entry [29 October 1903] we went on to Ten-kuan, and stayed until the following Monday. It was the first time the place had been visited for women's work, and we found the women a little shy of us.

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425 Vol. XXIX, No. 9, CIM, Melbourne, December 1903, p. 141

426 Vol. XXIX, No. 11, CIM, Melbourne, February 1904
Further pioneering efforts by Annie are recorded in the *China's Millions* (Australasian Edition) of December 1904. Here there is a report of her having visited 17 villages, "some of which were visited for the first time" with her man (Sea Fountain) and one Mrs Sin.

Besides pioneering, with Annie, women's work in her district, Susie, early in her work in Kan-su, became interested in the difficulties of the blind, and she undertook years of study towards the development of a new Braille system which was accepted in 1912 for all Braille literature in China. From there, she went on to study the use of phonetic script to make Chinese characters simpler. An outcome of this was that she was seconded by the CIM for three years to work with an inter-society committee to produce a stock of Christian literature. Though ill-resourced, she built up a sizeable enterprise which before long had published more than ten million extremely successful pieces.

She and Annie set out in 1924 to open a new station at Hwei-hsien, Kan-su. They established a small church there but, in 1927, owing to the volatile military situation then pertaining, they, along with other missionaries, were ordered to the coast. Returning in 1928, they were engaged in relief operations in the appalling famine of that winter.

Susie was also at the forefront in the inception of the so-called "Forward Movement", which saw 200 new missionaries, dedicated to pioneering work, go to China in the period 1929 to 1931. Sadly, her death prevented her seeing the...

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dream fully realized. 428

Annie died of heart failure on 27 December 1929, aged 68, and Susie from typhus on 3 May 1930 aged 60, both in active missionary service at Hwei-hsien right up until the time when death claimed them.

Both had devoted their lives to service to China, but it is Susie who is principally remembered on account of the Chinese Braille system she invented which became the standard throughout China from 1912. Both the sisters are, however, also noteworthy because of their pioneering work amongst the women in the Ts’in-chau area.

The Martyrdom of Eliza Mary Heaysman

Eliza Mary (known as "Mary") Heaysman was the only Australian woman CIM missionary martyred during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900.

Born in East Grinstead, Sussex, on 29 July 1874, she left England with her parents to settle in Australia in 1884. She was converted as a result of an appeal at a Children’s Service shortly before leaving England, and in 1894 she wrote from Australia stating that Mr Thomas Cook’s mission "had been blessed to her", 429 bringing about a decided step forward in her religious life. In November 1894 she became convinced of a call for foreign work, and applied to the CIM’s Adelaide Auxiliary Council in 1895. At this time she was living with her parents in Adelaide and worshipping


with them in connection with the Society of Friends. She was recommended by the Adelaide Council to the Australasian Council on 16 January 1897 and was accepted on 25 June 1897. She trained with the Rev W L Morton at "Hope" College, Belair, South Australia prior to acceptance.

She sailed from Sydney for China (Hong Kong) on the "Tsinan" on 28 October 1897 with the Australasian women's party of that year which consisted of one returning woman (Florence Young), and seven trainee women including Marion Chapman, also of Adelaide, with whom Heaysman was later sent to Shan-si. They arrived in Shanghai on 21 November 1897, the trainees leaving there on 23 November for the training home at Yang-chau, Kiang-su.

After the usual period of training at Yang-chau, where establishment tables showed her as at 1 January 1898, she was posted to I-ch'eng/Yi ch'eng sub-prefecture, K'uh-wu district, Shan-si (travelling, on the way to her post, as far as P'ing-yang-fu with Ms E Guthrie with whom she had trained at Yang-chau) where she remained until mid-1900, with establishment tables showing her at K'uh-wu as at 1 January 1899 and 1900. 430 She worked at I-ch'eng with Marion Chapman under the direction of Mr and Mrs Duncan Kay, being ultimately replaced at that station by Matilda Way. At I-ch'eng, where they had a small home among the hills, she and Marion Chapman took it in turns to perform a month's work at the station with the women and then a month visiting among the surrounding villages, seeking to

430 Inter alia, there are obituaries written by H Heaysman (who appears to have been her father), with whom she corresponded from I-ch'eng, and E Guthrie, who visited her there. These memorials appear in Marshall Broomhall's Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission, (Melbourne: CIM, 1901), pp. 46-47. There is additional detail in his Last Letters & Further Records of Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission, (London: CIM, 1901), p. 33.
deepen the knowledge of the Gospel among those who had broken off opium at the refuges. She made good progress in the language, assisted a number of women to break off opium and, despite her shy and retiring nature, helped open many villages to the Gospel.

In May 1900 she attended the P’ing-yang-fu Conference, and from there proceeded to her new station at the little city of Ta-ning (Great Peace) to work with Misses F E (Edith) and M R (May) Nathan. From here she wrote what was probably her last letter on 6 July 1900. On 12 July the three women had to flee their station, but after long and anxious hiding, were at last caught, and killed at the hands of the Boxers on 13 August 1900. Over ten of the native Christians, who had vowed during an earlier local trouble to defend the ladies to the death, were also murdered by the Boxers. News of the three missionaries’ deaths did not reach Shanghai until 24 September 1900 by way of a telegram which also advised the martyrdom of Heaysman’s fellow countryman, the Australian CIM missionary David Barratt.

4.2.2 Australian CIM Women Missionary Firsts - Provinces and Posts

Florence Young

An early example of pioneering work at the station level by Australian women is given by Florence Young who, having sailed for China in April 1891, was first posted to Kao-yu, Kiang-su where she was listed as at 1 January 1892, and then to Kwei-k‘i, Kiang-si which was her home base when she wrote from Ki-kia on 10 October 1892 in a diary entry which was subsequently published in the Australasian Edition of
On a gospel-preaching itineration, in company with one Mrs Hong, Florence left Kwei-ki on Monday 10 October 1892, and, after a barrow-ride of eight or nine miles, came to Ki-kia, where they spent the night and met their hostess, Mrs Ki, who accompanied them on parts of their subsequent itinerary and whose son had joined them for the last mile into Ki-kia.

On Tuesday 11 October, after spreading the Gospel in Ki-kia on the evening of their arrival and the following morning, they preached the gospel in a nearby village in the afternoon.

On Wednesday 12 October, they walked about half a mile to Ting-kia, preached there and returned to Ki-kia.

On Thursday 13 October, they visited four villages and told the Gospel story in each. They were barrowed home the last two miles to Ki-kia by Mrs Ki's son.

On Friday 14 October, they went to a village called Tao-kia, five miles beyond Ki-kia, stopping at two villages on the way. In Tao-kia, remarked Florence, "A good crowd of people came to see the strange sight of a foreigner (the first who had been there), and heard the Gospel." Such was the locals' ignorance of foreigners that, at another village in the vicinity she reported, "the people were frightened, ran inside and barred the doors, so we sat under a tree, and a good many people collected round us." They returned to Tao-kia and spent the night, staying there.

The itinerating journey which is described here was serialized in the Australasian Edition of China's Millions, Nos. 2, February 1893, 3, March 1893 and 4, April 1893.
until Monday 17 October when they left for Fu-kia, where they breakfasted, then went on to a village a mile and a half further on. After lunching there they returned to Fu-kia.

On Wednesday 19 October they went three miles in another direction and preached at six villages. They lunched at one of them where they were such a novelty that "quite fifty people crowded into the room to see us eat."

They returned to Kwei-ki on Thursday 20 October, having visited thirty-three villages during their 11 day journey.

Itinerations of this type were common enough, but this one involved real pioneering in that Florence Young was the first foreigner to ever visit Tao-kia, and it appears that in a number of the other villages she visited, given the reactions of the locals, she was probably the first foreigner there too.

An interesting feature of this story is that it was virtually an all-women effort, involving Florence, Mrs Hong and Mrs Ki, with very minimal assistance from Mrs Ki's son as indicated above. While Mrs Hong and Mrs Ki were locals, Florence was not, and she showed a great deal of courage and independent spirit, quite superior to that generally expected of women of the time, in going into places where no foreigner had been before.

Two months after Florence's itineration, Edna Bavin, another Australian missionary at Kwei-ki, wrote from there on 22 December 1892, reporting that that week there had been twenty-one baptisms comprising converts coming from

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Fu-kia and Ki-kia. There is little doubt that Florence’s visit to these centres had sparked interest and helped lead a number of their inhabitants to a decision for Christ.

In 1925, Florence wrote an autobiographical account of her adventures in the CIM and as a missionary to Pacific Islanders. This is entitled *Pearls from the Pacific,* "11 and contains details of an itinerant childhood which prepared her for the kind of nomadic life she was later to lead as a missionary.

Edna Bavin

Edna Bavin undertook important and extensive pioneering work in the vicinity of Kwei-ki, Kiang-si in 1892-93.

Edna Sarah Bavin, of Sydney, born 1871, applied to the CIM on 23 November 1890 and was accepted on 2 January 1891, sailing for China from Sydney on the SS "Airlie" on 8 March 1891 and arriving in Shanghai on 12 April 1891.

Establishment tables place her at Kwei-ki, Kiang-si as at 1 January 1892 and 1893. She arrived back from China by SS "Airlie" on 9 November 1894 for ill-health furlough, in company with Florence Young (see above) who was returning because of difficulties with the Kanaka Mission in Queensland. Both women shared in deputation work for the CIM in both Australia and New Zealand while they were absent from China.

At the 1895 Annual Meeting of the Australian CIM in Melbourne, both Miss Bavin and Miss Young spoke, and Ms Bavin said, *inter alia,* that -

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"11 (London: Marshall Brothers, 1925)"
After having studied the language for about two years, we spent our whole time in telling the Gospel. I cannot tell you, the number of villages and towns around that one city in which we lived [Kwei-ki] in which the people had never heard of Jesus ... We were going to see a Christian man who lived about 30 miles from the city ... We stayed at his home for about three days, and during those days we visited 27 villages and towns in none of which the people had ever once heard of Jesus Christ, and they listened gladly as we told them the message. 434

Ms Bavin does not reappear in the CIM establishment lists for China until 1 January 1900, when she was at Chau-kia-k’eo, Ho-nan. She appeared as Mrs Charles Medham Lack (who was later to become the CIM’s Assistant Home Director for Australia and New Zealand) at Siang-ch’eng, Ho-nan in 1901, and thereafter, through 1909, at Yen-ch’eng, Ho-nan, where her husband, who became known as "Lack of Honan" 435 began a Bible School for the training of evangelists and pastors and from whence he set out to conduct missions all over China, to which endeavours she doubtless lent her support. She died at Chefoo, Shan-tung in July 1923.

Johanna Lloyd

When Johanna Lloyd, an Australian CIM woman missionary, reached Hsiang-hsien, Ho-nan on 17 May 1892, she reported

434 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. 3, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, August 1895

It is just a fortnight since I left Chau-kia-keo with Mr and Mrs Gracie [Britishers] for this place. We were six days coming by boat. We have much to praise God for; He not only gave us journeying mercies, but a quiet entrance here, considering no foreign lady had been here before. ... We need your prayers very much, these poor women have never heard the Gospel, it is all so strange to them, it is so difficult to make them understand anything.

It was pioneering work then, that Johanna Lloyd and Mrs Gracie undertook among the women of Hsiang-Hsien. The station had only been opened two years earlier by Mr Slimmon, who had ‘worked’ it with the help of a native evangelist before the two women and Mr Gracie arrived to join him.

Johanna Lloyd was involved in further pioneering work in October 1894 as, writing on 23 October 1894 from Ho-si (Si-hwa Hien), Chau-kia-k’eo, Honan where she was then stationed, she reported 437 as follows:

Ten days ago I went to a village three and a half miles from here; a foreigner had never been there before. We had a most encouraging time, the people listened most attentively, and pressed me to stay with them a few days. As I had not gone prepared to do that, I came away, promising to go

436 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, No. 1, January 1893
437 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, CIM, Melbourne, February 1895
back, God willing, and stay with them for some time next month, when they would not be busy in their fields.

Faith Box

Faith Box and her colleague Alice Henry performed pioneering evangelistic work in the vicinity of Yang-chau in the period 1893 to 1900.

Rebecca Anne (Faith) Box (the author's first cousin twice removed) was born at Brighton, Victoria in 1863, accepted by the CIM on 23 October 1890 and sailed for China in SS "Menmuir" on 20 November 1890, arriving in Shanghai on 21 December 1890. Establishment tables place her at Yang-chau, Kiang-su as at 1 January 1891 where she was studying the Chinese language and customs and, still studying, at Ta-kut'ang, Kiang-si as at 1 January 1892. Though having moved from study into field work, she was still at Ta-kut't'ang as at 1 January 1893. She moved back to Yang-chau later that year and wrote from Si-men, Iang-cheo [Yang-chau] on 18 December 1893, as follows 431:

Jesus ... has, in His goodness, let Miss Henry and me have this work at the West Gate of the old city of Iang-cheo ... You know the hundreds of thousands among whom our lot is cast, and we are the only two who visit in this city ... Can you picture us, just we two, in our dear little house, on a teeming street ... we can speak the language, and live just for to-day, realizing, with a crowd around, "Well, these dear souls never heard before, never will again, probably;

431 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, CIM, Melbourne, March 1894
what is this gospel to do for them to-day?"

During that day, Faith moved from place to place in the Lang-choo environs, reporting later in the day:

Then I went on and reached a place I had not been to before, and, oh, the crowds, many, nay most of them had never seen a foreigner before. After their curiosity was a little satisfied, I began. How surprised they were that people of our country spoke the same language as their own. I went calmly on and had a real (sic) good preach, about a hundred people listening.

Establishment tables which merely record that Faith was at Yang-chau as at 1 January 1895-1900 do not do justice to her situation. As early as 18 December 1893, she and Alice Henry were, with a great deal of autonomy, running their own outstation at Si-men, were the only two of the eight missionaries held against Yang-chau then visiting within the city, and were bringing the gospel to many people who had never even seen foreigners before. Theirs was a pioneering effort at at least the outstation level. The life of service to China of Alice Henry has been recorded in Violet Mathews' biography of her, A Life on Fire: The Life Story of Alice Macfarlane. 439

Faith left the CIM in August 1900 and died in 1950. 440

439 (Melbourne: Marshall, Morgan & Scott Ltd, 1948)

440 For other detail regarding Faith’s life see the author’s "A Chinese Odyssey: The Life and Times of Faith Viloudaki", in Kate Press (Ed), The Genealogist, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Australian Institute of Genealogical Studies Inc. (AIGS), Blackburn, Victoria, June 1995, pp. 52-55
Ruth Croucher

Ruth Croucher undertook important pioneering work in the vicinity of Wan-hien, Si-ch’uen in the period 2-9 June 1893 and near Paoning, Si-ch’uen in the period 26 November to 17 December 1896.

Ruth Croucher of Queensland applied to the CIM and was accepted, sailing for China in March 1891. Establishment tables place her at Paoning, Si-ch’uen or its outstations as at 1 January 1895-1899, itinerating from Paoning in December 1902, and from some time before 17 June 1903 in Wan-hien, Si-ch’uen where she met her future husband, subsequently appearing as Mrs Wupperfield from 1 January 1906 through 1 January 1922 at Kai-hsien, Si-ch’uen.

Ruth reported on 17 June 1903 a journey she had taken in company with her Biblewoman to some of the markets in the Ka’i Hsien district. Segment of her account, which touch on the danger often associated with such journeys, are as follows:

I thought you might be interested in hearing about a visit I paid to some of the markets in the K’ai Hsien district recently. ... Nothing has been done for the women in that district. It was quite new ground.

On 2nd June I left Wan-Hsien with my Biblewoman, Mrs Ho, to teach the women. ... The two Chinese soldiers I had to escort me entertained us with ghastly stories of murders and robbery that constantly take place along that road. At the

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wayside inns where we stopped to take food the people were friendly but curious to see the foreign woman. ...

The road, like an Indian trail, began to wind up the mountain. ... When I got to the top and looked back it made me feel quite giddy to look down that awful precipice along the edge of which we had just been walking. ...

I spent three happy days with the Lan-men-chang women. ... The last day at Lan-men-chang was most exciting. ... I was awakened by the sound of roaring, rushing water. The whole valley was flooded. The houses at both ends of the market were under water. ... The houses often collapse, and villages are swept away in these sudden floods.

On 6th June I went on to Ch’en-k’ia-chang. ... While at Ch’en-k’ia-chang, there was another flood, and I did not feel very safe with the water a few yards away from my room. ...

On 9th June I returned to Wan-Hsien. In several places the road was blocked with tons of rock and earth - landslips are continually taking place in this district. The dangers I met with in travelling made me realise afresh God’s loving care ...

Thus, in considerable danger from brigands, precipices, floods and landslides, Ruth Croucher undertook pioneering work among the women in the markets of the Ka’i Hsien district.
Writing from Paoning, Si-ch’uan on 17 December 1896, she reported another pioneering journey thus:

I have just returned from 21 days itinerating, having visited three hsien cities, and many large markets and villages. Some of these places have never been visited before by a foreigner, yet we never heard a rude word. In many places the women would hardly let me go, saying, "Do come again and teach us! How could we know it is wrong to worship idols? No one has told us before." 442

Jane Kidman

Jane Kidman undertook valuable pioneer work among the women in the district surrounding her station in Ho-nan.

Jenine (Jane) E Kidman of Victoria, born 1871, first applied to the CIM on 15 July 1895 but was declined. She applied again on 14 October 1896 and was accepted on 8 June 1898 to go to China. She left Sydney in the "Changsha" on 7 September 1898.

Establishment tables place her studying the language at Yang-chau, Kiang-su as at 1 January 1899, and engaged in evangelical pursuits at Chau-kia-k’eo, Ho-nan from 1900 to 1904. From 1 January 1905 to 1907 she appears as Mrs E G Bevis at Kai-feng Fu, Ho-nan, and from 1910 to 1919 at Chenchowfu, Ho-nan. She was on furlough in 1920 and back at Chenchowfu in 1921 through 1922. She retired in 1936.

While stationed at either Chau-kia-k’eo or Kai-feng Fu, but certainly before her marriage, Jane Kidman undertook a

442 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. 5, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, April 1897
journey travelling by cart and barrow with one Mrs Uang which entailed an absence from base of 17 days and visits to seven different places, including villages and market towns, among them Peh-chong-p’u, of which she reported in a December 1903 diary entry:

Here the people are very friendly, but rather rowdy, and rather rude too, no doubt on account of it being the first time a foreign lady had been there. 443

So, on Monday 7 December 1903, Jane Kidman became the first foreign woman to enter Peh-chong-p’u and to extend the women’s work in Ho-nan to include that centre.

Harriet Fleming

Harriet Fleming was the first foreigner to reside in Uannien, a Hsien city in Kiangsi Province.

Harriet Burwell (Hetty) Fleming of Wangaratta, Victoria, born 1868, applied to the CIM and was accepted on 15 February 1893, sailing for Hong Kong on SS Menmuir on 14 October 1893, and leaving there by French steamer "Salzie" for Shanghai on 17 November, finally arriving in Shanghai on 21 November 1893. Her sister Katie Fleming had gone out in 1891 and was to die of cholera in Kiangsi in October 1908. The two sisters were to work together for some years, and also with Miss McCulloch, another Australian CIM missionary, who joined them in 1895.

Establishment tables place Hetty at Kwei-k’i, Kiangsi as at

1 January from 1895 to 1901. She subsequently took a
furlough in Australia, returning to China on the "Empire"
on 3 January 1904. She was then at Kwang-hsin Fu, Kiangsi
in 1905 and 1906, at Anjen/Anren, Kiangsi from 1907 to
1910, and in the Shanghai Mission Home, Kiangsu in 1912 pro-
tem, marrying Mr F W Baller later that year and moving with
him to Peking, Chihli where they appear together in
establishment tables from 1913 to 1917 engaged in "literary
work", presumably including at least part of Baller's
Chinese Dictionary, a publication of some 35,000 words
which the Australian, Robert Henry Mathews, was to revise
and republish in 1931.

They were on furlough in 1919 and 1920, and again occupied
with literary work, this time in Shanghai, Kiangsu from
1921 to 1922. From 1923 to 1925 Hetty is shown alone in the
Shanghai Mission Home, her husband, who was some twenty
years older than she, apparently having died during 1922.
She was on furlough in Australia in 1926 and stationed at
Chefoo, Shantung Hospital from 1929 to 1931 and its
sanatorium from 1932 through 1937.

While she made contributions in other fields, Hetty's most
memorable role was as a female missionary pioneer in the
An-ren district of Kiangsi. In this connection, it is
recorded that she left Kwang-hsin Fu on 11 May 1906 to open
a new outstation at Uan-nien, Kiangsi, in relation to which
she remarked,

I do feel very much the responsibility of being
the first foreigner to live in this city - an
ambassador for Christ. ... We are off the
Kuangsin river here, so are out of the route
travellers generally take. Miss Forsberg is my
nearest neighbour, 15 English miles away. Then
An-ren is 20 miles in the other direction.  

