British Missionaries' Approaches to Modern China, 1807-1966

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Introduction

One of the major issues in the history of the last two centuries is how to evaluate the impact of Christian missionary work in Asia in particular and in the non-Western world in general. It can be represented in a pendulum metaphor, swinging between "incorporation" and "rejection" as the two ends. It seems unlikely to identify a case showing a total incorporation of Christianity in a non-Western society. Neither is there a case of a total rejection.[1] This pendulum did not exist in vacuum. The general trends in modern history that need to be taken into account include the non-Western world's search for modernisation along with the lines of colonisation/ decolonisation. Thanks to Andrew Porter for he pointedly demonstrates the limits of "cultural imperialism" as a conceptual tool to explain missionary experience in modern history.[2] In this paper, the modest intention is to offer some points of departure on how the pendulum situation was like in the historical picture of modern China in which British missionaries' presence played a role.

The Chinese search for modernisation in the wake of the coming of Western imperialism (or simply colonisation/ decolonisation) has been a major theme of much serious scholarship. However, not much has been done on the role and impact of the

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[1] This issue was first suggested and quite convincingly argued in Harold D. Lasswell, "Commentary" *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 12:2 (February 1952): 163-172.

[2] Andrew Porter, "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914," *The*

British missionaries in China. The vast amount of British missionaries in China makes it impossible to offer a comprehensive coverage here. Rather, seven British missionaries (namely, Robert Morrison 1782-1834, James Legge 1815-1897, Benjamin Hobson 1816-1873, Hudson Taylor 1832-1905, Timothy Richard 1845-1919, Thomas Torrance 1871-1959, and Ronald Owen Hall 1895-1975) are here chosen on the bases of the significance of their work in China. We will evaluate the extent to which their work led to incorporation or rejection of Christianity in China along the lines of modernisation and imperialism. Before doing so, a brief review of recent trends in the studies of mission history and the historiography of Christianity in modern China can help put this paper in perspectives.

Within and Beyond Mission History: Confluence of Perspectives

It is useful to begin with the larger picture of mission history. The boundaries of mission history had been shrinking since the recession of Christianity in Europe had taken place at the turn of the twentieth century and had been becoming more apparent since the world war period.[3] In the academic circle in the US and Britain, the impact of secularism was accordingly felt strongly. According to Mark A. Noll (1946-), "In America, a thorough secularism in the mould of John Dewey's pragmatism had come to dominate the university world by the 1920s. The same was true for Britain where by the 1930s various leftist theories had assumed the upper hand in the universities."[4] The history of mission, as generally understood as an outcome of the tradition of religious hagiography, would inevitably face some degree of obstruction.

The rise of Christianity in the non-Western world (mainly Southern parts of the

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Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 25:3 (September 1997): 367-391.
[3] Andrew Walls, "Christianity," *A New handbook of Living Religions*, ed. John R. Hinnells, new edition, (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 83-87
[4] Mark Noll, "The Potential of Missiology for the Crises of History," *History and the Christian*

globe, and Korea and China in Asia) in the last few decades motivates students of mission (notably from theological studies and historical studies) to ponder over the issue again. After serial reflections from different approaches, a major attempt to rethink the issue took shape in a special publication of the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* in 1991, calling for a thorough reflection upon the "renewal in mission studies."[5] Andrew F. Walls (1928-) points out that mission history can enrich the breadth and depth of theology. He writes that " It [contemporary theology] needs to grapple with the history, thought, and life of the churches of the non-Western world, the history and the understanding of the missionary movement that was their catalyst, the understanding of Christian history and of the nature of Christian faith which studies of these topics bring, the constant concern with culture and regular critique of cultural assumption that they encourage."[6]

In view of the development of mission history from the perspectives of mission studies, Gerald Anderson remarks that the mission studies "is still peripheral to the mainstream of theology." The way out, according to him, is that "mission scholars should be encouraged to engage in research and teaching that involves collaborative, co-operative, and interdisciplinary opportunities."[7] Although he did not cite a specific area of scholarship with which to develop a closer link, it seems obvious that history would be a good partner. Timothy Yates (1935-), for example, calls for a closer link between history and mission studies. He points out that "the study of the theory and practice of the Christian missions will attend with care to the historical setting and much of the interest will lie in the interplay, or dynamic relationship, between the setting and the