Her feeling of isolation is evident in the observation about the distance of her neighbours from her station. She was, however, to spend four years in the vicinity of An-ren, no doubt at times feeling the double isolation of being absent from Australia and away from immediate European contact in China.

Hetty died in 1954.

The opening up of outstations was an important precursor to the establishment of self-supporting native churches, and Harriet Fleming made a valuable contribution in this sphere at Wan-nien Hsien.

*Isabella Coleman*

Isabella Coleman had the distinction of opening a new CIM station at Iang-hsien, Shen-si in late 1895.

Hailing from New South Wales, Isabella had been accepted by the CIM, and sailed to China in August 1891, so that she had been in China for only 4½ years when this responsibility was given to her. In a letter from Iang-hsien dated 20 May 1896  

445 she reported the event thus:

> About the end of last year we succeeded in renting a place upon the main street in the centre of this city. ... As soon as this was known the usual outcry arose; the whole street

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objected, and the local "hsiang-wh" (elder) refused to interfere on our behalf. ... Meanwhile prayer was made ... and at the right moment the answer came. The Pekin proclamation, re the Sichuan riots and Ku-ch'eng massacre, appeared; five huge copies being displayed. In the face of that, a document positively ordering the protection of foreigners, our opponents feared to say anything, and when the repairs were finished we were allowed to take possession. We moved in on 3rd February, (my woman and I having got in a few days previously) ... Except for short visits paid to Kua-jiang, Ch'eng-ku, & c., I have been here ever since, and have met with no annoyance.

This story certainly illustrates the usual difficulties missionaries faced in renting premises in previously unopened cities in China, and the power which newly-announced Peking proclamations could wield (though they were not always observed at the local level), but it also documents the opening of a station by an Australian woman as early as 1895 and implies much about the courage and tenacity required and the high regard in which the then British-dominated CIM administration in China held her.

This regard seems to have been well-founded, since within a year of the station having been opened up, Isabella was able to report having gathered a flock of ten communicants and "some hopeful enquirers". 446

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Mary Batterham

Mary Batterham of Victoria, who had been accepted by the CIM and had sailed for China in September 1899, had joined Isabella Coleman (above) at Yanghsien by 1 January 1901, and was to continue at that station until 1917. She also found herself involved in pioneering work there, reporting that in her first itinerating journey she had visited a village (unidentified) not far from the city where no foreigner had been before. "47 She moved to Hanchungfu, Shensi in 1919, and retired from the Mission in 1943, dying in 1949.

Ethel Giles

Ethel L Giles of Victoria was accepted by the CIM for service in China, and sailed in October 1905. After language study at Yangchau, Kiang-su in which she was engaged as at 1 January 1906, she was posted to Tsinchow, Kan-suh where she was located as at 1 January 1907-1910. She was subsequently stationed at Kiehsiu and Taning, Shansi from 1911-16 and 1917-20 respectively, dying of typhus in Shansi in May 1920.

While at Tsinchow, she worked with the Garland sisters, travelling with one of them to U-kia-chuang and staying there for twelve days before returning to base and setting out on a pioneering journey on her own. She described it in a letter of 1 October 1908 in the following terms:

I spent a few days at home, and then left again (for the first time alone) to visit the village

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47 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXIV, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1908, p. 62
of one of our Bible-women some 70 li from the city. ... With the Bible-woman, I visited several other villages within walking distance during my stay. ... In some of the villages no foreigner had ever been before, and the people were afraid of us, but when their fear had passed off, we had real (sic) good times in preaching to them the Gospel message.  

4.2.3 Australian Women's Contribution in a support role to other CIM Missionaries

Theodosia Sorenson

The CIM station at Lanchow, Kansu had been opened in 1885, and as at 1 January 1892 there were ten missionaries on its books, two of whom were absent at that time. Theodosia Sorenson was the only Australian then present at the station. She wrote from there on 13 September 1892, claiming to be "the Farthest-away Australian", and arguably was in terms of her remoteness from the coast and the security of its treaty ports.

She was certainly at the north-west frontier of both Australian and CIM expansion, with Tibet immediately to the west and Mongolia immediately to the north. The area was particularly daunting from an evangelistic point of view, with a significant, and hostile, Muslim presence, a hostility which was to erupt in the bloody Mohammedan rising three years later. Johanna was an integral component of a resilient team working at the leading geographical

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edge of the CIM’s operations. She assisted the British at this unenviable post for some three years before moving to another post at Han-ch’ung, Shen-si where she met her future husband. (See the segment at Part 3.2.1 above relating to her husband, William Sjogren Strong.)

In addition to her important support role at Lanchow, Theodosia also became involved in pioneering work in the Hang-chung Fu, Shen-si vicinity. In an itineration which lasted 3 weeks and concluded on 23 November 1894, she and her companion, one Mrs Li, visited Cheo-kia-pin and Hsieh-shui, two market towns about 11 miles from Han-chung. Of these centres, Theodosia reported that

In both Hsieh-shui and Cheo-kia-pin it was the first time the women had heard of Jesus. We hope soon to visit these places again, and yet there are so many places where the women have never heard. 450

Nellie Roberts

Nellie Roberts provided valuable assistance to other female missionaries in the opening up of women’s work at Wan-hsien, Si-ch’uen.

The CIM’s China’s Millions (Australasian Edition) for January 1896 451 carried the following passage in its "Editorial Notes" section:

Miss ROBERTS is going to Wan-hsien with Mr. and

450 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. 3, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, August 1895

451 Vol. 4, No. 3, CIM, Melbourne, January 1896
Mrs. W. L. THOMPSON [Mr W L Thomson was also an Australian] and Miss RAMSAY. The ladies will be the first foreign ladies to work at this place, and they need our prayers, for Wan-hsien is a very anti-foreign city, and their presence will probably cause a little stir.

Nellie Roberts of Warrnambool applied to the CIM in September 1892 and was accepted on 12 July 1893, sailing for China on SS "Airlie", having undertaken some additional training required by the CIM, in December 1894, arriving in Shanghai on the evening of 1 January 1895. She expected to leave there on 7 January 1895 for language training at Yang-chau, Kiang-su.

Establishment tables place her at Wan-hien, Si-ch’uen as at 1 January 1896 and 1897, and, as Mrs C F E Davis, at the same station from 1898 to 1900. After furlough, she next appeared at K’u-hien/Chu-hsien, Si-ch’uen as at December 1902 and continued to appear there as at 1 January from 1904 to 1912, after which she returned to Australia. She died in 1950.

Although her stay in Wan-hsien was short by missionary standards (about five years), she was able, while at that station, to give valuable assistance to the other female missionaries in the pioneering of women’s work there.

Emma Spiller

Emma Spiller helped institute work among the women in the area around Lu-chow, Si-ch’uen from 1904 to 1908.

Emma Harriet Ann Spiller of Queensland, born 1880 at Devonshire Gardens near Gympie, Queensland was a worker on
her father's farm, both her parents being alive when she applied to the CIM on 27 November 1900. A Methodist, converted by a sermon preached at a funeral service, she had left State School in the 5th Class, but had continued study at night school, reading the 6th Royal Reader, Longman's Senior Composition and Junior Arithmetic. She was accepted by the CIM on 9 July 1902 and sailed for China in November 1902.

Establishment tables place her at study in Yang-chau, Kiang-su as at December 1902, and subsequently at Lu-chow, Si-ch’uen from 1 January 1904 to 1908. During 1906 she married Robert L McIntyre, another Queensland CIM missionary, who had sailed to China in December 1901. She had moved to Suifu, Si-ch’uen by 1 January 1909 and continued to appear there until 1 January 1921, shortly after her husband succumbed to a fatal illness at Yungning in October 1920. She was held against Chefoo Sanatorium, Shantung pro tem as at 1 January 1922. She retired from the CIM in 1945.

During her time at Lu-chow, in company with Mr and Mrs Herbert, she paid a visit to two of the near outstations. Of this visit she remarked:

We started on Monday morning and returned the following Saturday morning. At each of these places we had splendid opportunities among the women who came about us very freely. At the second place Mr Herbert says we were the first foreign women that had visited the place. As you can imagine there was much curiosity but we also believe that there is not a little interest. 452

452 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXX, No. 6, CIM, Melbourne, August 1904
Emma Spiller accordingly helped break new evangelistic ground in the vicinity of Lu-chou in February 1904, remaining there and providing valuable assistance until 1908.

Nellie Pearson

Nellie Pearson, of Victoria, who had sailed to China in September 1910, undertook a nine weeks itineration in the company of her Biblewoman between 28 October 1913 and 31 December 1913, leaving Tsenyi, Kweichow and travelling through Niu-chang, where they spent 15 days, Mei-tan (3 weeks), Yin-chiang (a few days), Yuin-hsin (nine days), Mei-tan (again, this time for a few days) and back to Tsenyi.

Of the visit to Yin-chiang, she had the following to say:

Leaving Mei-tan, we started off across the mountains for Yin-chiang, a large and busy city, five days to the north-east. During the few days spent there we had crowds from early morning until quite late in the evening. It was the first time a foreign woman had been there, so naturally the curiosity was very great. 453

This itineration therefore contained an element of real pioneering work. Nellie married Mr C A Jamieson in 1915, and after spending two decades in China, serving in Kweichow, Anhwei and Kiangsi, she retired from the Mission in 1930.

The Pioneering Work of Dorothy Layfield

There was a real hiatus in pioneering work during the turbulent years of the 1920s and early 1930s because of warlord power struggles and brigandage, which were rife throughout China in that period. Though these phenomena had not been completely expunged by 1933, and the focus had shifted to the civil war between Nationalists and Communists, there were areas of China which at that time were relatively free of these problems, allowing the Forward Movement of the early 1930s to gain some momentum and missionaries not specifically targeted for that Movement to take on longer itinerations as in earlier days. One to benefit from this momentary diminution of hostilities in her area was Dorothy Layfield, of Tuushan, Kweichow, who had only been in China a year, and who recounted her adventures thus:

Mrs Pike asked me to accompany her on an itinerant journey visiting the surrounding cities and villages. We were away almost a month. It was great living right in among the people, eating their food, wearing their manner of dress, and sleeping anywhere where we could find some straw and a few boards. ...

We walked all the time, sometimes over flat, level, easy-walking country: sometimes over high mountains, with the clouds circling us round. We covered 108 English miles, ... glad that we had been privileged to be the first foreign women to travel through these parts of Kweichow ... .

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Dorothy’s experience provides evidence that there was still virgin territory for European women to be explored in China as late as 1933. The task was still there; what had been missing for a decade or so had been the opportunity. Another interesting sideline is her retention of Chinese dress, which had largely been discarded by missionaries in other areas.

4.2.4 Australian Women’s Contribution to special types of work undertaken by the CIM:

4.2.4.1 Medical

Australian women made a far more important contribution in the CIM medical field than did the men. Of the 60 Australian women whose personal files have been preserved between applicant numbers 381 and 967 (1900 and 1948), no fewer than 21 (or 35.0%) had medical qualifications (19 trained nurses, a doctor and a pharmaceutical chemist) while of the 56 Australian men whose personal files have survived in the same grouping, only four (or 7.1%) had medical qualifications (2 doctors, a bacteriologist and a pharmaceutical chemist).

As we have seen 455, there were nineteen identifiable medical professionals who were accepted and sent to China among the first 900 CIM candidates. We have also seen 456 that it was not unknown for women to receive special training in a particular area of medicine, eg midwifery, before being despatched overseas. However, few women who were fully qualified as nurses, doctors or pharmacists went

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455 Section 2.4.9 above
456 Section 2.4.1 above
to China under the auspices of the CIM in the early days, though they became more numerous later. That is not to say that single and married women did not carry on medical work – the contrary was the case – but their medical knowledge was often limited to an elementary grasp of first aid, midwifery, how to assist patients break off opium, and the care of patients with fevers deriving from some of the virulent diseases with which China was cursed.

Fully qualified women therefore stand out amongst the CIM recruits, and a number of the more prominent, and the work they undertook, are described later below.

Focusing upon formally qualified women possibly does an injustice to others who had obtained through experience and other avenues, knowledge akin to their more theoretically learned sisters, and brief reference to a few who fell in the less-formally-qualified category is relevant here.

St Hilda’s Missionary Training Home in Clarendon Street, East Melbourne was offering, inter alia, training modules in "Nursing" and "First Aid Ambulance" when Nellie Pearson went through there during 1908-1910, and other students, including the Australian CIM missionaries Florence Dibley, who attended in the period 1911-12 (also spending time in hospital casualty wards), Daisy Winks and Constance Nicholson, who went through there in 1917-18, and Doris Williams, who was there from 1919 to 1920, probably also received the benefit of those subjects.

Deaconess work, following some three years’ training at the Anglican Deaconess Institution in Sydney (Bethany) could involve extensive nursing as Martha Haslam, who was

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457 Personal file, Nellie Pearson, Candidate No. 545, applied to CIM 26 June 1908
ordained in 1899, discovered. She received considerable nursing experience at the Coast Hospital, Little Bay during her career as a deaconess, being engaged in nursing over forty sick cases in mid-1908. 458

Grace Pascoe, another CIM missionary, had the benefit of having spent several months in a private hospital in Semaphore, South Australia, prior to her acceptance by the Mission, and was deemed best suited for "Medical work, women's work, Bible-teaching" by the Principal of the Yangchow Language Training School when she went through there in the period 2 November 1918 to 26 March 1919.

Adelaide Hill, during a period of 4½ years in Fengcheng, Shensi immediately prior to August 1944, was involved in preaching, teaching and medical work, apparently picking up the necessary skills with regard to the latter in the field. Gwendolyn Rose Langstreh, who was interned by the Japanese in the Lunghwa Civil Assembly Centre from March 1943 to August 1945, though usually a typist, turned her hand to "nurse-aiding", apparently also picking up the requisite skills as she went. The same was also true of Ivy May Dix who, over the period 1935-45, amongst other things, undertook emergency sick nursing and a little dispensary work though her background was in waitressing, counterwork, grocerywork and domestic duties and her training consisted of State School Qualifying Certificate (she left school at 13), a couple of years at the Melbourne Bible Institute, and language training at Shanghai from 18 November 1926 to part way through the following year. Rose Pemberton, not a trained nurse, found herself able to reset a dislocated jaw, and to attend cholera and typhoid cases when stationed

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458 Personal file, Martha Haslam, Candidate No. 543, applied to the CIM 14 May 1908
at Paoning, Szechwan. 459

Mrs Matilda Fiddler née Way, another Australian CIM missionary who developed her medical skills on the field, reported from Ningsiafu (Kansu) in 1910 460 that

I had not thought to do anything in the medical line, but I find myself quite busy at it - taking out teeth, and attending to sores and boils almost daily. One man came every day for two months with a terrible finger, which is now healed. Another came with one almost the size of his hand. Now, it is better; he is very grateful.

She later indicated an acquaintanceship with opium withdrawal procedures:

We have had some very definite conversions lately, one being a woman who was a slave to opium for over twenty years, who asked if I could help her to break off. I had some medicine, and we used this, and together we prayed, and she got the victory ... . 461

Catherine Elizabeth Swanton, a trained primary teacher by profession, obtained First Aid and Home Nursing Certificates before being accepted and travelling to China, and was consequently capable of performing a level of nursing if required, though she primarily operated in China


460 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, 2 January 1911, P. 8

461 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol.XXXXIII, No. 1, CIM, Melbourne, 1 January 1912, Supplement p. 4
as a teacher and office worker. Joan Brooks, a Clerk-Typist before she joined the CIM, had undertaken the St John's course of First Aid, which was of assistance to her husband when she became the wife of the Australian medical missionary Dr Norman Chenoweth. Dorothy Clare Cornelius, a trained secondary school teacher, had also passed a home nursing examination some time before she went to China, but it is doubtful if she had much opportunity to put the nursing skills acquired into practice as she was one of the luckless "Nineteen Forty-Niners", who waited at Chungking Language School for 21 months for some opening to occur, but in vain.

Blanche Rowe, like many other successful Australian Women CIM candidates, had a history of hospital and district visiting behind her when she applied to the Mission.

In summary then, there were several Australian women missionaries who had some claim to being "nurses" though they held no formal nursing qualification.

We now look at some of the formally qualified Australian CIM medical women and their achievements in this sphere.

**Doctors**

Fully qualified women doctors were rare in the CIM as a whole, and almost non-existent within the Australian group. However, one woman doctor is noted in the Australian contingent, and details of her work appear below.

*Dr Lorna MacColl*

Lorna Jean Stewart MacColl of Melbourne, Victoria, born 22 August 1907 in Melbourne, daughter of Donald Stewart
MacColl and Eliza MacColl, was of Baptist persuasion and conservative views, having been converted as a small child through her godly parents. She studied at a private school for 11 years, at Presbyterian Ladies College Melbourne for two years, then left school at age 18 and undertook the medical course at Melbourne University, graduating MB, BS. One of her referees spoke of "her great success in her medical course" and of her "marked success in the practice of her profession", another commenting that "In her medical capacity she persistently combines with skill a spiritual purpose." After completion of her medical degree, she took up a number of hospital appointments. Following application to the CIM on 25 August 1934 while she and her parents were residing c/o CIM, Newington Green, London, she was unanimously accepted in London by the Council there on 20 March 1935 subject to ratification by the Australian Council, but did not sail for China until late in 1938.

She spent 16 months at Tsingtao, Shantung including seven months at the Tsingtao Language Training Home between 17 October 1938 and 11 May 1939 during which time her progress in the language was "Very quick", two visits to Shanghai, and a short trip to Kaifeng, Honan, and three years in Anshun, Kweichow. During her time in China, apart from language study, she undertook hospital work and care of fellow missionaries. Medical visits to various stations largely took the place of holidays for her until 1942 when she managed twenty days travelling and twelve days at Kopu free from medical work. Dr Leonard Cox's medical report on Lorna when she was in Australia on furlough as at 25 June 1943 noted that she was "tired and exhausts easily". In poor health, with chronic back pain, and "Living the life of a semi-invalid" as she put it, she retired from the
Mission in 1944. She continued, however, to medically examine some CIM candidates, for example, Elizabeth Watsford on 10 December 1948. By that time she had married and became Mrs Fleming. She has since passed away.

Lorna MacColl was unique in that she was one of the few CIM women doctors, and even more of a rarity in an Australian CIM context. Her five years as a doctor in China contributed a level of medical knowledge not previously manifest in the Australian women’s contingent.

**Pharmacists**

Qualified women pharmacists were also rare in the CIM as a whole, and even moreso amongst the Australian women. Clair Williams accordingly stands out from the crowd on the basis of her qualifications and the work she was able to accomplish as a result of them. Details of that work appear below.

**The Dispensary Work of Clair Williams**

Jessie Sinclair (Clair) Williams was born on 4 April 1905 in Mount Morgan, Queensland though she gave her place of residence as Malvern, Victoria when she applied to the CIM on 26 December 1929. She sailed to China and was accepted there in March 1930. At the time of her application, she was a fully qualified pharmaceutical chemist and a diplomate of the two year course at the Melbourne Bible Institute. An evangelical Methodist, she came from a missionary family, with one of her sisters (Leila, housekeeper at the Chefoo, Shan-tung. Girls’ School for some

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462 The source of most of the above material is the personal file of Lorna MacColl, Candidate No. 866, applied 25 August 1934
years) in the CIM and another a missionary nurse in the Pacific islands of New Britain.

Her postings included Kaifeng, Honan for eight months, Taiho, Anhwei for six months, Fukow, Honan for 8 months, Lanchow, Kansu for three years (1941 to June 1944), Paoning, Szechwan for three years (June 1944 to 1947) and Tali, Yunnan. She undertook evangelistic work in Taiho and Fukow, but was engaged in hospital dispensary work at all the other posts. She undertook laboratory and dispensing work at Kaifeng, Lanchow and Paoning hospitals, trained "on modern and western lines" Chinese pharmacy students at Lanchow, Paoning, Kaifeng and Tali hospitals (a very important work in itself), and supervised dispensing at Kaifeng and Tali hospitals. When the Communists took over mainland China she moved to a new CIM station in Thailand and continued her work there.

While the Chinese were awaiting attention at dispensaries, they were subjected to concentrated evangelistic endeavours by missionaries and/or native converts, and many Christians were gathered in this way. There is consequently little doubt that Clair Williams' contribution to the spread of the gospel in China over a period of 20 years, though largely indirect, was nonetheless important. Her contribution in the pharmaceutical area per se, in view of the paucity of trained pharmacists in the CIM ranks, was clearly also an important one.

Aged 76, and unmarried, Clair was still active as at May 1981 when she was on a 3 weeks' Marco Polo tour of China which, amongst other things, gave her the opportunity to see again the CIM hospital at Lanchow where she had worked as a pharmacist for three years. She returned to Melbourne
after the tour. 463

Clair Williams made an important contribution to CIM medical work, bringing to the task pharmaceutical skills rare amongst CIM women, and rarer amongst Australian CIM women, to the work of the Mission over a period of some twenty years. Her contribution to the training of Chinese in Western pharmaceutical chemistry was important in assisting them to achieve autonomy in that field.

Nurses

There were a surprising number of fully qualified (State Registered) nurses amongst the Australian CIM women's contingent. Some had triple, some double and some single certificate qualifications. This was an area where Australian women clearly outshone their menfolk who, by and large, had only picked up a smattering of medical knowledge prior to their departure and had seldom undertaken any formal course. Some examples of Australian women CIM nurses and their work appear below.

The Nursing Work of Rose Rasey

Rose Sarah Rasey was born in Brisbane on 10 June 1896. She was a trained nurse (Double Certificate - General and Midwifery) and first Secretary of the Queensland Branch of the Australian Nurses Christian Movement when she entered the Melbourne Bible Institute at the beginning of 1929, having applied to join the CIM on 17 April 1928. Of the Open Brethren religion, she had been converted at 28 years of age. She was accepted by the CIM and left for China on

2 October 1929.

She spent a short period at the language training school at Yangchow before being placed in charge of the CIM hospital in their HQ compound on Sinza Road, Shanghai, where she nursed CIM missionaries for 5 years, from 1930 to 1934 inclusive, with the help of visiting doctors from Shanghai. (CIM doctors were not present on the compound, being assigned to inland hospitals for Chinese patients.)

She then escorted a very sick CIM fellow-worker home to New Zealand, after which she had an early furlough in 1935 during which she undertook Child Welfare training (making her a Triple Certificate Nurse).

She returned to Shanghai, and was sent to an American missionary at Tsingshing, Hopeh/Chih-li in North China whom she had nursed in Shanghai before proceeding on furlough. There she resumed language study and she, her companion and their Chinese Biblewoman held Bible classes in Christian homes in the villages there, remaining there from March 1936 to September 1937.

She then received assignments to Linfen, Shansi and Yencheng, Honan between October and December 1937, thence to Kikungshan, Honan for 5 months in 1938. She was loaned by the CIM to the American Southern Baptist Mission in Chengchow and Loyang, Honan for a further 5 months in 1938, then spent 2½ months in each of Hantun and Hwailu, Hopeh. The CIM then lent her to the American Presbyterian Mission in Shunteh, Hopeh for 3½ years.

While in Chengchow, Honan in September 1938, she was involved in the nursing of bombing victims. She told the story in the following terms:
You will have heard that we were severely bombed again last week. Nine planes came over suddenly and dropped huge bombs. ... The Baptist hospital admitted over forty wounded people that day and the following days. To accommodate them the large mat-tent had to be opened up again, but as it leaks when it rains they could not be kept there. The cholera patients were down to four so they were moved to the downstairs rooms of the Mission School building, and the wounded are now being nursed in the upper floor rooms. Of course, I offered to go on duty again, and have been in charge of the wounded, most of whom are refugees. Then again, this week a scouting plane appeared and dropped four bombs on a train full of refugees, seven miles outside the city; about ten wounded were brought in from there. Many were killed. Others have come in from 30 odd miles away, where another refugee train was bombed.

She returned to the CIM HQ hospital at Sinza Road, Shanghai, remaining there between August 1942 and April 1943 until she was interned by the Japanese in the Lunghwa Internment Camp where she remained from April 1943 to October 1945. Retiring from the CIM later in the 1940s, she became Matron of the Nurses’ Residential Club, Hobart, remaining in that position for 9½ years. She subsequently became "sick-bay" matron at St Margaret’s School, Brisbane and retired from the workforce in 1967.

Rose Rasey’s contribution to the CIM was an important one;

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454 Letter of 21 September 1938 from Ms Rasey published in CIM, Monthly Notes, Vol. 43, No. 10, CIM, Shanghai, November 1938, p.2. located CIM/OMF Archives and Library, Toronto, Canada
she performed evangelical work and nursed both missionaries and Chinese patients in a CIM career which spanned approaching two decades. She held positions carrying high responsibility during that time and helped build bridges between the CIM and other missionary organizations through the assistance she was able to offer them while on secondment.

The Nursing Contribution of Louisa Boulter

Louisa Boulter, a Victorian, was residing at the Trained Nurses Home, Young Street, Unley, South Australia when she applied to join the CIM on 27 February 1903. She had been left an orphan, with her brother and her sister, when she was eleven years of age. She was converted at the age of sixteen under the ministry of Dr Porter, in the Baptist Church in Ballarat. She spent 15 months at Mr Morton’s missionary training home in Belair, South Australia, three years in hospital training at the Children’s Hospital, and nine months in private nursing which had provided special training which she felt would be of great value in China. She was accepted by the CIM on 9 September 1903 and left Sydney for China in the "Eastern" on 29 October 1903. At the farewell meeting for other missionaries and herself which took place in Melbourne on 20 October 1903, she made the following appeal:

If there are any nurses here to-night, I want to ask you if you have ever asked the Lord if He wants you in China, or in some other land. There is such a need for nurses, as well as doctors, in China. 455

455 CIM, China’s Millions (Australasian Edition), Vol. XXIX, No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, November 1903
Establishment tables place her as at 1 January at Yang-chau, Kiang-su in 1904, where she studied the language, at Chen-yuan, Kwei-chow in 1905, at Tsen-i Fu, Kwei-chow in 1906 (though she wrote from there on 17 January 1905), and thereafter, as Mrs Douglas Pike (they married during 1906), at Tuhshan, Kweichow from 1907 through 1909. They were to spend 23 years together in Kweichow, mostly either at Tuhshan, which by 1910 had a dispensary, or Anshun, which by 1920 had a hospital, and during that time she had many opportunities to put both her nursing and her evangelistic skills into practice "(...) tending to the health and ministering to the souls of the Chinese."

As early as 17 January 1905, writing from Tsen-i-fu, Kweichow, Louisa was able to report,

The Lord has given me opportunities since coming here of helping a few poor women in sickness, and this gives us opportunities for revisiting them and telling the Gospel." 457

Louisa also travelled paths where no European had travelled before. From Tuh-shan on 21 October 1905, she wrote as follows:

Coming here, we came by a route which foreigners have not before travelled, and ... one passed through numbers of small towns and villages day by day and remembered that ... the large majority had probably never heard the sound of the Gospel

456 Her son, Walter Pike, when I interviewed him on 6 December 1994, attested to her having used her nursing skills throughout the period she spent in China.

In 1914, she and her husband became involved in providing medical assistance to a young man named Hsu. Mr Pike recounted the story thus:

Last year he and some others were taking opium into the adjoining Province of Kwangsi, and in spite of the fact that they had official escort, they were attacked and robbed. Some were killed, and some were seriously wounded, and this young man had a miraculous escape. He was wounded in three places by bullets from magazine rifles... One bullet grazed the abdomen, one grazed the shoulder near the neck, and the third went through the right arm at the muscle. His arm was not broken, but he had a nasty wound. They asked us to undertake his case, and under the blessing of God he made steady progress towards recovery. While dressing his wounds we tried to avail ourselves of every opportunity to make him see that his recovery was due to the special interposition of God, and ... the Lord has apparently opened his heart ... \(^{469}\)

Her husband was killed by brigands in the south of Kweichow on or about 14 September 1929, and her children Allison (also a trained nurse) and Walter (a pharmacist), came to China as CIM missionaries shortly thereafter. Louisa died in 1954.


\(^{469}\) CIM, *China's Millions, Australasian Edition*, Vol. XL., No. 8, CIM, Melbourne, 1 August 1914, p. 63
The more than a quarter of a century which Louisa Pike (née Boulter) spent in China provided her with great scope for exercising both her nursing and her evangelistic skills, and her contribution to the work of the CIM in China must be judged to have been a significant one. Her nursing training added another dimension to the evangelical work which her husband, Douglas Pike, was able to perform in Tuhshan and Anshun, Kweichow. Theirs was an impressive joint effort. Her achievement in raising two children who went into the CIM mission field must also be accorded some importance.

The Nursing Contribution of Alice Thomson

Alice Craig Thomson of Collingwood, Victoria, first applied to the CIM on 30 September 1892, but her application did not proceed. She applied again on 1 July 1895, was accepted on 14 August 1895 and sailed for China on 31 October 1895.

The CIM's China's Millions for October 1895 described her as a trained nurse, and said that her hospital experience would "prove invaluable in China". ⁴⁷³

Establishment tables place her studying at Yang-chau, Kiang-su as at 1 January 1896, at Si-hsiang, Shen-si in 1897 and 1898, and as Mrs Oliver Burgess at Hsing-an, Shen-si from 1899 to 1917. The Burgess arrived in Melbourne on furlough in November 1900 during the Boxer strife, and sailed for China again in the "Australian" on 7 December 1901. They took another furlough in 1910-1911.

During her time at Hsing-an, Alice had ample opportunity to exercise her nursing skills. One example was contained in

⁴⁷³ Vol. 3, No. 10, CIM, Melbourne, October 1895
a letter from her husband of September 1903, excerpts from which follow:

A Tao-t'ai [senior government official] ... called upon us, and ... one of his escort carelessly discharged his rifle at our door. The bullet ploughed ... through the calf of a little boy's leg ... The official was furious, and ordered the soldier to be beheaded at our door. I examined the wound, and begged the official not to kill the man. He consented, and allowed us to attend to the boy. We took him in and kept him for two months, and saved both life and leg [emphasis mine].

Alice is noted putting her nursing skills into practice again two years later. A party of missionaries and helpers from Hsingen-fu, Shen-si which included Alice, her husband, their children and Lily Pearce, decamped to Lu-shan Mountain (about 4000 feet above the plain or 6000 feet above sea level, also in Shen-si) between 28 June and 5 September 1905 to escape the intense summer heat on the plain. In relation to their stay there Alice wrote,

Though in so remote a place the Lord soon gave us opportunity for work. We attended to about 100 sick cases. Ague was very prevalent, and we dressed the decayed legs and feet of two men, one of whom had been so for ten years, and the other for five years. Numbers both of men and women came daily, some from long distances. ... Many wanted medicine, others bought books and all

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listened well to the preaching." 472

Both Alice and her husband died in 1934, having given more than two decades of their lives to CIM service in China.

Alice Thomson utilised her nursing skills while with the CIM in China during a period exceeding twenty years, and provided invaluable support for her husband, Oliver Burgess, one of the CIM’s leading evangelists, in the opening and sustaining of the CIM post at Hsing-an, Shensi. Her contribution to the CIM’s medical and evangelistic endeavours was significant.

The Nursing Work of Lilian Emma Fletcher

Lilian Emma Fletcher, born 17 February 1903 to devout Christian parents involved in farming and grazing activities at "Walteela", Wagga, first applied to the CIM on 1 March 1926, but her health failed and her application did not proceed. She came in contact with the CIM again in 1931/2, by which stage she had qualified as a nursing sister at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children in Camperdown, NSW, had undertaken a Bible correspondence course, and had worked at Epworth Hospital, Erin St, Richmond, Victoria, being able to report that it had been several years (1928) since her health had last broken down. She was accepted, and sailed for China on 1 October 1932, arriving at the Yangchow Training Home on 18 November 1932, and leaving on 10 February 1933 having made good progress in the language and having been judged best suited for nursing among women and children. 473


473 Personal file for L E Fletcher 1 March 1926 et seq
Her Health Statement of Missionaries on Furlough for 1932-1940 placed her, subsequent to language training, at Shanghai Hospital for four months, Chefoo Boys’ School for one year, Chefoo Hospital for three years, Kuwo, Shansi for six months, Linfen Hospital, Shansi for six months, Fenghsien, Shensi for four months and Langchung Hospital, Szechwan for 15 months. Throughout this eight year period she was mainly engaged in nursing work. The remainder of this period was spent on rest and recreation: At Chefoo she was entitled to two months’ holiday every second year, and she spent these breaks visiting inland China and Japan; in Shansi she took five weeks at Sutaoho one Summer and in Szechwan she took five weeks at Sintiens, both “vacations” having been mainly spent on language study. Following a month’s bout of typhoid in April 1940, she took her first furlough, leaving China on 6 June 1940, arriving home on 30 June 1940 and taking her arrival medical examination on 17 September 1940. Her furlough was due to expire in July 1941, and she returned to China after her departure medical examination on 13 June 1941.

Her Health Statement of Missionaries on Furlough for 1941-46 placed her at the CIM Hospital, 1531 Sinza Road, Shanghai for 18 months, the Missionary Home at 174 Pefung Road, Shanghai for 14 months, and the Civil Assembly Centre at 1974 Lincoln Avenue, Shanghai for 16 months. Her main activity in the 1941-46 period was nursing and she usually spent her four weeks a year holiday breaks undertaking language study.

Despite being interned by the Japanese in Shanghai, she was able to continue her nursing until repatriated in October 1945. She was back in Australia by 2 April 1946, when she had her arrival medical examination, and remained there until at least 11 December 1947 when she took her departure
medical examination.

A 1981 reference 474 reports as follows:

Miss Lilian Fletcher was a nurse at Chefoo [Shantung] 1933-37 [where the CIM had a mission station, hospital, sanatorium and boys', girls' and preparatory schools], and also Matron at Cornford House [Tunbridge Wells, England 475 ] for 20 years with Margaret Weller. She is always at the Melbourne Reunions and takes a keen interest in all Chefusians.

Then 78, living in Melbourne, and unmarried, Lilian was still mentally active and able to look back on a long and successful nursing career which included a period (of two decades - see below) in China with the CIM.

Lilian died on 11 December 1992 in her ninetieth year. Excerpts from The Chefoo Magazine obituary, written by Ruth Metcalf, who had been a Chefusian from 1930-41, appear below:

LILIAN FLETCHER Nurse at the B.S. [Boys' School] and hospital 1933-36. Lilian gave herself in service to others and her Lord and was promoted to Higher Service 11 December 1992 aged 91 years. Well done Lilian.

Part of the time at the B.S. and hospital both Lilian and Mary Preedy (Howie) were needed, to


475 Ibid., p. 36
combat a severe epidemic of measles and influenza combined. Both nurses succumbed to influenza, fortunately Lilian’s twin Florence Lunn was visiting and able to help out. Lilian was transferred to Shensi in 1936 till she left China in 1952 [. She] proved God’s faithfulness. First when the Japanese took over the hospital in Shensi - then travelling through war torn China - interned by the Japanese in Shanghai - finally held in house arrest by the Communists. ... I know of more than one M.K. [missionary kid] in England who is grateful for the loving care she gave their mums in Cornford House 1953-1973. In retirement she has continued serving others. 1992 she developed leukemia and died peacefully. 476

Lilian was a member of the Wesley Uniting Church in Frankston after her return to Australia from the UK. 477

The Nursing and Evangelistic Work of Kathleen Davies

Born of missionary parents on 17 September 1908 (her father was Charles Freeman Davies of Western Australia who sailed for China in September 1904 and retired in 1929), Kathleen Letitia Davies attended Chefoo Schools from 1912 (when aged 4!) to 1925 where she was known as a gifted pianist. During that time she was converted - on 12 March 1917 when eight years of age. After leaving school, where she was educated up to Oxford Senior level, she came to Australia with her parents and began nursing training. She obtained two nursing certificates during her four years of training, and

476 Dorothy Cox (Ed), The Chefoo Magazine. Chefoo Schools Association, Colchester, Essex, UK, Summer 1993, pp 55-56

477 Ibid., p. 30
followed that up with six months of obstetrical nursing. She also obtained the MBI diploma.

Following her application to the CIM, in which she identified as a Queenslander, a Baptist, and one who had become convinced of a call to China by gradual conviction, she was accepted in April 1934 and sailed for China on 12 September 1934.

After six months at the language training school, and a period as School Nurse at Chefoo, she went to Yunnan where she met and married Gilbert L Moore, another Australian CIM missionary, a Victorian who had sailed to China on 22 September 1934. She carried out nursing and evangelical work there before they took their first furlough in 1941, but, in part because of her husband’s ill-health, they did not return to China, and they officially retired in 1945, she briefly rejoining the CIM/OMF in 1965-67 as hostess in the Melbourne Mission Home. Her husband studied for the Methodist ministry and had the care of various churches until his death in 1952.

During her retirement, Kathleen spent a year transcribing "Daily Light", a collection of daily Bible readings, into Braille. This may well have been at least partially inspired by her own situation, as she suffered from impaired eyesight in her last years so that, to her sorrow, she was unable to read music. After experiencing prolonged ill-health and several falls, Kathleen died on 6 November 1986 after cancer surgery.

Kathleen contributed almost a decade of her life to the nursing and evangelistic work of the CIM/OMF, seven years of which were served in China and two in Australia as hostess in the Melbourne Mission Home. Her contribution to
the work of the CIM/OMF was varied and important.

The Nursing and Evangelistic Work of Mary Allison Pike

Mary **Allison** Pike undertook important nursing, secretarial and evangelistic work for the CIM in a missionary career which spanned over thirty years and took in the Chinese and south-east Asian missionary fields.

Mary **Allison** Pike was born in Tuhshan, Kweichou, China on 1 January 1907 of missionary parents. She was educated up to the Senior Oxford School Certificate, offered at Chefoo (Shantung) Schools, then undertook three years' nursing training at the Alfred Hospital and six months at the Women's Hospital, Melbourne, emerging as a double certificate nurse. She also studied at the Melbourne Bible Institute. She was associated with the Nurses' Christian Movement in Melbourne, and Miss M I Burbury, the then Secretary of that Branch, was one of her referees when she later applied to the CIM. She was of Baptist persuasion. As a child in China she contracted malaria, and at 13 typhus which laid her low for three weeks: such health hazards were commonly encountered by missionary children in the China of those times.

Allison applied to the CIM on 20 February 1930, her father, Douglas F Pike, having been killed by brigands in the south of Kweichou on or about 14 September 1929, only 5 months previously, and her mother (Louisa Pike née Boulter) then still residing at Anshun, Kweichou. She was accepted by Council to sail in 1930, and did so by SS "Nellore" on 13 September of that year. Her brother, Walter Lindsay Pike, was to go out two years later on 24 September 1932.

She entered the language training home in Yangchau on 16
October 1930 and left it on 13 April 1931, having passed her first examination. After two years in the field, she married Rowland Butler, another Australian missionary, in 1933, and they had four children, the last born in March 1947. Although, accordingly, much of Allison’s time was given to raising a family (she had assistance from Chinese servants, however, and various of the children were at times away in boarding schools), she still found time for evangelistic, nursing and secretarial work.  

Her postings included the Kweichou stations of Tuyun (October 1938 to June 1940), where there was a dispensary, Anshun (June 1940 to March 1941), Tuyun again (March 1941 to December 1941), where there was a hospital, and Kweiyang (December 1941 to December 1944). In the face of Japanese advances, Allison and the children were then evacuated into India, while her husband remained in China as Chinese Secretary of the Australian Legation. By January 1945, Allison and children were in Calcutta where Allison received some minor but overdue medical treatment prior to their return to Australia, where furlough reports place her from 28 August 1945. The elder children attended school for two terms at Kalimpong while in India.

She spent 18 months in Australia before the family returned to China in 1947, remaining there until 1951. Her husband was made Assistant Home Director in late 1951, and became responsible for the evacuation of missionaries from China in the face of growing Communist hostility, as well as for the setting up of new headquarters in Singapore and a change of CIM focus from China to the south-east Asian

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478 Personal file - furlough report of 28 August 1945

479 Her brother, Walter Pike, whom I interviewed on 6 December 1994, said that Allison’s nursing work was largely confined to the period prior to the Kweiyang posting.
region. Allison is placed in Singapore in 1957 and 1960 by furlough reports. Her husband had become responsible for the region covering Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Allison's years with the CIM accordingly amounted to some three decades, about half of which was spent in China. Her contribution to the CIM's nursing, administrative support and evangelistic endeavours in that time was ongoing and important.

The Nursing, Evangelistic and Secretarial Support Work of Ethel Potter

Ethel Potter performed nursing, evangelistic and secretarial work for the CIM in a career which spanned over two decades.

Ethel Potter of Geelong, Victoria, born 1876, trained with Mrs Warren for some time and became a certified nurse. She first applied to the CIM on 6 October 1896 but was deferred for two years on 10 February 1897. She reapplied at the expiration of this period but was declined on 13 March 1901 owing to an unfavourable medical report. She applied again three years later and, her medical report being satisfactory this time, she was accepted at the 12 October 1904 Council meeting, and sailed for China from Sydney on the "Australian" on 23 November 1904.