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Historian ed. Ronald Wells. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 109.
[5] *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 15:4 (October 1991).
[6] His essay in the bulletin is collected in his book, Andrew F. Wall, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, 1996), 147-148.
[7] Gerald Anderson, "Mission Research, Writing, and Publishing 1971-1991," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 15:4 (October 1991): 170.

message or messenger in a given society."[8]

In view of the development of mission history from the perspectives of historical studies, Noll, for example, takes the history of mission seriously. He asserts that "the history of missions has a wide potential for history more generally." He also considers that "the next challenge for writing the history of Christianity is to attempt a genuinely global history . . . . even to the most blinkered Western historian, that Christian history now simply a world history."[9]

When we turn to the field of modern Chinese history, we should note there are two distinctive periods in the development of the historiography of Chinese Protestantism, and the watershed being the 1950s. We would begin with the period before 1950s. During this period, there are already attempts to bridge mission and history, and the pioneers were missionaries-turned sinologists. Protestant missionaries' writings amounted to an impressive volume whose quality began to gain wider scholarly recognition. In 1921, K. S. Latourette (1884-1968) remarked that "The missionary enterprise . . . gives rise to a constant stream of literature. . . . Some excellent volumes of biography and history have recently been produced, however, and cannot be ignored by the students who understand the China of the past sixty years."[10] Despite their cultural and religious prejudices (and/or strict positions) behind their interpretations, they left useful records about China and her past.[11]

On the other hand, what was being as noteworthy as the Western counterpart, was Chinese historians' interest in doing the history of Christianity in China. In addition to

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[8] Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 5.

[9] Noll, *Op. Cit.*, 107-108.

[10] K. S. Latourette, "Chines Historical Studies during the Past Seven Years," *The American Historical Review* 26:4 (July 1921): 714.

[11] For a useful discussion on the early missionaries' writings on the history of Christian missions in China in general and Chinese history in particular, see Ssu-yu Teng, "The Predispositions of Westerners in Treating Chinese History and Civilization," *Historian* 19:3 (1956-1957): 307-327.

personal academic interest, a stronger interest in the history of Christianity in China was anticipated to provide some lights as to how to respond to the anti-Christian movement in the 1920s. More importantly, they searched for an orientation for the future development of Chinese Christianity through cultural assimilation.[12] Under such orientation, Chinese historians worked on the survey of the history of Christianity in China in general, and more on the cultural side of the historical experience as seen in the history of Christian missionary presence in China in particular.

When we turn to the next period, namely post-1950, we would notice that further initiatives in the field were added to speed up the momentum. These initiatives mainly took place in the US, and their impact was also strongly felt in the US. Notable were Liu Kwang-ching (1921-) and John King Fairbank (1907-1991). Liu pointed out that "Nothing in modern history is in greater need of analysis than the missionary movement, in both its causes and its effects."[13] Fairbank also mentioned that "Mission history is a great and underused research laboratory for the comparative observation of cultural stimulus and response in both direction."[14] It should be noted that the academic interest on China in the US took root from a need to understand the bigger picture of modern China, be it a response to the Western challenge or a model diverged from the modernisation theory.[15] Almost without exception, these studies of mission history in China intended to explore a bigger picture behind the religious scene. Fairbank's pioneer

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[12] Lee Kam Keung, "The Rise and Development of Research on the history of Christianity in China," *Journal of the history of Christianity in China* 1 (1998): 7. It is also important to note that similar development took place among the Chinese Christian writers who used their literature as a response to the anti-Christian movement. In this question, one may find a lot of useful inspiration from Samuel C. Chu's article, "Early 20th century Chinese Christian Writers and The Church Indigenization movement." *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sincia* 12 (June 1983): 195-217.

[13] Liu Kwang-ching *Americans and Chinese: A Historical Essay and a Bibliography*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 13.

[14] John King Fairbank, "Assignment for the 70's." *The American Historical Review* 74:3 (Feb 1969): 878.