She was at study in Yangchau, Kiangsu as at 1 January 1905, at Lai-an, Anhwei in 1906, at Kutsingfu, Yunnan in 1907, at Talifu, Yunnan in 1908 and, as Mrs W J Embery, at Tengyueh, Yunnan in 1909 and 1910, Talifu, Yunnan in 1911, where there was then a dispensary, on furlough in 1912 and 1913, then at Tengyueh, Yunnan from 1914 to 1917, Chefoo 1918, where there was a hospital, Yuwuchen, Shansi in 1919, and
thereafter in the Financial Department at Shanghai, Kiangsu from 1920 through 1926 apart from a furlough in Australasia in and about 1923.

As early as 22 July 1905, Ethel was involved in medical work at Lai-an, An-huei. She reported then as follows:

I get as much medical work as I can manage. The people have been coming in crowds since 7.30 this morning, old and young with all sorts and kinds of diseases; some very serious and others not. Nearly all the diseases are due to neglect and dirt, and some of them increased by the queer treatment of their native doctors. 480

Ethel's husband, who had come out from England in 1901, was appointed Treasurer of the Mission in 1934, they went on furlough to Australia in 1940, and he subsequently served there as Home Director for Australasia until 1 June 1946. He was Prayer Secretary until May 1950. Ethel supported him in all these activities. He died on 25 July 1962.

In addition to the work described above, Ethel was involved in parenting, and two daughters of hers, Doris M Embery and Winifred E Embery, were later to go out to China as CIM missionaries.

While her nursing qualifications no doubt were occasionally called into practice while she was in Shanghai, her main work there was financial, and most of her nursing was done as an accompaniment to evangelical work pursued in Anhwei, Yunnan and Shansi over a period of fourteen years. This

constituted, however, a noteworthy contribution to the CIM's medical evangelistic work in China. Ethel died in 1963.

The Hospital and Evangelistic Work of Ada Elliott

Ada Elliott carried out important hospital and evangelical work with the CIM in a missionary career which spanned 24 years.

Ada Alpha Elliott, born 28 January 1908 in Alexandra, Victoria, and of Anglican persuasion, attained Merit level at State School then went to work at Foy and Gibsons as a machinist. Having been converted in February 1930, she first made enquiries concerning the CIM on 5 January 1931, at which stage she was due to go into the Melbourne Bible Institute (MBI) in February of that year. When she made further enquiries on 15 March 1934, she had completed her studies with MBI and gone on to study nursing obstetrics at the Women's Hospital in Melbourne from 1 July 1933 to 6 February 1934, emerging as a midwifery nurse at the expiration of that period. In his referee report in relation to her, C H Nash, the Principal of the MBI observed,

Her further training as a nurse adds considerably to her effective value as a missionary. 461

She was accepted by the CIM in May 1934 and sailed for China on 12 September 1934.

She arrived at the Kiangtu training home on 18 October 1934 and left on 30 April 1935. She subsequently served at the

461 Personal File for Candidate No. 856, Ada Alpha Elliott, commencing 6 April 1934
Szechwan stations of Wanhsien for 5 months, Liangshan, where there was an orphanage, for 6 months, Tienkiang for 15 months, Kaishtien for 3 months, Tashien for 2 years and Paoning for 3 years nine months. Apart from domestic duties, she performed evangelistic and hospital work in the period 1935 to 1943. She married Mr Leslie C Stead, who had arrived in China from London in 1935, while they were both stationed at Paoning where he was Hospital Business Manager. She subsequently bore two children, on 20 April 1941 and 16 November 1942. For local recreation leave purposes she took 6 weeks away from her station annually from 1935 to 1940 inclusive and 3 months away in 1942, evidently accompanied by her husband in August 1936, 1937, 1940 and for the three months in 1942.

On 19 August 1943, John R Sinton, then Acting Deputy China Director of the CIM, wrote from Chungking a report on Mr and Mrs L C Stead as they proceeded to Australia on furlough. In part it said,

Since marriage they have served the Paoning Hospital with great acceptance. ... They will be welcomed back to the field, and I am sure to Paoning, with the utmost cordiality when the Lord allows them to return. 432

Ada continued as a member of the CIM until her retirement in 1958.

In a career with the CIM which spanned 24 years, Ada had ample opportunity to apply expertise she had acquired in the Women's Hospital in Melbourne to CIM hospital work in Szechwan, and in the MBI to evangelistic work in that

province, thus being enabled to make a creditable contribution to the CIM's medical evangelistic effort in China.

The Nursing Contribution of Dorothy Pocklington

Dorothy Pocklington made a valuable contribution in the CIM medical field from late 1943 until the Communist takeover of China in 1949/50.

Dorothy Pocklington, born 12 July 1911, a nurse of Toora, Victoria, and of Methodist persuasion, was interviewed in connection with her interest in becoming a CIM missionary on 20 August 1940 and was accepted on 17 September 1940. The matter did not immediately proceed, however, and the CIM Council at its meeting of 15 July 1941 made the following remarks:

... Miss D Pocklington would not complete her maternity course till November ... Council was emphatically of the opinion that she should complete her course of training before sailing.

She subsequently sailed for China on 5 October 1943, and married Mr G F Tarrant, another Australian missionary, while there. She had a number of opportunities to exercise her nursing skills in China, more particularly before but also to a lesser extent after marriage and motherhood (they had three children), and made a limited but nonetheless valuable contribution in this sphere.

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Minutes of the Melbourne Council of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand, 15 July 1941
The Nursing Contribution of Edith Neville

Born in Buckinghamshire, England on 8 June 1909, but raised in Brisbane from 1912, Edith Irene Neville, of the Brethren denomination, was converted at a Brethren meeting aged 11. Her theological views were fundamentalist and aligned with the Open Brethren section of the Brethren denomination. She received a State School education to Merit standard before spending 9 months at a Grammar School as a result of having gained a scholarship. She proceeded to office work for 19 months, spending six months at a business college, then went nursing. She received four years formal nursing training, qualifying as an SRN (General and Midwifery), before entering the Melbourne Bible Institute in February 1935 and remaining there for over a year, becoming Senior Student. Following her application to the CIM, she was accepted in May 1936 and sailed to China per SS "Nellore" in September 1936. She entered the Kiangtu, Kiangsu language training centre on 17 October 1936 and left it on 2 April 1937, being deemed best suited for nursing and women's work.

She was at Chenyuan, Kweichow for six months and Anshun, Kweichow for 5½ years involved in hospital work and provincial nursing. She was also a keen evangelist. She had few breaks from these forms of work, only a rest of one month after an illness in 1939, two weeks in the country at a tribes conference in November 1940 and a trip to Kopu tribeland in September 1942. A bad bout of diptheria meant that she was unable to work full-time for about 12 months afterwards.

She took a furlough in Australia in 1943/44, her arrival medical examination taking place on 24 June 1943 and her departure examination on 3 April 1944. She had completed
her Fourth Section in the Chinese language as at 8 November 1941, but it was not until 1 June 1949 that she was granted her Senior Missionary Certificate (Women), gender-based training distinctions noted earlier in this dissertation apparently still pertaining. As at 9 November 1946 she hoped to take up tribal work as a medical missionary.

Following the taking over of China by the Communists she worked for the CIM in South and East Malaya, notably at Sadang New Village, and also spent time in New Guinea. She retired at age 65.

Edith Neville thus contributed many valuable years of nursing and evangelical work to the CIM effort in China and South-east Asia.

The Nursing Contribution of Freda Eipper

Freda Jessie Eipper, born 30 May 1887 at Gundy, near Scone NSW, daughter of Mr F S Eipper of Willow Tree and Later Naremburn NSW, a Presbyterian of conservative views converted at a mission and baptised by immersion, applied to the CIM on 18 December 1912, was accepted, and sailed for China on 7 January 1914. Educated to Junior University Certificate level, she had subsequently undertaken nursing training at the General Hospital, Goulburn, NSW and had qualified as a general nurse by 12 September 1913. One of her referees commented that "Her training as a nurse ... should prove of great use to her in medical work" and her 1913 medical examiner recommended her as "distinctly above the average, and specially suitable ... as [a] trained nurse".

Freda had only been in the field for three years when she married Mr J W Tomkinson (a CIM missionary but not
Much of Freda's time was given to housekeeping and station work amongst the women, particularly in the period September 1933 to 8 July 1941, in support of her husband who was engaged in station and business work, and it was principally while on local rest and recreation leave for five to six weeks each year at Kikungshan, the summer sanatorium in Honan, that her nursing skills were called for, as she was expected, not so much to have a holiday as a change, and to keep house for all the resident missionaries while she was located there.

Stations she served at in the period September 1933 to 1939 were Shenkiu, Siangcheng and Hwaiyang (all in Honan) and in the period 1939 to June 1941, Chungking, Szechwan. She and her husband were on furlough in Australia from 8 July 1941 to August 1942. She remained with the CIM until her retirement in 1961.

The Nursing Contribution of Elizabeth Herbert

Elizabeth Cameron Herbert was born on 17 March 1905 in Chungking, Szechwan, daughter of the Australian CIM missionary Walter T Herbert who had gone out in September 1898 and was to die in 1946. Her mother was from Glasgow. She applied to the CIM from Kew, Victoria on 31 March 1934, was accepted, and sailed for China on 12 September 1934. Educated at the CIM Schools, Chefoo, Shantung, she had also received Melbourne Bible Institute and nursing training through the latter of which she attained an SRN. She entered the Kiangtu training home on 31 October 1934 and left on 12 December 1934 making average progress in the language and being deemed best suited to nursing. During the seven years she spent in China, she spent 16 months at
Shanghai, over a year at Suancheng, Anhwei, two years at Chefoo, Shantung, and 3 months at Hankow, mainly pursuing nursing throughout the whole period. She married the Australian CIM missionary Stanley Eaton, becoming his second wife, but was widowed before she went on furlough in late 1941. She retired later that year.

For about seven years Elizabeth Herbert performed nursing duties in China, thus making a valuable contribution to the CIM's medical effort in that country.

The Nursing Contribution of Doris Hunt

Doris Freda Hunt was born in Mornington, Victoria on 11 October 1909. She applied to the CIM on 11 July 1936, being then resident at the Melbourne Bible Institute's Angas College, Prahran and in the 5th term of her MBI studies. A State School Merit Certificate holder, Triple Certificate Nurse, and a Presbyterian with fundamentalist views, she was accepted, and sailed for China on 17 September 1936.

She entered the Kiangtu training home on 17 October 1936 and left on 13 April 1937, being adjudged as progressing fairly well with the language and best suited for nursing. She had passed four language examinations as at 19 October 1942. After leaving the training home she was posted to Kaifeng for 8 months, Kikungshan for 6 months, and various other Honan stations varying from a few days to a few months. She spent 8 months as a nurse in the hospital at Kaifeng, and the remainder of her time prior to furlough in September 1944 as a district nurse, primarily to missionaries, undertaking a little evangelistic work in between cases, showing keenness, when not nursing, to be amongst the women. One of her superiors described her in the following terms: "As a nurse she never spares herself
and is indefatigable." Upon returning from furlough in May 1947 and up until the time of her evacuating China in February 1951, she performed nursing duties at the Shanghai Nursing Home for Missionaries. Upon her return to Victoria, she took a position nursing at St Andrew's Hospital, Cathedral Place, East Melbourne, and resigned from the Mission in the same year.

Doris Hunt accordingly spent some 11½ years performing nursing duties for the CIM and made a significant contribution in this field.

*The Nursing Contribution of Ilma Whitelock*

Ilma Isabel Whitelock of Prahran, Victoria was born in Epsom, Bendigo on 27 October 1909. A Methodist fundamentalist, a double certificate nurse who had trained at Bendigo and Northern District Base Hospital, a Licentiate of the London College of Music in violin and an Melbourne Bible Institute student, she applied to the CIM in March 1939, was accepted, and sailed for China in September 1940. Her postings between 1940 and 1945 were in West China — to Sisian for 7 months, Chengtu for 7 months, Hanchung and Lintsi 7 months, Ninkiang 1½ years, Kwangyuan 8 months and Chengtu for 4½ months. She married the Australian CIM missionary G H Malins prior to 30 March 1943 and they worked Ningkiaqiang and later posts together.

In her work up until 30 March 1943, when she was granted her Junior Missionary Certificate, she was primarily involved in study and nursing work plus some children's work at Ninkiang. Her Junior Missionary report said that she was "Very willing to use her medical skill to help others." After considerable delay, she was granted her Senior Missionary Certificate on 1 June 1949, and the
report in that connection of over two years earlier on 27 March 1947 carried the note: "Is a first class nurse." She had managed to keep up her nursing work despite the arrival of two children during her first 6½ years in China.

She retired from the CIM in 1951, having made an important contribution in the CIM's nursing field in China. 484

The Nursing Contribution of Ruth Draffin

Ruth May Draffin, a second generation CIM missionary born 13 May 1918 in Changteh, Hunan applied to the CIM on 25 March 1946, was accepted on 16 July 1946 and sailed for China on 19 September 1947. A double certificated nurse, and Melbourne Bible Institute diplomate, she served in Anking, Anhwei for 9 months, Shangjao, Kiangsi for 7 months, Nanchang, Kiangsi for one year 10 months and Hong Kong for 10 months before leaving China for Japan and serving at Karuizawa for 2 years one month. During this 6 year period prior to furlough, she engaged in language study, nursing activities, housekeeping for adults and children and home visiting. Her language school report of 14 December 1947 mentioned that she was "Interested in children's work and is a good nurse", while the recommendation for her Junior Missionary Certificate (granted 23 November 1949; her Senior Certificate was granted on 3 June 1954) remarked that she

has helped in giving injections, etc., to the missionaries when needed ... She seems capable as a nurse, and evidently enjoys nursing.

She married Mr W G Searle, a CIM but not Australian

484 Personal file of Ilma Isabel Whitecock, Candidate No. 899, applied to the CIM in March 1939
missionary, in April 1949, and their only child, Keith William Searle, was born on 1 January 1950. Her nursing activities were largely curtailed after her first couple of years in China, consequent upon the advent of marriage and a family, with her role ultimately changing to that of a CIM missionary home housekeeper where, nonetheless, her nursing skills were doubtless still practised from time to time. Nevertheless, in her first two years in China she was able to make a valuable contribution to the CIM’s medical work in that country, with an emphasis on keeping CIM missionaries fit for evangelistic and pastoral work. 485

The Nursing Contribution of Mildred Schrader

Mildred Florence Schrader, born 2 March 1916, Beecroft, New South Wales, applied to the CIM on 28 February 1945, was accepted, and sailed for China in May 1947. After being educated to Leaving Certificate standard, she had spent 8 years working in an office before undergoing training as an obstetric nurse from February 1943 to August 1944 at the Women’s Hospital, Crown Street, Sydney then as a mothercraft nurse at the Tresillian Mothercraft Home, Greycliffe Avenue, Vaucluse, taking out certificates in each of these areas of nursing. At the time she applied to the CIM she was pursuing private nursing of short-duration cases. One of her referees was the Women’s Superintendent of the Missionary and Bible College, Croydon, New South Wales who remarked that she "always secured good results in her examinations" and that she had had experience in "sick visitation".

Her language school report of 20 May 1947 noted in terms of the work for which she was best suited that she "Has had

485 Personal file of Ruth May Draffin, Candidate No. 940, applied to the CIM on 25 March 1946
much practical experience in children's and young people's work", while the report in connection with her Junior Missionary Certificate, which was granted on 11 May 1949, noted that she had undertaken

Some women's work and quite an interest in the Sunday School at Luhsien. Now she is happy in the general work at Suyung ... pretty good at Y[oung] P[eople's] work. She has some nurses' training.

She arrived back in Australia on 25 February 1951 after "normal evacuation from China", having been at the Kuling, Kiangsi language school for 3 months, at Luhsien, Szechwan for one year, at Suyung, Szechwan for 6 months, at Chungking for 6 months and at Kulin for 2 years, with her duties being generically described as "evangelistic", though it is clear that her mothercraft nursing qualifications and skills were being called into play in work amongst Sunday School pupils and other young people.

She underwent her departure medical examination on 10 December 1953 and arrived in Malaya on 26 February 1954 where she spent 4½ years at Sungei Way prior to furlough performing evangelistic and medical work with an emphasis, again, on work amongst the young, as well as considerable Bible-teaching work, at which she was also successful. Her Senior Missionary Certificate report of 23 July 1954 revealed that she had also spent some time as Superintendent's Secretary.

A woman of many talents, Mildred Schrader made a noteworthy contribution to the endeavour of the CIM both in China and Malaya, with an emphasis on medical and young people's
work. She married and became Mrs D Fleming. 466

The Nursing, Secretarial and Teaching Work of Ruth Weekly

Ruth Clayton Weekly was born in Stanmore, New South Wales on 27 August 1926. A fundamentalist Baptist, she applied to the CIM on 4 August 1947, was accepted, and sailed for China on 15 October 1948.

Educated to Intermediate Certificate at Fort Street Girls' High School, she subsequently undertook business training at the Metropolitan Business College, emerging with 45wpm typing and 100wpm shorthand ratings. Following her sitting for a bank examination, she gained employment with the Commonwealth Bank in Epping where she remained for about three years before entering the Sydney Bible Training Institute. She graduated from that institution after two years with a diploma, averaging 93% over all subjects during the two years. She then went on to complete an 18 months' course in obstetrics at The Women's Hospital, Crown Street, Sydney. In addition to the above qualifications, she also completed the three year Baptist Primary Teachers' Diploma, topping State and Commonwealth each year, and studied music (piano) for five years.

A brilliant and talented woman, her language school report noted that her examination mark was 92.2% and that she "seems to be an efficient and practical nurse (midwifery only)" and "should make good missionary of practical variety".

She was granted her Junior Missionary Certificate on 24

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466 Personal file of Mildred Florence Schrader, Candidate No. 941, applied to the CIM on 28 February 1945
November 1950 and the relevant report noted that she "Regularly teaches a young people's Bible Class in Chinese every Sunday", had spent some "months in Headquarters Financial Department Office during the summer vacation" and was "Gifted as a Bible teacher among the young ... She has had training in midwifery".

She married the Australian CIM missionary Robert Roy Ferguson in 1950 and they had at least four children, born between 1952 and 1964.

After leaving China with the Communist takeover and arriving back in Australia on 4 April 1951, she performed deputation work for six months between May and October 1952 before departing from Sydney for Thailand on 20 December 1953. She and her husband were to spend most of the next 15 years in Thailand with brief respite in Singapore and Australia. They resigned on 13 January 1969 for family reasons and she died on 17 May 1971.

Unfortunately Ruth's brief stay in China of only 2½ years gave her little opportunity to fully demonstrate her nursing, secretarial and teaching talents, but her skills appear to have been utilized to at least a limited extent while she was there.

The Nursing Contribution of Lucinda White

Lucinda Elizabeth White was born at Redland Bay, Queensland on 12 October 1918. She passed the Junior Public Examination of Queensland University and subsequently took out a Diploma in Professional Dressmaking. She also completed nursing training and undertook adult education courses in Psychology and Economic History. She held a position as Matron and Tutor at the Mothercraft Hostel,
Clayfield, Brisbane, before entering the Melbourne Bible Institute, where she had been for about 1½ years, and had finished four of the MBI Diploma’s six terms as at 14 April 1948. One of her referees, R Lockhart, wrote on 6 April 1948 that she had been ‘outstanding’ in the nursing profession.

A Baptist of conservative views, she applied to the CIM on 4 March 1948, was accepted on 12 May 1948, and sailed for China on 15 October 1948, arriving there on 13 November 1948.

She was engaged in study and nursing activities in her 2½ years in China, which fell between November 1948 and May 1951, being based in Shanghai for the whole of that period. She arrived back in Australia on 7 July 1951.

She was granted her Junior Missionary Certificate on 22 November 1950, the report of 13 October 1950 stating, inter alia, that "She is living among the Chinese, having a room in Bethel Hospital, where her life and services are appreciated as a missionary nurse … nursing is her work".

In February 1952 she married the CIM/OMF missionary Harold Wik, who served in Malaysia and also spent time in Singapore and North America in the period 1954-69. She herself was in Singapore from November 1951 to February 1952 then in Malaya from March 1952 to November 1954 where she worked in the Sungia Chuac Clinic, being granted her Senior Missionary Certificate on 28 October 1954.

However, the 2½ years she spent in Shanghai represented a notable contribution to the CIM’s medical efforts in China at that time.
Other Australian Nurses

In addition to the Australian nurses whose work for the CIM is described above, there were a few others who, though they spent brief periods in China, had very little opportunity to exercise their nursing skills while there.

One of these was Phyllis Adele Maddern, who sailed on 15 October 1948 and arrived back in Australia on 12 May 1951, having worked in China from November 1948 to March 1951, all of that period having been spent in Shanghai, where she did some nursing at the Headquarters Nursing Home, spent half a day a week nursing in the Gospel Hospital, held reading classes for servant women, studied, maintained pastoral contacts and shared responsibility for various meetings. She described her work as "Language study plus a little nursing". She spent 6 weeks in Hong Kong on her way home. A double-certificated nurse (General and Midwifery) her Junior Missionary Certificate Report of 13 November 1950 said that "She should make a very valuable contribution to any hospital", but the opportunities were scanty at that stage, with the Communists well in control, and it was a case of unfulfilled promise.

The same was true of Winifred Olive Worth, who sailed in May 1947 and retired from the CIM in 1952. Her main nursing activities involved nursing sick missionaries in between bouts of language study. She was otherwise engaged in leading morning prayers once a week, had a Sunday School for a few months, spoke at an English students' meeting twice a month, and attended cottage meetings. She was reckoned "a good young people's work[er] ... for younger children". A Triple Certificated Nurse, little use was made of her excellent nursing qualifications.
Shirley Millicent Cane was in a similar category. She sailed on 17 September 1949, being one of the so-called "forty-niners" who, as her Junior Missionary Certificate Report of 5 March 1952 pointed out, "never really got to a station". She spent 21 months, primarily on language study, in the hills at Chungking, Szechwan. She was assessed as best suited for "Nursing in institution", but, though she was a Double Certificated Nurse (General and Midwifery) she was unable to use her nursing skills to any extent in China, though she later went on to use them in Malaya.

Kathleen Elizabeth Watsford was another of the luckless "Nineteen Forty-Miners". She was a qualified Pre-school Mothercraft Nurse who had spent two years (1944-46) at "Mosgiel", Mont Albert Road, Surrey Hills in that capacity. She had attended Ormiston Girls' School to Intermediate standard, one of her subjects being Domestic Science, on which she later built her expertise by completing the first year of the Diploma Course in Cookery and Institutional Management at the Emily McPherson College of Domestic Economy. She also attended the Melbourne Bible Institute for 2½ years (1946-48), only one year of which was residential, and undertook the Inter-Varsity Fellowship (I.V.F.) Medical course some weeks before the Candidates' Course, sailing for China on 17 September 1949. One of her referees described her as coming from a "comfortable home background", and as being "well connected" and "well brought up" - "a real lady". Much of her time in China was spent at the Language School, Chungking, Szechwan, a spokesperson for which reported, inter alia, that she was a "homemaker" who "would make a lovely hostess", evidently having enjoyed the benefits of her culinary and social skills during her time there. She had also shown some potential for station work. However, she was back in Melbourne by 21 September 1951, having had little
opportunity to exercise her varied talents. She later went on to take charge of the CIM’s Mission Home at Cluny Road, Singapore, where she was reported as having "done a most wonderful job" in the hostess function.  

4.2.4.2 Educational

Australian women at Chefoo Schools

In perhaps no other field of CIM missionary endeavour did Australian missionary women outshine their menfolk so much as in the educational sphere. Nowhere is this more apparent than at the Chefoo Schools (Shantung) where the female representation between 1892 and 1922 was seven times that of the men’s. At this CIM institution, the children of missionaries and of local expatriates, many of whom went on to be missionaries themselves, received a Western education of very high standard, as well as a grounding in Western sports, Christianity, and British value systems.

Only one male Australian CIM missionary spent in excess of one year there, and that was Albert S Devenish, whom establishment tables show was at the Boys’ School from 1 January 1892 to 1895. The irrepressible Oliver Burgess, though seemingly not on staff, was briefly there on a visit, but revolutionised the school’s sporting life in that short time.

Australian women were well-represented at Chefoo, with seven in the above period, many of whom stayed for well over a decade.

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487 Personal file of Kathleen Elizabeth Watsford, Candidate No. 978, applied to the CIM on 27 October 1948
Miss Margaret E Davies, the first of the Australian women’s Chefoo educational contingent, was at the Boys’ School in 1896 and 1897.

One of the more illustrious of the women at the school was Anna Trudinger, who, unusually for a woman of the time, was a university graduate, with a B.A. to her credit. She was at the Girls’ School from 1899 to 1901 before leaving to marry the New Zealand missionary William R Malcolm. They then did evangelistic work in the interior for a decade before being appointed to the Boys’ School at the end of August 1912. It is recorded that “they did valuable work till 1924, when they returned to Australia”. 489

Anna’s sister, Dora Trudinger, appeared at the Chefoo Preparatory School from 1 January 1905 and remained there until 1920 except for a furlough in 1914-15. In 1911, owing to an outbreak of pneumonic plague in Chefoo, Dora Trudinger and Miss Umwin had charge of twenty-seven preparatory students for about two months in the CIM house in Chinkiang under the care of Dr and Mrs Cox. 489 She was held at the Boys’ School as at 1 January 1921 and was still there in 1922, having had a 17-year association with the Chefoo Schools at that stage.

Miss Ethelreada A Powell was at the Preparatory School as at 1 January 1905, but thereafter at the Chefoo Boys’ School, where she continued through 1922 but for a furlough in 1913-14.

Miss Eliza C Pearce was at the Boys’ School on 1 January

489 F Robert Joyce (Ed), The Chefoo Magazine, Chefoo Schools Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, December 1986, p. 20
489 Ibid., p. 20
1907, and remained there until 1912 before taking a
furlough in 1913 from which she did not return to the
school.

Mrs Arnott (née Mary E McCormack) was at the Preparatory
School as at 1 January 1906 and 1907. She remarried, to Mr
D Urquhart, in 1907, and worked in the interior until she
and her husband were posted to the Chefoo Sanatorium "pro-
tem" in 1915. He was then posted to the Chefoo Hospital,
while she was given a position back in the Preparatory
School which she occupied until at least 1 January 1917.
They were on furlough in 1919, and did not return to the
school.

Mrs Willett (née Florence Campbell) was at the Boys' School
in 1905 and 1906. Her husband became Secretary of Schools
in 1907 and 1908 and she was held on establishment with
him.

There were other Australian connections with the school.
Mrs T A P Clinton (née Baller), widow of an Australian
missionary, served in the Boys' School from 1910 to 1912,
at the Girls' School in 1913, and back at the Boys' School
from 1914 to 1922 with a furlough in 1919-20. Mrs W T
Herbert (née Livingston)) was at the Sanatorium from 1921
to 1922, and so was Mrs R L Mc Intyre (née Emma Spiller) in
1922. Mr and Mrs P O Olesen served at Chefoo in the period
1921 to 1931, with Mr Olesen supervising the asphalting of
the boys' and girls' quadrangles in 1931, Mrs Olesen
supervising the making of Guides' and Rangers' uniforms in
1931, and both allowing the use of their back premises for
a kitchen during the Girls' School rebuilding program in
the latter year. 490

490 Ibid., pp. 24 and 30
Ruth Catherine Porteous of Hawthorn, Victoria, who had been born in China of missionary parents, held a Trained Teacher’s Certificate (Domestic Arts), and had worked as a Teacher with the Victorian Education Department, arrived in Shanghai as a CIM missionary on 18 October 1940 and was soon posted to the Emergency Preparatory School, Kiating, where she showed great promise as headmistress, performing good work in the year or two she taught there according to the documentation accompanying the granting of her Junior Missionary Certificate on 18 November 1942. \(^{491}\) She married Harry Bailey, an Australian CIM missionary, and they were posted to Wuting and later Kunming so that she had no further opportunity to undertake formal teaching activities. Her work at Kiating, however, was much lauded. She retired from the Mission in 1952.

Schools for Chinese students

Schools for Chinese students were frequently an integral component of station work, with the emphasis on the children of Chinese Christians \(^{492}\), and were predominantly run by women missionaries. The students included Chinese women, most of whom were illiterate, and Chinese boys and girls, Chinese etiquette placing obstacles in the way of women teaching male adults. There were many boys’ schools, girls’ schools, and co-educational schools for the younger students run from the mission stations. These schools had as a primary aim the propagation of the gospel and the fostering of evangelistic desire amongst the students, but they typically taught the Chinese to read in their own language so that they could digest the Bible and other

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\(^{491}\) Personal file for Candidate No. 897, Ruth Catherine Porteous arrived China 18 October 1940

\(^{492}\) See, for example, the CIM's *China's Millions*, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1909, p. 31
Christian literature, follow hymns in the hymn books, and explain Christian literature to their fellows, so that a beneficial spin-off for those attending was literacy, a benefit which many Chinese accepted without also accepting the Christian trappings. Also taught was at least a smattering of geography, no doubt necessary to put the missionary and his/her Biblical stories in context, needlework (amongst the women - a drawcard per se which, however, brought them under the influence of the gospel) and music (hymn singing). They no doubt also inculcated some 'Western' ideas at the same time, either knowingly or unintentionally.

In the earlier days of the CIM and particularly from the end of the Manchu dynasty and into the late 1920s, the Chinese recognized that the mission schools were virtually the only avenue available whereby a Western-style education could be obtained, and attendances reflected this recognition. But as the tide of Chinese independence began to mount, secular schools offering Western-style education of similar standard, began to spring up that eventually took over the role previously played by mission schools, which began to rapidly diminish in importance as an arm of evangelism during the 1920s.  

Australian women featured prominently in this work.

Ethel Giles, who was transferred from Tsinchow, Kansuh to Kiehsiu, Shansi towards the close of 1910, was allotted, as

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493 As Lobenstine remarked of the period 1925-1935, "The number of elementary schools has dropped during the decade from 7,114 to 2,795, due to restrictions on religious teaching in schools, to the depression, and also to the development of good public schools in rural areas as well as in cities." Article by Edwin C Lobenstine, entitled China, in Joseph I Parker, Interpretive Statistical Survey of the World Mission of the Christian Church: Summary and Detailed Statistics of Churches and Missionary Societies, (New York: International Missionary Council, 1938), p. 278
her share of the work at the latter station, the Girls' Boarding School, which had opened only four years before, and at that stage comprised 20 students. The evangelical thrust of education in this school was evident in her statement -

Let me ask your prayers for this school, and for the girls, several of whom are bright Christians, while others are still undecided. 494

There was also possibly an element of preparation for marriage amongst the objectives of the school, as she remarks that "several girls have passed through, and are now married". 495

Other Australian Women Teachers

There were a number of fully qualified teachers who, for one reason or another, were not allotted teaching tasks when they came to China. One such was Dorothy Clare Cornelius, one of the luckless "Nineteen Forty-Niners" who "never really got to a station" because of the Communist takeover. Although having been through the Adelaide Teachers' College Secondary Course (2 years), having passed five Arts units at the University of Adelaide, having been a high school teacher with the South Australian Education Department and having studied at the Melbourne Bible Institute, after her arrival in China on 9 October 1949 she undertook no teaching, but spent 21 months at the Chungking Language School and four months in Hong Kong prior to going to Karuizawa, Japan. Here she undertook a further bout of


language training before undertaking student and Sunday School work at Shizunai, Hokkaido, and Teachers' Christian Fellowship work at other Japanese stations. She resigned on 3 June 1967 to take up teaching (including Japanese) back in South Australia. The 21 months she spent in China were virtually wasted, as they were spent mainly in acquiring the Chinese language, which she hardly used. Her teaching skills were only really drawn upon for mission purposes after she had acquired the Japanese language.

Esther Ruth White, though a trained State School Teacher who had attained Queensland's Senior Matriculation standard, had subsequently completed Philosophy I by external study through Queensland University, and had later, during 1947-48, studied at the Melbourne Bible Institute, was one of the hapless "Nineteen Forty-Niners" who "never really got to a station". Arriving in China on 9 October 1949, she spent 19 months at the Chungking Language School, and 4 months in Hong Kong before moving on to the Japanese missionary field where she showed herself to have "real gifts in teaching" and, inter alia, was engaged in Bible teaching and work amongst the young. Her teaching talents, however, owing to the political situation pertaining at the time, were not put to much use in China. 496

Bible Teaching

Bible teaching was looked upon by the CIM as a special branch of their educational activity, though those engaged in it often shared that task with a number of other time-consuming duties. It could take the form of lecturing in an institute especially set up for that purpose, or it might

496 Personal file of Esther Ruth White, Candidate No. 979, applied to the CIM 15 September 1948
consist of a week's crash course in Bible study conducted once a year at a station, with Chinese Christians coming in from surrounding outstations or other smaller centres of Christian worship to become more familiar with the Word. At other times it was the subject of classes conducted on particular evenings or at other times when the Chinese would be able to attend. It was, of course, a component of every aspect of evangelical work. Australian women played their part in this field also, and their contribution is discussed below.

The Bible-teaching Work of Ailsa Lumsden

Ailsa Jessie Lumsden, born Melbourne 1 November 1915 was accepted by the CIM and sailed for China in May 1947. A trained teacher who had taught at "Glamorgan" Preparatory Grammar School for Boys, Toorak, and at Presbyterian Ladies' College, East Melbourne, and one who had studied at the Melbourne Bible Institute, she was ably fitted for the work which the CIM allotted to her in China and, subsequently, the Philippines. After a couple of months (20 May 1947 to at least 1 July 1947) at the Huling Language School where she progressed well in the language and was deemed best suited for "General missionary work and Bible teaching", she spent a year in Hanchung (Shensi) and two years in Chengku (Shensi) engaged in language study, Sunday School, women's meetings, visiting and, as the report in relation to her Junior Missionary Certificate of 12 February 1949 observed, "Gives promise as a Bible teacher".

She was evacuated from China with the Communist takeover, arriving back in Australia on 13 March 1951, taking her arrival medical examination on 11 January 1952 and her departure (for the Philippines) examination on 9 January 1953. She arrived back in Australia to care for her mother
on 19 June 1955, having spent 2 years 3 months in the Philippines engaged in language study then teaching in Chinese Schools and conducting Bible classes including 15 months in Manila at the Westminster High School (Bible teaching), and a year in Cebu City. She was granted her Senior Missionary Certificate on 19 May 1954 on the strength of the work she had undertaken over 5 years in both China and the Philippines. 497

Ailsa Lumsden thus contributed three years of teaching service to the work of the CIM in China and a further period of over two years in the Philippines, with a particular emphasis on Bible teaching.

Johanna Lloyd

Johanna Williams (née Lloyd) provided an instance of the kind of Bible crash course mentioned above. The China's Millions of 1 June 1914 "Our Shanghai Letter" segment dated 2 April 1914 reported that

In Fukow, Honan, Mrs J E Williams recently held a Bible School for Christian women. Fourteen attended, and gave valuable help in preaching the Gospel at a large fair outside the East Gate, which was visited by crowds of people during the four days it lasted. Splendid opportunities were afforded for proclaiming the Divine message. Many books were sold, and tracts given away, which it is hoped will bear much fruit. 498

497 Personal file of Ailsa Jessie Lumsden, Candidate No. 942, applied to the CIM on 3 June 1946

498 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XL, No. 6, CIM, Melbourne, 1 June 1914, p. 45
Other Australian CIM Women Bible Teachers

Ivy May Dix undertook this kind of work from time to time in the period 1935 to 1945. Ilma Isabel Whitelock was also intermittently involved in this kind of work during the period 1940 to 1947 while in West China.

4.2.4.3 Orphanages and care of orphans

The care of orphans typically fell to women missionaries, and there are instances in the Chinese missionary literature of single women having simply taken over numbers of such children and brought them up as their own. At other times it was a joint wife and husband effort. At yet other times, there was a formal orphanage set up under the auspices of the Mission. In all such scenarios, Australians featured with prominence similar, and in some instances superior, to that of other national groups.

It was reported in the CIM's China's Millions (Australasian Edition) of 1 December 1908, for instance, that the Australian CIM missionary,

Mrs J. E. Williams [née Johanna Lloyd] is going to take up work in the Orphanage at Antung, Kiangsu. ... It is one outcome of the Famine Relief work carried on in that province last year and early this year.

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499 Personal file of Ivy May Dix, Candidate No. 739, applied to the CIM on 22 March 1925

500 Personal file of Ilma Isabel Whitelock, Candidate No. 899, applied to the CIM in March 1939


502 Vol. XXXIV, No. 12, CIM, Melbourne, 1 December 1908, p. 91
Having helped to set up the orphange, Johanna had moved on to Chowkiakow, Honan by 1 January 1910.

A letter from Miss F E McCulloch, an Australian CIM missionary stationed at Hokow, Kiangsi, provides examples of the kind of less formal adoptive arrangements which could be entered into.

We have to mourn the declension of some of the oldest professing Christians of this place. One has allowed her little grand-daughter to join a class for song-singing (which in heathen China means apprenticing her to a bad life). I am going to take the little girl (whether her grandmother is willing or not), and give her the chance of a Christian training. I think, too, I may have to take a blind girl of seventeen, who has been left destitute by the death of her father. And a poor hip-diseased boy wants me to adopt him, as nobody else wants him. ... The boy Early, who adopted me as his mother in 1897, is visiting me for a few days. ... As he came to me a little friendless beggar boy, I had the privilege of providing for his needs ... he is going to work with another boy of mine, who came to me soon after Early ... I have a young woman of twenty-seven who calls me Mother, because I released her from an unwelcome marriage engagement ...

It can be seen from the above extract that Ms McCulloch had several young people who enjoyed an adoptive relationship with her, and that the informal adoptive arrangement might

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be initiated by either party.

Mrs Mary Curtis-Waters, née McInnes, an Australian missionary, and her husband, B Curtis-Waters, were entrusted with the welfare of their Biblewoman's son Isaac, aged 11 years, when the Biblewoman, who was a widow, contracted a terminal illness. They looked after the child during her short illness and following her death. 504

By 1920, Rose Pemberton, of Paoning (Szechwan) had collected 13 children, ranging from 3 to 18 years of age, whom she cared for in her mission house. 505 By the time of her death from typhoid on 26 March 1931, she had taken in over a hundred orphans, who were being cared for at three different centres, Peh-miao-ch'ang, Ta-ni-shan and Tsien-fuh-ai. 506 These orphans included "four blind, four deaf and dumb, two or three mentally deficient, and one with useless arms" for whom the orphanages became permanent homes. 507

4.2.4.4 Relief work

Although Australian women did not feature as prominently in famine relief work as men like Oliver Burgess, they nonetheless played their part. Ivy May Dix, for example, after initial language study, was posted to Ningxia and Gansu (parts of what was previously Kansu) and later to


506 CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XLII, No. 9, CIM, Melbourne, 1 September 1931, p. 139

507 CIM, China's Millions, Vol. XLII, No. 5, CIM, Melbourne, 1 May 1931, p. 72
Qinghai/Chinghai (an autonomous region once part of Tibet) in northwest China which was usually a botanist's paradise but which also experienced famine years, and it is recorded that "At these times she and her fellow workers, were more than busy with famine relief". Such work helped to gain the respect of the Chinese, and no doubt drew in a number of converts.

Elsie Parr was loaned to the Shanghai Christian Federation, a Chinese organization formed to administer war relief, in connection with the China International Relief Association, following the commencement of the undeclared Sino-Japanese war in 1937. One hundred thousand refugees had gathered in Shanghai, 12,000 in one camp alone. Amerding reports that

It was one of Miss Parr's specific functions to improve the dietary conditions which obtained for expectant mothers and very small children. Using special funds supplied by the Mission she was able to supplement the limited ration allocated to the babies and mothers ... Another task assigned her was the distribution of clothing and bedding ... Miss Parr was further able to advise the medical staff about individuals needing treatment and was in addition instrumental in placing over a hundred orphans in private Christian homes."