[15] Philip Yuen-sang Leung, "Mission History versus Church History -- The Case of China Historiography," *Ching Feng: A Journal on Christianity and Chinese Religion and Culture* 40:3 (September-December 1997): 187-188. For a more general picture, see Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering*

study in this area, for an example, was to look at the anti-missionary cases through which he intended to ponder over the "social psychology of the Confucian state, and thus relates both to the rise of modern Chinese nationalism and to the traditional role of the scholar-gentry class."[16] In the time span of fifty years after 1950, there are many books and articles published in this area. There are already a number of essays on the state of the field, which I do not intend to repeat here.[17]

On the other hand, Chinese historians in China-Taiwan-Hong Kong area were taking a rather different position. In China mainland, due to the influence of the official interpretation of modern Chinese history, missionaries were generally regarded as the running dogs of the imperialist West. It first started in the early 1950s, and only up to the 1990s when the pressure was lifted.[18] Moreover, there is now a growing interest in examining the history of Christianity in China among historians of modern China. Perhaps, it is here useful to cite a quotation from mainland Chinese historians – “The significant point is that it demonstrates the emergence of diverse views on an issue that had earlier been too sensitive to allow debates. This change in the Chinese intellectual climate may be due to the growing economic, political, and educational interaction between China and the outside world. . . Revisiting the historical relationship between Western missionaries and Chinese people could well provide both China and the West with important insight into what should be done to facilitate communication between two distinct cultural traditions, fostering mutual understanding and dialogue, including

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History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

[16] John K. Fairbank, "Patterns behind the Tientsin Massacre," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20: 3 & 4 (December 1957): 480-511.

[17] Jessie Lutz, "Chinese Christianity and Christian Missions, Western Literature: The state of the Field," *Journal of the History of Christianity in Modern China* 1 (1998): 31-55. See also, Murray Rubinstein, “Christianity in China: One Scholar’s Perspective of the State of the Research in China Mission and China Christian History, 1964-1986,” *Newsletter for Modern Chinese History* 4 (September 1987): 111-143.

[18] For a good survey of the situation, please see Tao Feiya, "A State of the Field Paper on the History of Chinese Christianity in the PRC since 1949," [in Chinese] in *Journal of the History of Christianity in*

constructive disagreement."[19] In Taiwan, the path-finder in the field of Christian mission history in China was Kuo Ting-yee (1904-1975), he made the Institute of modern history at Academia Sincia a major centre for archival researches in related topics. In the last two decades, the major engineer behind the field is Peter Lin (1938-) whose concern in Christianity's contributions in the promotion of modernisation in China and the indigenization of Christianity in China become the two major interpretative themes of many publications.[20] In Hong Kong, students of the history of Christianity in China are free to adopt any framework of reference. There are studies following Chinese views as prevailed in Taiwan, and some are keen to integrate with the findings from the Western counterparts.[21] It is probably because Hong Kong has been a place where Chinese and Western intellectual interchanges taking place for a long time. A recent ascent of teaching and research in this area would help put Hong Kong up on the map. Perhaps, we may say that Philip Leung (1949 -) is the representative historian in the field whose position to promote the blending of mission studies and historical studies are more or less shared by his fellow colleagues in the field. He remarks: "Maybe the predicament I am in and the Christian historians' and missiologists' desire of finding a better interpretative framework for doing New Christian History in a global perspective are not much different: both hinged on how to balance a strong Christian commitment and a high level of academic and research skills and methodologies, and how to achieve a hyphenation of Christianity and culture."[22]

Modern China 1 (1998): 56-66.

[19] Shen Dingping & Zhu Weifang, "Western Missionary Influence on the People's Republic of China: A Survey of Chinese Scholarly Opinion Between 1980 and 1990," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22:4 (October 1998): 158.

[20] Lee *Op. Cit.*, 10-13.

[21] See my article (co-author with Lee Ka-kiu), ""Review of Studies in Hong Kong on History of Protestant Christianity in China," [in Chinese] in *Contemporary Historiography in Hong Kong*. Edited by Chow Kai-wing & Lau Wing-chung (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1994 & 2nd impression, 1997), 148-68.