508 Personal file of Candidate No. 739, Ivy May Dix, applied to CIM 22 March 1925

4.2.4.5 Elevation of the Status of Women

A feature article in OMF International’s Pray for China Fellowship for February 1996, 510 pays tribute to the role which the missionaries played in elevating the status of women in Chinese society. At times this was no doubt unintentional, occurring through missionary example, but at other times it happened because of concerted efforts by missionaries to change some aspect of Chinese society. 511 As the women tended to interact with the women, and the men with the men, most of these reforms affecting women can be laid at the door of female missionaries. The article reports as follows:

Even before the Communist revolution in 1949, traditional Confucian values which degraded women in a patriarchal society were being eroded. Missionaries were in the forefront of attempts to increase their standing and pioneered female

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510 Jean McCown Hawkes saw much of the impetus towards enhancement of the role of women in Chinese society as coming from the YWCA, which gave them valuable experience in leadership and in facilitating social change. The first YWCA in China was a student association established in the Hangchow Southern Presbyterian Mission Girls’ School in 1890, so that the Chinese YWCA was founded as a result of missionary enterprise, even though its attachments to Christianity became more and more diluted as time went on. (See Jean McCown Hawkes, Women in a Changing China: the YWCA, Senior Thesis, University of Michigan, April 5, 1971.) Ayscough ascribes to the YWCA much of the impetus towards mothers’ clubs, girls’ clubs, adult schools, women’s schools, training classes for manual work and house economics in the country, the “striking growth of athletics among girls, an innovation entirely alien to indigenous tradition” and “measures to ameliorate the conditions of women and children laboring in factories”. (See Florence Ayscough, Chinese Women Yesterday and To-day, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937), pp. 85-107.) Several Australian CIM women had had associations with the YWCA in Australia, and, while they are not, apart from Elizabeth Swanton, recorded as having played an active part in YWCA activities in China, they no doubt carried with them YWCA influences which affected their interactions with Chinese women with whom they made contact. However, the Australian CIM missionary Faith Box, later Mrs Nicolas Viloudaki, was active, following her retirement from the CIM in 1900, in charity work in the Shanghai YWCA. - Letter of 6 October 1995 to the author from her granddaughter Margaret Leaf, p. 1.
education. The first school for women was opened by the church as early as 1844 in Ningbo. By the time of the First World War Christian colleges for women had been set up in Beijing, Puzhou and Nanjing, well before the government acted to set up similar institutions. Missionaries were successful in helping to eradicate the cruel custom of foot-binding which crippled women physically, but also symbolised their bondage in a male-dominated society. The Christian Gospel with its high view of marriage and the family also helped stamp out the evils of child-brides and concubinage.

Such themes are examined in considerable detail by Pui-Lan Kwok in her *Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927*, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992). Though her source material is primarily derived from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, she also takes within her ambit the writings of a number of Chinese Christian women, producing some revealing insights into their role in Christian congregations and their involvement in social reforms. She applauds the educational opportunities made available to Chinese women through mission schools, and the organizational skills which they were able to develop through involvement in church affairs and carry into the wider community. She acknowledges the contributions of missions and Chinese Christians to anti-footbinding and anti-concubinage movements, health campaigns to improve hygiene and child welfare, the care of female students and workers in cities, and the protection of women at home from abuses arising from alcohol and opium misuse.

She sees these developments as elements in the struggle of Chinese women for dignity, but notes that the process
became progressively secularized over time and that there was a drift away from western feminist theology which Chinese women saw as working towards the self-aggrandisement of white women. The importance of missionaries and Christian Chinese women in the evolution of these advances is, however, never denied.

The missionaries also railed against the female infanticide which was rife during the period when they occupied China, but their impact here is less apparent, though it is possible that there may have been more impact in the cities than in the country. The same 1996 article reports that the Chinese government is currently seriously concerned about the rise in female infanticide in rural areas. The prevalence of this practice over a long period of time may go a long way towards explaining the current imbalance of the sexes in the Chinese countryside. There are 30 million more men in China’s rural areas than women. The ratio is 51.85% to only 48.1%. 512

A statement on female infanticide and the position of girls in Chinese society was made by J W Tomkinson, husband of the Australian CIM missionary Freda Eipper, in 1924. 513

In heathen circles, Chinese girls are always at a discount. ... She must be fed and clothed for about sixteen years, after which she becomes the property of some other family. Thus, girl babies, especially those born to poor parents, are often murdered or allowed to perish in infancy.

512 OMF International, Pray for China Fellowship, February 1996, p. 6

A boy, on the other hand, is a treasure. Not only is he an acquisition to his family, but when he reaches the advanced age of sixteen years or so, brings a daughter-in-law into the home, thus saving the son’s mother much ardent toil. ...

From the foregoing, readers will understand that one duty of the Chinese Church is to teach the Christians the true value of young life, both male and female.

The above points to the influence brought to bear by the Church in relation to elevating the status of females and curbing female infanticide, these tasks being seen as having the stature of duties.

The situation of women in the Pingyang, Chekiang area circa 1923 was described by a CIM missionary, Miss E Salisbury as follows:

The ability to learn many had never dared to hope for. ... Until the Bible is brought into their homes, women are looked upon often as no better than the cattle, in fact, a wife does cost less than the cattle used for farming. All wives are bought in this part; many men never speak to their wives, neither do the latter presume to eat with them. 514

Miss Salisbury clearly saw the Bible message as a means of elevating the self-esteem and confidence of Chinese women.

At least in their own Christian congregations, missionaries had opportunities to influence local customs, these influences sometimes spilling out into the wider community. One area was marriage, where it was customary for Chinese men and women to have their nuptials arranged well before what most Westerners would regard as marriageable age. Typically, a young man might be betrothed to a mere child. The missionaries took a dim view of this practice, and set out to change it to the extent that they were able. The Australian CIM missionary Jack Robinson reported in 1923 in relation to this custom -

At this season of the year, November to January, is the period of the long vacation in the schools, when the sons come home to rest or get married, if they are old enough. We have a servant who was married at eighteen to a bridegroom of eleven. We encourage Christians to wait till they are eighteen.  

Clearly in Robinson’s sphere of activity, missionary influences were at work to undermine the practice of child marriages.

Another area of influence concerning marriages was in the sphere of beliefs. In relation to this subject, the missionaries encouraged converts to marry converts rather than Buddhists, Taoists, Confucians or atheists. 

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515 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. L, No. 6, CIM, Melbourne, 1 June 1924, p.77

516 At times the influence ran in the opposite direction. Chinese marriages, at least in their early stages, were typified by a degree of etiquette which was severe even by none-too-liberal missionary standards. Isobel Kuhn reported in 1946 that "in Chinese eyes, the chaste and high-minded newlyweds observe the greatest indifference to one another in public. They are never seen to speak to one another until the first child is born ... and never call each other by their first names, the bride refers to him as the person outside the house and the groom refers to her as the person inside the
The longevity of missionary influence in this particular area is evident in the fact that in about August 1958, seven years after most missionaries had fled the country, the Communists still found it necessary to include in the articles of union of the Protestant churches in Taiyuan (capital of Shansi), a clause which specified that "Belief and unbelief shall not be made an issue in determining marriage questions."  

The missionaries did much to open new occupational avenues for Chinese women. As Lohenstine, writing in 1938 about the nursing profession, remarked:

During the past few years nursing has become an honorable profession for educated Chinese women. This achievement is in the main the result of the conception of women's place in society developed in Christian girls' schools and the character of the foreign nurses.  

Australian nurses were among those who trained Chinese women in this profession.

Ayscough has chronicled the gradual emancipation of women. When we begin to live among the Chinese we must be careful to conform with their ideas in this manner". Isobel Kuhn née Miller, Married, "Original manuscript showing first drastic corrections", elsewhere described as "work copy of M to D shows correction, omissions", CN 215, Box 4, Folder 40, "US Council: Correspondence - Kuhn, John & Isobel ca 1946", Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA

Chinese women from a traditional situation of household drudgery. She lays much of the credit for the genesis of this movement on the example and teachings of foreign missionaries in China, who, she claims, brought about "a complete change in social structure".

She noted, amongst other things, that Roman Catholic schools for girls were reported as early as A.D. 1800, and that -

Protestant missionaries, frequently married men and women, taught and exemplified Western ideals of home life. They believed that men and women should be friends, and that boys and girls should play together. Amazing! Horrifying!

It was not until 1907, however, that the Chinese Government recognized "the existence of women in the general scheme of national education", and not until 1912, after the Revolution led by the committed Christian Sun Yat Sen, that the concept of women's education moved beyond that of making her "a good mother and housewife and, possibly, a teacher to train small children" to that of treating her as "an independent person, who had ... the right, to develop her talents."

The movement continued until

By 1920, a number of leading universities, both government and private, admitted women on equal footing with men ... only thirteen years after the idea of women's schooling first entered the governmental mind!

Another area where Australian CIM women assisted in the
emancipation of Chinese women was in their attack on footbinding.

The binding of girls' feet was practised throughout China from the time of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 a.d.) because it was thought dainty, and to produce a gait pleasing to the eye of Chinese men, so that to leave one's daughter's feet unbound was to virtually nullify her chances of marriage. The actual footbinding was extremely cruel, though performed in what was thought to be the girl's best interests, and a brief description will help to illustrate why the practice was so repugnant to the missionaries.

... the mother ... resumed the work ... of binding the feet of her little girl. She took the four small toes and bent them down under the foot, then she took a long piece of calico, and began to wind it tightly round the foot, so tightly that the little girl screamed with pain. ... Over and over again the process was begun, often accompanied by threatenings and blows from the mother, and silent tears or loud crying on the part of the girl. At last the desired size of the foot was obtained ... I had heard the women saying that they used to cry themselves to sleep, the pain was so great, but to see the thing done with my own eyes was a very different matter. ... the same thing is done daily in every Chinese home. But where the Gospel has entered, ... the little girls are spared that suffering. 526

The missionaries typically encouraged their female

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526 Described by Miss A M Johansen of Yushan, Kiangsi in CIM, China's Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, CIM, Melbourne, 1 April 1911, Supplement p.6
adherents to unbind their feet, and forbade them to practise footbinding on their daughters, using as an inducement, refusal to baptise them until they relinquished the practice. 521 As women missionaries were vested with the responsibility for ‘women’s work’, the policing of this policy tended to fall to their lot, and Australian women missionaries were no exception in this regard. Several of them are mentioned in the early literature as having an involvement in this area, which was later on to become a concern of the central Chinese Government which issued a decree in the early 1930s that all footbinding must immediately cease, so that Gladys Aylward, an independent British missionary, found herself appointed foot inspector by the local Chinese Mandarin in her district to supervise the general unbinding of feet. 522

Mullikan, in her article on Tai Shan, Shantung 523, and Passantino, in his on Kunming, Yunnan 524, report instances of bound feet as late as 1945/6, though Lilian

521 At the turn of the century, action taken in relation to footbinding by the American CIM missionary Gertrude Sibley and her husband Horace, then stationed at Ku Cheng, on the Han River ten miles downstream from Lao-ho-k’eo, typified concurrent and later CIM practice and the difficulties it created for the Chinese. She reported as follows: ‘I started a class for the little girls of the neighbourhood. If one were absent from class the excuse would often be ‘rotten feet’ - from footbinding. Our Christian women were urged to unbind their feet as a sign of their sincerity, and there were brave parents who dared to take the cruel bandages off their little girls’ feet or never to begin binding. Far up in the mountains was Brother Ai, who stood the stern test of a large family of daughters whose feet remained free. This not only meant scorn and persecution, but a sorry outlook for marriage, and such a stand took faith and courage in parents.” - Autobiography of Gertrude E Sibley née Haigh, CIM, All the Days of Our Life, [CIM coverage 1891-1911] located in Record Group 8, Box 188, Yale Divinity School Archives, New Haven, Connecticut, USA


523 National Geographic Magazine, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 6, National Geographic Society, Washington DC, June 1945, p. 716

Kitchen, wife of an Australian missionary, stated that footbinding was already illegal when she went to China in 1928, about the same time, she thought, as Gladys Aylward arrived there. Mullikan put this late carryover of footbinding among some Chinese women down to the fact that they were peasants, so that its abolition appears to have been unevenly achieved, with the more educated relinquishing the practice before the peasantry.

Efforts by missionaries (principally missionary women) to stamp out the practice were not always greeted with resounding success, as the Australian CIM missionary Martha Haslam reported in 1922:

We decided not to take in [to the Mission School in Hingan, Shensi] any children at all with small feet, as those who have been coming for two years have made little or no attempt to unbind, even though they promised to do so.

At other times the relinquishment of the practice seems to have owed more to the time-consuming nature of the task and sheer laziness than to Christian influences, as the following 1924 account by the Australian CIM missionary Mabel Sharp, of Sihwa, Honan, indicates.

Numbers of people in the city are leaving their children's feet unbound, but this morning a woman who has five daughters told me how she bound her child's hands to her side and her husband stood

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by and held the bedding over the child’s head while she bound her feet. Her husband has lately died and she has no one to help to bind the children’s feet, so she has decided that No. 3, No. 4, and No. 5 are henceforth to go free, as it took her from breakfast time until noon to do the family’s feet. 527

4.2.4.6 Field Management

There were many stations run by CIM women as at 1 January 1904 (see Chart 10), but Australian women in such situations at that time were few (see Chart 11).

Mary Reed was the first Australian CIM missionary as well as the first Australian woman CIM missionary to be appointed officer-in-charge of a CIM station. Having sailed for China in 1888, she was appointed as the first OIC of the new station of Kao-yiu, Kiangsu which she opened on 1 January 1889. Unfortunately, illness plagued Mary Reed, and she was there for less than a year before being compelled by sickness to return to Australia.

It was to be eight years before the second Australian female missionary to be given charge of a station emerged. This was Isabella Coleman, who had sailed for China in August 1891 and appeared as OIC of the new station of Yang-hien, Shensi (opened 1896) as at 1 January 1897, which began an association with that post which lasted for over 20 years, broken only by short periods of furlough.

Katie Fleming was the third Australian woman to become a

527 CIM, China’s Millions, Australasian Edition, Vol. I, No. 6, CIM, Melbourne, 1 May 1924, p. 75
Map of China

Showing the stations of China Inland Mission only on Jan. 1st, 1904
and Female-run Stations as at 1 January 1904

"Map Source: Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London - map prepared for the CIM showing its stations as at 1 January 1904"

☐ Not worked by CIM
Map of China
Showing the stations of China Inland Mission only on Jan. 1st, 1904
and Australian-run Stations as at 1 January 1904 (female-run ringed)

"Map Source: Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London - map prepared for the CIM showing its stations as at 1 January 1904"

[Map showing various regions and stations in China, with notes on stations run by CIM and Australian-run stations]

☐ Not worked by CIM
station OIC, heading Gan-ren (Kiangsi, opened 1889) as at 1 January 1898, a position taken over by another Australian, Florence Young in the following year and retained as at 1 January 1900 while Fleming was occupied at Kwei-k‘i, Kiangsi. After Young returned to Australia during 1900, Katie Fleming again took control, appearing in that role as at December 1902 and continuing until 1908.

Other Australian female missionaries given either acting or substantive OIC positions in the early years (to 1906) included Elizabeth Wallace (Hosi = Chau-kia-k‘eo West of River [Honan, opened 1884] 1 January 1899, and Fu-k‘eo [Honan, opened 1903] 1 January 1904 to 1911); Eva Bell (Si-hsiang [Shensi, opened 1895] 1 January 1901); Gertrude Trudinger (Antung [Kiangsu, opened 1893] 1 January 1901); Harriet Fleming (Kwangsinfu [Kiangsi, opened 1901] 1 January 1905 to 1906); Annie Wright (Meihsien [Shensi, opened 1893] 1 January 1906) and Mary Booth (briefly Senior Missionary at Paoning [Szechwan, opened 1886] in the absence of Bishop and Mrs Cassells, as at 1 January 1906).

No Australian CIM missionary woman was elevated to a position on the China Council in the 65 years that Australia had a presence in the CIM in China; neither did any CIM woman missionary of any other nationality in the 88-year period when the CIM was there. 526 This lack

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526 On Tuesday 12 October 1920 during the China Council’s 121st Session, Council formed the opinion that "it would be practically helpful, as well as on general grounds, desirable, to invite to a seat on the Council some workers coming out from America and Australasia ... the desirability of giving expression to the international character of the Mission in the membership of the Council had to be recognized." An American, F C H Dreyer, was chosen that same day, and the Australian, Francis Joyce, three days later on Friday 15 October 1920, Joyce thus becoming the first Australian to sit on the Council. A Swede and a German had been on the Council for "many years". The perspicacity shown by the Council here did not extend to a realization that the Mission also had two genders represented within its ranks. Minutes located in CN 215, Box 2, Folder 39, "HQ: Minutes of China Council 1919-27", Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA
reflected patriarchal attitudes existing then which are still to some extent alive and well today in the same western communities from whence the CIM missionaries were then drawn.

As wives of Australian men who were placed in control of stations, many Australian women also shared the running of those posts. This was, of course, also true of Australian women who married missionaries of other nationalities, principally, but not exclusively English. Australian wives involved in running stations included Mrs Edith Southey, Mrs Alice Burgess née Thomson, Mrs Emma Goold née Steel, Mrs Mary Middleton née Jose, Mrs Lydia Allen née Aspinall, Mrs Edith King née Kerr, Mrs Nellie Davis née Roberts, Ethel Nicholls née Reid, Mrs Theodosia Strong née Sorenson, Mrs Dr Johanna Williams née Lloyd, Mrs Eva Trudinger née Bell, Mrs Marion McKie née Chapman, Mrs Edna Lack née Bavin, Mrs Elizabeth Platt née Hunt, Mrs Anna Malcolm née Trudinger, Mrs Margaret Carwardine née Goold, Mrs Jane Bevis née Kidman, and Mrs Ruth Wupperfield née Croucher.

It is clear that Australian women were extremely underrepresented as station OICs when it is noted that there were five of them for every three Australian men but that Australian men received many more such placements (see Chart 11). The women suffered severely from the stereotyping typical of the times, and doubtless to some extent as a result of the inferior training they had received (in turn an outcome of that stereotyping), a factor which could allow their non-elevation to be readily rationalized. Nonetheless, there were some highly successful Australian women CIM station OICs, and they made a valuable contribution, through this medium, to the evangelization of the Chinese people.
Another rarity was the appointment of women as Local Secretaries. One who was, was the Australian CIM missionary Blanche Rowe, who clearly saw herself as an oddity, as the following excerpt from China’s Millions demonstrates:

The work of Local Secretary, which means helping accounts, and superintending the purchasing and packing of goods and forwarding of stores and luggage, and repairs to property, still falls to my lot. In reply to a suggestion that it would be more suitable for a man to do it, came the answer that the Lord's work is often in the position of Paul’s time, when he said, "I have no man" - think of Deborah. It was not suitable for her to judge over Israel and still less suitable for her to lead the army out to battle, yet she was undoubtedly raised up by the Lord to do it. ... So now when any specially unusual job falls to my lot I'm styled "Deborah." ⁵²⁹

4.2.4.7 Tribes and Border Work

It was not only the Australian men who were sent to the outposts of CIM expansion. Australian women also found themselves at such stations.

It is recorded ⁵³⁰ that Ivy May Dix, who sailed for China on 10 November 1926, after language study was posted to difficult pioneering work in Ningxia and Gansu [parts of what was previously Kansu]

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⁵³⁰ Personal file of Candidate No. 739, Ivy May Dix, applied to the CIM on 22 March 1925
and later also in Qinghai (Chinghai) [originally part of Tibet] in northwest China.

The account goes on to say that she was designated to work among Moslems, who were probably the most resistant group in China to Gospel overtures. She continued this work up until 1952, then joined the CIM's "reluctant exodus".

4.2.4.8 Literary Work

The outstanding work of Susie Garland in this field has been discussed earlier, but there were other Australian women who produced good work in this field. This contribution was no doubt often obscured in the case of married couples because of the credit going to the husband.

This did not happen in the case of the Australian CIM missionary Mrs G E Metcalf (née Elizabeth Donnelly) who received equal mention with her husband in relation to the development of a Lisu New Testament. The report was in the Field Bulletin of January 1951 and ran as follows:

Taku: There were many expressions of affection and regret when Mr and Mrs Metcalf and Miss Kemp left the Taku Lisu district recently for Kunming with the completed manuscript of the Lisu New Testament. Mr and Mrs Metcalf are going on to Hongkong to see the book through the press, and prayer is asked that the work may be expedited so that the books may be in the hands of the Lisu Christians as soon as possible. 531

531 CIM, The Field Bulletin of the China Inland Mission, Vol. XIII, No. 1, CIM, Shanghai, January 1951, p. 6, located in CIM/OMF Archives and Library, Toronto, Canada
A similar egalitarianism is evidenced in a 32 page booklet, equally contributed to by Mrs and Mr Fiddler. Mrs Fiddler was, prior to her marriage, the Australian CIM missionary Matilda Way. The booklet was entitled *Marvellous Deliverances From Death in China in the Boxer Troubles of 1900 and Further Thrilling Experiences in the Revolution of 1911*, the former section contributed by Mrs Fiddler and the latter by her husband. Besides considerable autobiographical information, her segment contains an account of how she and Marion Chapman, amongst others, survived the Boxer uprising. This triumphalist theme was no doubt designed to encourage readers to become missionaries and, if necessary, martyr themselves for the Christian cause. 532

Rowland Butler recorded in a letter to his parents of 7 March 1931 that the Australian CIM missionary Mrs Pike (née Louisa Boulter) had been detained in Shanghai to meet a party of ladies from Kweichow, and in the meantime was "assisting in literary work on a new Dictionary now going through the press." This was without doubt Robert Henry Mathews’ extensive 1931 revision of Baller’s Chinese-English Dictionary for which Mathews became justly famous, being later awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws by Melbourne University for his contribution in the Chinese literary field. Perhaps Louisa later took some pride in having helped in the production of this monumental work, though she was disappointed at the time in being restrained from going back to field work. 533

532 This work was published by the CIM in Philadelphia and, though not dated, was certainly produced after 17 July 1912, the birthdate of Matilda’s fourth child. It was located in the Billy Graham Center Library, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA under Ref. No. BV3415.F544 C.2

533 A copy of the letter is held by the author. The reference is from pp. 7-8.
CHAPTER 5

THE AFTERMATH

It is proposed, in this Chapter, to investigate the long-term effects the efforts of the CIM missionaries have had in China, noting, where possible, the impact of Australian efforts in this regard.

There is a vast literature, widely accepted and utilized by missiologists, dealing with the recent state of Christianity in China, including works by Fung, \textsuperscript{534} Brown, \textsuperscript{535} MacInnis, \textsuperscript{536} and Hunter and Chan, \textsuperscript{537} which refer to its status as at 1982, 1986, 1989 and 1993 respectively. Elements of these publications remain important to an understanding of how Christianity has developed in China, particularly during the 1980s and early 1990s, though aspects of these works have been overtaken by events, and later sources, encompassed below, have been consulted in relation to the present study in an endeavour to bring the reader as up to date as possible.

Dixon failed to acknowledge that there had been any lasting effects from the work of the CIM’s Australian contingent other than some largely unintended influences in the field of women’s liberation, and I set out to show that this grossly misrepresented the actual situation. Before drawing

\textsuperscript{534} Raymond Fung, \textit{Households of God on China’s Soil}, (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982)


any conclusions in relation to this issue, however, attention should be focused on a number of factors which led to the survival and growth of the Christian religion under a Communist regime.

5.1 Survival and growth

As has been discussed at 3.1.7 above, the Chinese Church had achieved a considerable degree of independence from foreign missionaries by the time the Communists came to power. This level of autonomy stood the Chinese Church in good stead through the difficult decades of persecution and repression which ensued.

The work of women in keeping the church alive through the 1950s and the Cultural Revolution has been discussed in a recent (1996) article in the Pray for China Fellowship. Some excerpts follow:

Women have always played a prominent role in the Chinese Church. Before 1949 at least 60% of all missionaries in China were female. From the nineteenth century onwards, Chinese "Bible women" were trained to do evangelism and distribute the scriptures. ... Depending on the denomination, training of Bible women varied from informal, basic instruction to intensive four year courses including theology and church history. Already by 1906 there were 543 women in various forms of Christian training at 68 theological and training schools, compared to 772 men. By 1917 there were over 2,000 Chinese women involved in evangelism.

538 February 1996, p. 7
These Bible-women and other Christian women played a vital role in preserving the Gospel during the dark days of the fifties and the Cultural Revolution. Most male pastors and church leaders were either sent to labor camps or forced into secular employment. . . .

It is no exaggeration to state that without the witness of women the church in China would have died during these terrible years. Today such elderly women are still an inspiration. . . .

The article goes on to say 539 that

It is thought that about 70% of active Christians in China today are women. In many churches, congregations are 90% female.

Given the way in which the church was largely carried forward during the persecutions of the fifties and the Cultural Revolution, it is not difficult to find a possible explanation for the cause of the imbalance of the sexes apparent in the Chinese Church of today.

Following the withdrawal of foreign missionaries from the mainland in 1949 and the early 1950s, Communist pressures on the Chinese Church began to mount, and the house church movement, which had had its infancy pre-1949 as a result of evangelistic outreach, began to take over the role of the institutional church. 540

539 p. 8

540 Ho adverted to the importance of the covert church in his statement that "The seed sown by Christians and missionaries before 1950 grew and multiplied underground ... [demonstrating] the courageous and unrelenting witness of Chinese Christians to their own faith." - Daniel Ho, A
From 1966-79, during the Cultural Revolution, all religious expression was outlawed in China, and the remnants of the visible institutional church in China (apart from two churches in Beijing reopened in 1971 and 1972 for the diplomatic community) were destroyed, bringing the Chinese Church to apparent virtual extinction.

Yet only five years afterwards, in 1984, Bishop Ding, the Head of the officially-sanctioned Protestant Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) through which the Communist Party controls the institutional church, stated that Protestant Christians had multiplied more than fourfold since 1949, to three million from 700,000. This resurrection and growth of the Chinese Church under a Communist regime points to covert Christian activity having continued muted but unabated throughout the time of the Cultural Revolution, no doubt through secret house-church activities and individual or family devotional activity. It is seminal in this regard to note that in modern literature about China, there is frequent reference to aging pastors. These preachers worked contemporaneously with the Western missionaries, and continue to be a force in the Christian Church in China today. There is little doubt that they continued Christian work covertly during the brutal and repressive years of the Cultural Revolution. Mrs Lilian Kitchen, widow of the Australian CIM missionary Howard

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541 Doubtless a grossly conservative estimate because of the proliferation of house-churches over which Bishop Ding’s TSPM had no control and of which it had only very limited knowledge.

Kitchen, indicated that students whom her husband had taught in theological colleges in China would have been of about the right age to be still active as older pastors in the Chinese Church today, though she was not aware of any specific personalities who had re-emerged in the recent literature emanating from China-watching church bodies. Lambert, on a similar theme, recently remarked that...

...a large number of the pastors and evangelists active in both the TSPM churches and house-churches now received training pre-1950 (although they are rapidly dying off). Most suffered in the fifties and sixties. I know many such people personally and would say that the continuity and training of the church has largely rested on their shoulders in recent years. However, one must not forget that the church survived and grew in secret from 1958-1979 as a largely LAY movement as many pastors were in labour camps.

The latter point reiterates that made above in connection with the survival of the Chinese Church during the 1950s and the Cultural Revolution having rested mainly on the work of women.

Not, of course, entirely. Johnston and Erh in their ramblings through the old Western summer resort of Kulang discovered a male pastor who had increased his flock during the perilous times of the Cultural Revolution. They

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543 When I interviewed her on 9 June 1995

544 Director for Research, China Ministries Department, OMF International, in a private letter to the author of 2 November 1995

When they were forced to leave China upon the arrival of the Japanese in the late 1930s, the missionaries probably realized they were leaving Kuliang forever. Perhaps they were resigned to leaving behind them only a few sturdy stone buildings - but what they left behind was Christianity. Unbelievably, the population of this small Chinese village, as we learned, was about 95% Christian.

... The pastor was the son of a pastor, and our guide was a childhood convert. Since she [the guide] was in her sixties, this meant that the missionaries had still been there when she was baptized. And the missionaries must have ordained the father of the current pastor. The Christian link was strongly forged.

Subsequent conversations revealed that even with the religious persecution of the so-called Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, when all western beliefs and customs were condemned, the Christian population of Kuliang had grown rather than declined. This was undoubtedly due to the minister there with us, a quiet, gentle Chinese man of not more than forty ...

So there is evidence that male Chinese Christians also helped carry Christianity through the Cultural Revolution, and that the responsibility for that carriage could pass from father to son.

Today some analysts believe that there are something like
50 million Christians in China, though this is an estimate only, based on extrapolation from what little is known of actual TSPM and house-church numbers. It could be as high as 63 million Protestants and 12 million Catholics, since a Hong Kong report in 1992 claimed that the State Statistical Bureau had made an internal religious census which had thrown up these numbers. The Hong Kong report was in turn based solely on the verbal report of a traveller who said he had seen the internal Government paper, and is regarded by Lambert, probably the leading researcher in this field in the world, as very thin evidence. He notes that the Chairman of the TSPM [Three Self Patriotic Movement] denies that such a census ever took place 546, though it should be borne in mind that published TSPM figures are notoriously unreliable and politically manipulated so that not too much stock can be placed on denials which emanate from the same source. While Lambert indicates that the available statistics point more towards the total of 20-30 million he postulated in his 19 September 1994 report, in view of the rapid rate at which the church is obviously growing he is now prepared to admit that there could be as many as 50 million.

There is ample evidence that the Christian Church in China is growing at a prodigious rate. For example, Rev Greg O’Connor, Regional Director, South Pacific, Open Doors with Brother Andrew (Australia) Inc describes the situation as "the biggest revival in history" and goes on to illustrate the point as follows:

Spiritual hunger is enormous. It is estimated that 25,000 to 30,000 Chinese are coming to

546 The denial actually came from Bishop Ding’s very political subordinate, Han Wenzou, who denied the report outright.
Christ every day. ... One believer received a single Bible and now has 40,000 Christians he looks after, while another received a Bible and led 10,000 to Christ. 547

There is also a large amount of data relating to the provinces which all the authorities are in agreement have the most Protestants - Henan, Anhui and Zhejiang - and accordingly, the estimates are probably better for those provinces. These were reckoned, in Lambert's 1994 report, to have a maximum of 5-6 million, 2-3 million and 3 million Protestants respectively, with Yunnan and Jiangsu also approaching 2-3 million, Shandong 1-2 million and Fujian and Guangdong 1 million.

5.2 Neo-evangelistic activity

But it would be naive to assume that the Christian Church of perhaps 50 million people in China today is there solely as a result of the seed sown by missionaries of various Christian societies who were operating in China up until the early 1950s. 548 The fact is that there has been incessant evangelistic activity directed at China by Christian bodies ever since, through the smuggling of Christian literature into the country 549, a modest level

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547 Circular letter dated August 1996 personalized to the author. The reliability of such estimates is somewhat questionable, but what is not in doubt, given the consistency of reports coming out of China in recent years, is that the Christian Church there is experiencing remarkable growth.

548 By the same token, it would be naive to dismiss the role of the missionaries in laying the groundwork for the subsequent receptiveness of the Chinese to the new forms of evangelistic activity which were directed at them after the missionaries' departure.

549 The Chinese Communists are perfectly well aware of the various forms of neo-evangelistic activity being directed at their country, including Bible-smuggling. Their Xuan-chuan ban-ye K'an (Propaganda Bi-monthly), nationally distributed to cadres, reported in October 1990 that "according to figures provided by Customs in 1989 we confiscated and returned 240,000 pieces of religious literature (1.6 times higher than 1988) at the border. In the first two months of 1990 we
of evangelistic work pursued ("illegally") by foreign visitors, the evangelisation of Chinese outside their country's borders, eg students studying overseas, and, most importantly, through radio broadcasting.

Radio broadcasting of Christian messages into China began in about 1932, with the two decades between its commencement and the cessation of a visible foreign missionary presence in China providing substantial overlap, tantamount to a lengthy handover period, so that the missionary endeavour never completely fell away, but merely changed its method of operating.

Christians hired time on commercial radio in Shanghai to present Gospel messages from at least 1932. However, during 1933 a Chinese pastor and a Chinese layman conceived the idea of having their own radio station, and, towards the end of that year, they, Dr Joseph King and others founded the Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association.

The station, which, as the name implies, operated out of Shanghai, was originally of only 150 watts, but by January 1936 a new set was installed which was of one kilowatt power, with a frequency of 760 KC and a wavelength of 394.6 M. The average number of participants from various Christian groups in its weekly program was about 70. There were 11 members on its Board of Directors only one of whom was a European. Its daily 7 hour program in several languages including Chinese and English, embraced hymns, prayer, news, classical and Gospel music, children's

confiscated and returned 38,000 pieces of religious literature and 1061 pieces of audio-visual aids at the border." - OMF, China Insight, OMF, Kowloon, Hong Kong, April 1991, p. 1, located in CIM/OMF Archives and Library, Toronto, Canada. Reports from evangelistic organizations outside China indicate that the amount of literature stopped is merely the tip of the iceberg; there is much more getting through.
stories, Bible studies, religious biographies, medical advice and evangelistic messages. Its broadcasts were picked up as far away as Peiping in the north, Chengtu in the west, Canton in the south, and even in Australasia and Japan. It was still going strong in 1939, but the war years and the Japanese occupation of Shanghai saw the impetus for Gospel broadcasting pass to new organizations like the Far East Broadcasting Company whose transmitters were located away from the Chinese mainland.  

*Far East Broadcasting Company*

FEBC was founded on 20 December 1945 by Robert Bowman and John Broger for the express purpose of broadcasting Christian radio programs into China. No government, single denomination or foundation underwrites its support, and its operating budget of about $17M annually (1995) acquires the bulk of its funds from small donors.

It began broadcasting to China in 1949, just as the Communists were assuming power there. When it first began its broadcasts to China only one hour per day of Gospel radio was transmitted. By 1969 the daily broadcast had advanced to 17 hours, and in the 1990s over 42 hours of programs are heard daily in China from transmitters in the Philippines, South Korea (Cheju-do Island - from 1973, transmitting to Japan, North Korea, China and Russia), and Saipan (an island in the US Commonwealth of Northern Marianas - from 1978). It has several broadcasting facilities located in Manila, Philippines, which

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specifically target, in their own languages, China’s speakers of Mandarin (800 million), Cantonese (54 million), Hakka (27 million), Zhuang (16 million), Kirghiz (2.5 million), Eastern Cham (50,000 throughout Vietnam and China) and Hui (8.6 million, in relation to which a daily 15 minute broadcast "Grace & Truth" was commenced on 5 January 1992). In addition, FEBC’s Seychelles transmissions, which began in 1970, can reach all of Tibet. Plans are under way to reach China’s Da-lu, Hani, Nung, Mongolian, Bouyei and Uighur speakers by the year 2000 as part of the “World by 2000” project in which FEBC collaborates with other major missionary broadcasters TWR, HCJB, and ELWA (an SIM International radio station in Liberia) with the object of bringing the message of Christ to every major language group in the world by the year 2000.

FEBC maintains detailed statistics of listeners’ mail, breaking them down by province, and within province by age group, education, occupation, sex, religious status, new/repeat contact, city/village, address, type of mail, radio station, time, language (Mandarin, Cantonese, Amoy, Swatow, Zhuang, Uighar), and program type (pre-evangelical, evangelical, nurturing, training). 1994 produced the biggest FEBC mail response year to that point in time, with 18,600 letters received compared with about 16,100 in 1993. By 1996 the number had risen to 21,361. This would, however, be only a fragment of the tip of the iceberg in terms of the total listening public, given the scenario outlined by one of the listeners:

We are not allowed to write letters to your radio station. If we are caught we will be convicted for conspiring with overseas people and will be
FEBC received over half a million letters throughout the world in 1992, and currently expects over 600,000 each year.

In February 1995, to take an example of mail from China over a monthly period, there were 50 items of mail from Anhui, 36 from Beijing, 44 from Fujian, 4 from Gansu, 99 from Guangdong, 11 from Guangxi, 2 from Guizhou, 15 from Hainan, 135 from Hebei, 125 from Heilongjiang, 149 from Henan, 152 from Hubei, 10 from Hunan, 142 from Jiangsu, 47 from Jiangxi, 62 from Jilin, 76 from Liaoning, 10 from Nei Mongol, 1 from Qinghai, 40 from Shaanxi, 82 from Shandong, 32 from Shanghai, 41 from Shanxi, 25 from Sichuan, 38 from Tianjin, 20 from Yunnan, 30 from Zhejiang, and 2 from unknown, or 1480 from all of China. Demographically, listeners were most likely to be in the 19-30 age range, be educated to junior secondary or secondary level, be farmers, students or labourers, male (about 2 to 1), predominantly rural rather than urban (about 2 to 1), and almost invariably Mandarin speakers, with the next biggest group Cantonese speakers.

The areas from which mail emanates are of more than passing interest, as some provinces which used to be subject to particularly strong CIM representation are low on apparent Gospel radio interest, for example, Sichuan and Yunnan. There could be several reasons for this, and the following suggestions are doubtless not exhaustive:

551 FEBC, *God is using radio!*, FEBC Australia, Caringbah, NSW; brochure in circulation as at 3 May 1995

552 The information on FEBC is compiled from data sent to the author with her letter of 3 May 1995 by Mrs Jenny Porter, Office Secretary FEBC Australia.
(i) In some areas there is already a firm foundation of belief established through house churches and/or the Three Self Movement without a need being felt for recourse to Gospel radio sources for religious reinforcement;

(ii) Familiarity may breed contempt amongst those already familiar with Christianity and its doctrines - areas newly reached by the Gospel may find it more novel and appealing;

(iii) There could be quirks of radio reception, particularly in mountainous regions like Yunnan, which preclude there being as many listeners in some provinces as in others;

(iv) People in parts of some provinces are still not receiving broadcasts in their own language/dialect;

(v) People in certain areas, eg Guangdong, which is a popular tourist destination, may experience more contact with visiting Christians, including those with connections to Gospel radio, and accordingly have their interest kindled more than people in some other areas.

(vi) Persecution and surveillance are more prevalent in some provinces or parts of provinces than others, dissuading would-be listeners in some areas from actually tuning in, or from writing letters of enquiry if they do listen.

Undoubtedly considerations such as these all play some part in determining where the major interest in Gospel radio will manifest itself, and it becomes difficult to read too much into listener figures because of such diverse and somewhat conflicting factors. Interestingly, though, it is known that at least one church is totally reliant on
Christian radio for its ongoing teaching, a young church established among the Bouyei people in Guizhou in 1995 by a visiting Hong Kong Christian medical team. 553

In relation to the development of FEBC's broadcasting facilities in Manila, Cheju Island South Korea and Saipan, it is relevant to note that the Australian CIM missionary, Norman Oliver Blake, who was a semi-trained radio mechanic at the time of his application to the CIM on 25 September 1947 and continued his interest in radio as a hobby throughout his subsequent career, after serving for three years in Shanghai from November 1948 to 24 July 1951 engaged in language study and missionary compound assistant work, went to the Philippines on 28 February 1952 on loan to FEBC as a technician, and subsequently spent time on Cheju Island constructing the FEBC Middle Wave broadcasting station HLDA, before moving on to FEBC's base in Saipan. He thus made an important contribution to the radio evangelistic effort which followed the pulling out of CIM missionaries from China. He was still at least nominally attached to the OMF as at 29 January 1976. 554

Trans World Radio

In September 1977, Trans World Radio (TWR) set up an Asian Office in Hong Kong which also functioned as the program department of TWR's Guam shortwave transmission station. TWR-Guam launched full operations in 1978, with its primary focus at that time on China, which still (1995) remains a most important target, with over one third of Guam's programming hours still directed towards that country.

553 OMF, Pray for China Fellowship, OMF International, June 1996, p.5

554 Personal file of Norman Oliver Blake, Candidate No. 950, applied to the CIM 25 September 1947
In 1988, in line with a policy of indigenization or localization, TWR (Far East) was formed, with TWR’s Asia Office passing control from foreign missionaries to a local Board of Directors. TWR-FE proclaims the Gospel, succours believers and equips Christian leaders, with broadcasts from four TWR Pacific 100 kw shortwave transmitters on Guam. The catchment area for these transmitters is all of China and Southeast Asia, where the majority of the world’s 1.2 billion Chinese reside. There is a total of over 50 Chinese programs, with a daily average of 22 program hours.

It was estimated in 1995 that there were well over 200 million radios in China, or about one to every six people, and that, alone, there is a potential Mandarin-speaking listening audience of 800 million. To cater for various language/dialect groups within China, TWR-FE programs are delivered in five Chinese languages/dialects: Mandarin (from 1978), Cantonese (also 1978), Swatow (1986), Hakka (mid-1988) and Amoy. TWR-Russia, based in Irkutsk, Russia, broadcasts into Tibet. Disparate community categories in China are also targeted, such as teenagers, families, women, parents, unbelievers, the 2.1 million university students, the 300 million children, and adults aged 18 to 45 who have known no government other than the Communist one.

TWR receives about one million letters per year worldwide from listeners, a significant proportion of which originate in China.

Thus, as at 1995, TWR had been carrying the Gospel to China by radio for 18 years, with the feedback from China indicating that the message was being heard and that
Christianity was spreading through that medium. 555

A report from OMF in November 1996 suggests that transcripts of TWR sermons are themselves being used as Christian literature amongst the Chinese, who are currently starved of that commodity. An elderly listener to TWR in Shanghai wrote as follows:

I have believed in God for 74 years. I am transcribing your sermons and have already written over 500,000 words, which will be copied to others. 556

HCJB World Radio

HCJB (Heralding Christ Jesus' Blessings) World Radio, an international, interdenominational, evangelical mission, first went on the air on Christmas Day 1931.

HCJB co-operates with other major missionary broadcasters to reach various parts of the world, and it has been agreed that Trans World Radio and Far East Broadcasting will be the major broadcasters to China. While China is not a major target area for HCJB, that does not mean that its broadcasts do not reach into that part of the world.

Quito, Ecuador, is HCJB's major transmitting site, and its "Voice of the Andes" broadcasts from there reach many people in Ecuador, Panama, and along the Mexican-US border. It also produces programs for stations throughout Europe, the South Pacific and South America, and works in

555 Based on literature sent to the author by John A Reeder, National Director, Balwyn, Victoria under cover of a letter dated 5 June 1995

556 OMF International, Pray for China Fellowship, OMFI, Epping, NSW, November 1996, p. 6
partnership with local broadcasters to establish radio ministries in Romania, South Africa, Russia, Zaire and Estonia. It regularly reports on the progress of its work in Latin America, Euro-Asia, Africa and North America.

HCJB World Radio-Australia consolidated all of its offices and studios in 1994. Its staff produce an increasing number of programs for broadcasting not only on HCJB, but also on stations operated by the mission's partners in the "World by 2000" project. The Melbourne studios have been utilized to record radio programs in (amongst other languages) Cantonese, with Mandarin added in 1994.

Hence HCJB has added its own contribution, in a limited way as a broadcaster and in a more substantial manner as a programmer, to the more recent evangelization of China. 557

5.3 Relative contribution of missionary and post-missionary endeavours to the numbers of Chinese Christians in China today

Looking more specifically at the question of to what extent the current large numbers of Christians in China are due to the original efforts of missionaries in the pre-Communist Government years, and to what extent to later efforts including radio broadcasting, it is possible to reach some very tenuous conclusions based on some indicative rather than incontrovertible material.

During the calendar years 1902 and 1903, the CIM's China's Millions (Australasian Edition) ran a series of articles on each of the 18 Chinese provinces in which the CIM was

557 This data derives from information sent to the author in and under cover of a letter of 10 April 1995 from HCJB Australia's Director.
primarily interested (although they only had stations in 15 of them themselves). These articles gave details of the representation of all Protestant missions in all of these 18 provinces. While the numbers of missionaries and stations would have changed significantly by the time the various Missions were pulled out of China from 1949 onwards, it would not be expected that the relative representations would have altered markedly, and, accordingly, it is possible to develop provincial rank order information based on a number of variables taken from these 1902-93 reports, assume they remained relatively unchanged up until 1949, compare them with provincial rank orders based on the number of Christians in each province as given by Lambert in the 1990s, and see if any correlations emerge which would suggest that pre-Communist Government evangelistic activity could be responsible for the later concentrations of Christians in particular provinces.

Such comparisons throw up a rank order correlation coefficient of only +0.17 in terms of the number of Protestant stations which used to exist in each province, +0.26 in terms of the density of Protestant missionaries to the population which used to exist in each province, and +0.37 in relation to the number (simpliciter) of Protestant missionaries who used to be located in each province. Statistically, the +0.17 would fall in the nil to negligible relationship, and the +0.26 and +0.37 in the negligible to moderate relationship, with the latter relationship much closer to "moderate". Even given that the figures, in view of time lapses and doubts about the general accuracy of Lambert's estimates, are only indicative, there is at least some suggestion that the sheer number of missionaries was a more telling factor in the numbers of converts than the number of stations or the
density of missionaries to Chinese population. There is also the suggestion that almost 40% of the variability in the numbers of Christians in the various provinces can be explained by the numbers of missionaries who used to reside in each of them. The other 60%, the figures tentatively suggest, would be owing to other factors, and these would no doubt include radio broadcasts, Bible smuggling, conversion of Chinese outside the mainland and their impact on people remaining behind, "illegal" evangelistic activity by foreigners in China itself and so on. With a substantial proportion of the Protestant missionaries in many of the Provinces belonging to the CIM, it can be further argued that their contribution to the buildup of the present-day numbers of Chinese Christians was integral and important.

It is doubtless true, however, that there are pockets of Christianity in China today which owe little to the work of the foreign missionaries. As the Pray for China Fellowship of October 1995 reports:

The Gospel has spread across China to many an area where there were few or no Christians in the times of the foreign missionaries. Take a few examples:

- Xinjiang before 1949 had no more than 200 Christians... Yet today there are dozens of churches and fellowships with upwards of 30,000 believers.
- Xiong is ... in northern Hebei province. In 1983 there were only half a dozen Christians meeting together. Today there are 5-6000.
- Qiuyang city in Hunan province had only thirty believers meeting in 1984. But now
there are more than 1,000 in the city itself and over 10,000 in the surrounding countryside, meeting in sixty registered and fifty unregistered churches and meeting-points. 558

They attribute this "explosion of church growth" in areas which had few or no Christians in the times of the foreign missionaries to "ordinary believers sharing the Gospel with their relatives, friends and neighbours ..." 559, though this explanation begs the question as to where the Gospel knowledge which was spread by local Christians came from in the first place.

Clearly in some cases there is little hint of a perpetuation of missionary-instilled belief. A Christian in Dao County, an isolated mountainous region of Hunan, writing to FEBC on 19 April 1996 reported that -

There are thirty people in our meeting-point which came together through your Gospel broadcasts. No one apart from myself has a Bible. 560

That there has been tremendous church growth in large areas of China since 1949 is beyond doubt, and the acceleration in the growth of the church is clearly owing to a number of different factors, not least of them the lifting of the Cultural Revolution and the expansion of evangelistic radio broadcasting into the country, particularly since the 1970s.


559 Ibid., p. 2

A good example of this growth is provided by the province of Kiangsu. As at April 1996 there were 930,000 Protestants meeting in 3,778 registered churches and meeting points. There were also many unregistered house churches so that the number of Christians in this Province of 67,000,000 people could be about 2 million. But the provincial Christian Council figures, which count only the numbers of registered Christians, show that the church has grown about 19 times since 1949 and in the last thirty years, since the cultural revolution, 16-fold. 38,000 people were baptised in Kiangsu Three Self Patriotic Movement churches in 1992 alone. The increase in registered Christians has been 45% since 1991. These impressive figures have been achieved despite a dearth of pastors (1 to each 9,000 Christians) and thanks to a large extent to the work of 5,200 lay workers trained in the last 15 years.  

Even the Miao, who have a comparatively strong tradition of Christianity which goes back to the time of the missionaries, have received significant impetus in recent times from Gospel radio. The OMF's Pray for China Fellowship of November 1996 stated that

There are reports that 10,000 White Miao in China have believed in Christ through listening to Gospel radio in their own language. (AMC Sept 1996) There are 150,000 White Miao in China. Praise God for this revival. Pray more will be saved.  

It is significant here though, that while the early

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562 OMF International, Pray for China Fellowship, OMFI, Epping, NSW, November 1996, p. 3
missionaries are reported to have made noteworthy inroads amongst the Flowery Miao and the Black Miao, there is scant reference to some of the other myriad branches of the tribe, and it is possible, particularly given the topographical isolation of some of the tribal units, that Gospel radio was tapping a virtually unevangelized field when it reached the White Miao.

5.4 The missionaries post-China

After serving in China, those missionaries of retirement age settled back into the Australian scene, apart from a few who settled in other countries, living in a manner one would have expected, renewing family and friendship ties, attending church, lay preaching, assisting with church administration, and keeping up with a number of other missionaries they had known in China.

Of those who were still relatively young when they left the field, some obtained secular employment though maintaining strong connections with their local church, eg Ken Budge (architect 1951-54, before stints in Malaya and Hong Kong, then back into architecture in 1973) while others, realizing that they would need theological qualifications if they wished to continue with preaching as a vocation in the denomination of their choice, gained them, and pursued a life in the ministry, eg Rev Geoffrey Malins.

Some were disenchanted with their experience in China, losing faith, and interest in the mission and its workers.

Of those who were serving in China when the CIM was forced to permanently evacuate, many moved into the new fields opened up by the Mission, which never relinquished its objective of evangelizing the Chinese. Denied the Chinese
mainland, the CIM turned its attention to reaching overseas Chinese as well as other races in South-east Asia, Taiwan and Japan.

The Australian CIM missionaries Arthur Beard, Ivy Dix and Winifred Embery served in Taiwan, Norman Blake, Dorothy Cornelius, Arthur Kennedy, Walter Searle and Ruth White in Japan. Norman Blake, Ailsa Lumsden and Jack Robinson served in the Philippines, Ken Budge, Cyril Edwards, Winifred Embery, Ron Roberts and Theo Simpkin in Hong Kong. Shirley Cane, Ray Flatau, Mildred Schrader, Percy King, Ewan Lumsden, Amy Moore (née Weir), George Tarrant, Irene Neville, Lucinda Wik (née White), Ken Budge and Fred Robert served in Malaysia, Dr Norman Chenoweth, Cyril Faulkner, Roy Ferguson, Henry Gould, Amy Moore (née Weir), Dora Hatton (née Kidd) and Clair Williams in Thailand. Percy King, Eric Norgate and Ron Roberts served in Indonesia, and Eric Norgate, Theo Simpkin, Lucinda Wik (née White), George Tarrant, Rowland Butler and Leslie Duncan for various periods of time in Singapore, which was eventually CIM/OMF Headquarters, and staging post for missionaries proceeding to the new fields.

Several ex-China missionaries took on important positions at home in Australia. Jack Robinson served as Home Director for Australia and New Zealand, Theo Simpkin as Western Australian representative, George Tarrant as Western Australian and Queensland representative, Freda Tomkinson (née Eipper) on the Home Staff (her husband being General Secretary, Melbourne), Rowland Butler as Acting Home Director, Roy Ferguson as State Secretary for Queensland and New South Wales, Ron Roberts as Australian Home Director, Henry Gould as Treasurer in Melbourne, Howard Kitchen as Chairman of the South Australian Council, Eric Norgate as New South Wales State Secretary, Walter Searle
as General Secretary Melbourne, Ernest Mansfield as Queensland representative and Walter Michell as Home Director New Zealand and General Secretary Melbourne.

Norman Baker and Lilian Fletcher did sterling work for the Mission in England, and Cyril Faulkner rose to become Home Director in the USA. Ron Roberts became prominent in the Melbourne Bible Institute for some years. Norman Blake’s contribution to the technical side of evangelistic broadcasting into China is inestimable.

In their various ways, most of the Australian CIM missionaries who had served in China, including Australian wives of British and North American CIM missionaries, continued evangelistic activities either at home or abroad, and maintained strong ties with others who had served with them, including CIM missionaries who hailed from countries other than Australia. In some cases, these fellowship links were supported by occasional social functions and periodic thematic literature. For example, those who were at Chefoo Schools, either as staff or students, maintain links through school reunions and The Chefoo Magazine, which still regularly appears.

Interest among CIM survivors, descendants and supporters in happenings in China is assisted by the OMF’s Pray for China Fellowship, and in the OMF’s other fields and the home organization through its For Prayer and Praise. The OMF maintains an active interest in surviving CIM missionaries, and old CIMers keep in touch with each other through letters, social contacts, and in a number of cases, by collocation in the same retirement homes. Even where they are apart, a strong sense of kinship remains.

In summary then, the expertise which CIM missionaries
developed while in China was not lost following their exit from the Chinese mainland, but contributed towards continuing evangelical endeavours at home and overseas, including efforts directed towards ongoing evangelization of the Chinese people.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

As has been indicated in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, a number of researchers have criticized the missionary endeavour in general, while Dixon has been critical of the Australian effort in particular. However, it is found that when revisited in the light of the arguments adduced in this dissertation, these strictures are less than compelling.

Dixon was dismissive of Australia's input into the evangelization of China on the grounds that no totally autonomous organization emerged, so that the direction of Australia's effort lay in other hands. I show that within the CIM, the largest mission in China, Australians wielded more power than the superficialities she was relying upon would suggest.

I demonstrate, for example, that once they had proved themselves in the field, Australians were treated as the equals of British and other nationalities in the CIM, filling station OIC positions and gaining representation on provincial councils as early as the 1890s, and from 1930 having fairly strong representation on the China Council, with the ability to input directly into Mission decisions. I mention, in particular, the Australian CIM missionary Rowland Butler, who was one of the most powerful men on the China Council for many years, occupying high positions including Assistant Overseas Director and Acting Overseas Director.

Dixon also fails to take account of the power which home councils could wield in relation to important policy issues
upon which the China Council felt obliged to consult them. Thus the North American, British and Australian Home Councils were consulted on the issues of whether women should serve on the China Council and whether the CIM should continue to be represented on the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference (in view of its associations with Modernists and Roman Catholics), their opinions playing a crucial role in the decisions which were ultimately reached rejecting both proposals.

Because no discrete Australian mission emerged, Dixon was quickly dismissive of the Australian contribution towards the evangelization of China without seriously examining it. I demonstrate at length that the Australians made very worthy individual contributions to the evangelization of China in the medical, educational and welfare fields so that collectively the work they performed represented a significant contribution towards the CIM's objective of evangelizing China.

Dixon also took the view, shared by Varg and Lacy, that with the Communist takeover from 1949, the Christian Church there became moribund, and that there were, accordingly, no noteworthy long-term effects attributable to the missionary endeavour of any nationality. I have shown that the Church survived the turbulent years immediately after the Communist takeover, and the Cultural Revolution, to emerge stronger and more virile than it had been under the missionaries, expanding at a remarkable rate, with its adherents increasing probably fiftyfold between when the missionaries left and the present time. Loane, writing in 1964, was closer to the truth than Dixon, Varg and Lacy in surmising that the Chinese Church "may still survive, but it has gone into the gale". However, he did not foresee the explosive growth in Christianity which would later affect
that body.

Dixon acknowledged that Australian women missionaries may have produced some unintended feminist consequences among Chinese women, but she failed to equally recognize the social changes for Chinese women which Australian female missionaries quite consciously helped bring about. I show that the purposeful activities of Australian CIM women impacted in such areas as child marriages, footbinding, literacy, education, pharmaceutical and nursing training, infanticide, hygiene and self-esteem, helping Chinese women to rise above the downtrodden and squalid condition in which many had formerly found themselves, achieving a closer approximation to equality with men than they had hitherto enjoyed.

Contrary to the views of Marchant, within the CIM’s China bailiwick, and particularly in its Australian segments, Christianity is shown to have spread in a determined, if sometimes patchy fashion, the missionaries in most cases emerging victorious against the variety of difficulties with which China confronted them, including language, terrain, transport, weather, warfare, prejudice, internment, isolation and high illness and mortality rates amongst themselves and their children.

A broader question remains: was the missionary effort in China successful? Some conclusions are now reached in relation to that enquiry, together with a number of further observations about the part the CIM, and especially its Australian men and women, played in such successes as were achieved.

By the time Western missionaries left China, there can have been relatively few Chinese who had not heard of
Christianity and who did not have at least a vague idea of some of its concepts. This was inevitable because of the high public profile of people like Sun Yat Sen, Marshall Feng, Chiang Kai Shek and most of the politically influential Soongs, who were committed Christians, thanks to the endeavours of foreign evangelists. How many Chinese had actually been brought within "the sound of the Gospel" was another matter. Even in this sphere, however, it is clear that Protestant missionaries had made great strides by as early as 1920, as Chart 12 indicates. Although the areas shaded black were 30 li (10 miles) or more beyond reported evangelistic centres, the unshaded areas, which considerably exceeded them in aggregate, were within 10 miles of those centres. A reasonable assumption in relation to this presentation is that people within 10 miles of such centres would have been brought within the sound of the Gospel, and, if this were the case, then about ¾ of China proper had heard the Christian message by 1920. As areas do not necessarily correlate with population, the percentage of the populace reached by the Gospel may, in fact, have been higher, since the regions unachieved were usually sparsely populated because they were mountainous or arid and posed difficulties of access. The kind of extensive outreach which could be achieved from particular stations, in this case CIM stations, is well illustrated in the map of Honan at Chart 13.

At their height in 1926, the missions fielded 8,325 European missionaries in a Chinese population of about 400 million, or one missionary per 48,000 people. By the time the missionaries were beginning to leave China en masse in 1951 the ratio had dropped to one per 96,700. The chances of one missionary reaching 96,700 or even 48,000 people, even given an average length of service of about 13 years, if not utterly impossible, was minuscule, particularly
Penetration of China by the Gospel, 1920, based on areas less than 30 LI (10 miles) from protestant evangelistic centres (areas thus defined as penetrated shown in white, unevangelised areas in black)

Chart 13

Extent of outreach from CIM Stations in Honan

Map Source: CIM/PP Box 11, File 128, Maps 1911 - 1916, CIM Archives, SOAS, London University, Russell Square, London, UK
because of the tendency to consolidate rather than expand which typified many missions in China once stable congregations had been formed. However, given that by the late 1920s there were about four and a half times as many native church helpers as missionaries, there was one church worker to 11,600 in those times, making the task of reaching all Chinese not statistically impossible by any means, and even the corresponding ratio of one to 24,200 for the early 1950s would not have put the task out of contention.

It is accordingly difficult not to conclude that a sizeable proportion of the Chinese population had been brought within the sound of the Gospel by the time the Westerners departed. That is not to say that the majority were persuaded by what they heard - they were not, and either continued in their traditional syncretistic Buddhist /Taoist/ Confucianist beliefs or settled for the more fashionable atheism favoured by the Communists. Only a small percentage of the population, 5-6% at most, had adopted Christianity by the 1990s.

The CIM was the largest single mission in China, and its unwavering fixation on evangelistic objectives meant that its approach was markedly different from many other missions whose operations were more directed towards social goals, with conversions, if they occurred, a fortuitous and felicitous by-product.

While the CIM never lost sight of its evangelistic purpose, that is not to say that it did not engage in benevolent social activity: nothing could be further from the truth. It was significantly involved, for example, in medical and educational activities, but patients could be forced to listen to evangelistic presentations before medical
treatment would be given to them, and students learnt literacy using the Bible and apologetic Christian literature as texts, so that pupils were instilled with religion, whether they wanted it or not, at the same time as they were being taught literacy. In the one case coercion or bribery, and in the other sharp practice was employed for evangelistic purposes in ways which a number of other missions would have found unsubtle, ethically questionable and perhaps somewhat distasteful. Such CIM approaches to evangelism smacked of the philosophy that the ends justify the means, a school of thought with which their supposed antagonists, the Communists, would have had no argument.

In addition to its medical and educational activities, the CIM was also engaged in other philanthropic ventures like orphanages, disaster relief, work among prisoners and in slums. While its benevolent work did not match that of many other missions, it was not inconsequential, and it often occurred in areas untouched by other missions, so that it had an importance which statistical aggregates do not reveal.

The Australians were represented in every facet of the Mission’s operations. Once they had proved themselves in the field, they were treated as the equals of the British and other nationalities in the CIM. Not only were they represented in all components of the Mission’s work, but they often exerted an impact beyond their numbers. They acquitted themselves creditably in all the fields in which they operated, despite the many difficulties peculiar to China they had to overcome.

Many Australians, particularly in the first few decades of their presence in China, were involved in notable
pioneering work of both a geographical and evangelistic nature. In this area the work of Oliver Burgess and Athelstan Goold is particularly memorable. In the literary field the Australians had absolute giants like Susie Garland and Robert Mathews. On the medical scene, doctors like Lorna MacColl and D Vaughan Rees made their mark, while Australia sent a veritable host of trained nurses who helped by their example and instruction to establish modern medical practices in China. Mission administrators like Augustus Trudinger, Francis Joyce, and especially Rowland Butler, rose to positions of power and influence in the field organization, while educators like Charles Parsons and Howard Kitchen played a meritorious part in the training of Chinese Church leaders. Some magnificent relief work was carried out by Oliver Burgess and Robert McCulloch.

Australian women contributed admirably in virtually all the fields which men entered, except perhaps the longer itinerations, although they did accomplish geographical and evangelical 'firsts'. In the medical and educational arenas they arguably contributed more than their menfolk. Owing to paternalistic attitudes, especially in the higher echelons of the CIM, they were generally not trained as well as their male counterparts and did not rise to positions of any great power within the organization, though several attained station leader status, one made Local Secretary (normally a stepping-stone to Provincial Superintendent and a position on the China Council), and another Deputation Secretary.

Numerically, women always exceeded men on the field, and in this matter of simple magnitude, they made a greater contribution as a group to the evangelization of China than did the males. They served an absolutely crucial role in
evangelizing Chinese women, whom men were precluded from proselytizing because of social mores, and they also took on responsibility, in the main, for children, who largely fell to their lot because of the CIM's patriarchal views about women's roles.

The CIM, as the largest mission in China, played an important role in its evangelization and in the fostering of an independent Chinese church, its impact being especially noteworthy in inland areas where other mission input was non-existent or meagre. In the area of pioneering and evangelistic outreach it arguably surpassed all other missions in the field, though it was less committed than many others in the medical, educational and welfare spheres.

The Australian CIM missionaries, during their 65 years in China (1888-1953) significantly contributed to the Mission's achievements, and the work of their female contingent, which made meritorious contributions towards not only the evangelization, but also the emancipation of Chinese women, was particularly important.