The Seven Cases of British Missionary Approaches

1. Robert Morrison

Robert Morrison was born in Morpeth of England in 1782. He became a member of the Presbyterian Church in 1798. Four years later, he decided to be a missionary. Soon he went to the Hoxon Academy to prepare his work as a missionary. He was accepted by the London Missionary Society (LMS) and received his ordination in 1807, the same year that he left for China via New York, instead of Liverpool or any port in England. It was because the East India Company (EIC), the British sole agent for trade and other matters in China, would rather want to have nothing to do with Christian missions in China from Britain. Altogether it took him almost nine months to reach China. But it took him more than a year to settle in Canton, the only port opened for foreigners to trade but not any other activities. Ironically, it was the EIC that sustained his missionary work because the EIC hired him as a Chinese interpreter, which provided him opportunities for works related to the founding of the LMS's activities in China that were otherwise impossible to begin. It should also be noted that there were moments in his life when he was frustrated about his position at the cleavage between his secular and sacred duties. When he was appointed the "Chinese Secretary and Interpreter" of the British diplomatic mission to China led by William John Napier (1786-1834), he reflected as follows: "I am to wear a vice-consul's coat, with king's buttons. . . . It is rather an anomalous one for a Missionary. A vice-consul's uniform instead of the preaching gown!"[23] Without finishing his duties in the Napier mission, he passed away in 1834.[24]

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[22] Leung *Op. Cit*., 205.

[23] Elizabeth Morrison, ed., *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D., F.R.S., M.R.A.S., Member of the Society of Asiatique of Paris, & c. c.; with Critical Notices of His Chinese Works by Samuel Kidd, and An Appendix Containing Original Documents*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1839), Vol. 2, 524.

[24]For a quick reference to his papers, see Morrison, *Op. Cit*. For a brief account of Robert Morrison's

Throughout the time span of 27 years as a China missionary, his approach was truly of a pioneer character. It should be pointed out that there were Protestant missionaries who came to China long before Morrison did. The early ones were all from the Netherlands, and their mission field was Taiwan, a place once occupied by the Dutch. These early ones included Georgius Candidius (1597-1647), Antonius Hambroeck (1605-1661), and Robertus Junius (1606-1655).[25] After the Dutch was forced to leave Taiwan, the Dutch no longer sent their missionaries to Taiwan, not to say to China mainland. Morrison is generally regarded as the pioneering character in the history of Christian missions in China. It is because he was successful in making possible the incorporation of Christianity into the limited space available for the development of this new religion in China.

In the first place, Christianity was certainly new to the Chinese when Morrison began his work. He had to look for ways to effectively communicate the Christian messages to the Chinese. It was essential for him to obtain the skills and knowledge in the Chinese language. Though it appeared to be so logical and basic, it did not happen as easy as it seemed to be. It was because the Qing government required that "foreigners may neither buy Chinese books, nor learn Chinese."[26] The fact that he was able to write religious tracts in Chinese and translate the Bible into Chinese was indeed an admirable accomplishment. More importantly founded the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca through which the study and research of the Chinese language and Chinese culture became institutionalised for other China missionaries.

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life, see J. Barton Starr, "The Legacy of Robert Morrison," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22:2 (1998): 73-76. For a substantial account of the life and times of Morrison in China, see Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China, 1807-1840*. (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1996).

[25] Gerald H. Anderson ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 113, 277, and 347.

[26] Before the Opium war, there were altogether 12 restrictions for foreigners who wanted to stay in Canton. See Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* 6 ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 150-51.

In the second place, he was successful in bringing China to the attention of the West. It should be acknowledged at two levels. At one level, he tried to establish Chinese studies in British academic circle. The notable one was certainly the Chinese dictionary that he complied. At the second level, he helped raise the British public awareness to develop Christian missions in China through his constant reports and publications back in England. While these two levels of the promotion of China at work, China and her situations were better informed in Britain and the West. In the long run, it helped incorporate a sense of China in the West and paved the way leading to a mutual understanding, although the path of doing so proved to be bumpy. [27]

2. Benjamin Hobson

Benjamin Hobson was born in Welford of Northamptonshire in 1816. Not much was known about his childhood and his conversion experience. After he finished his proper training in medicine at the University College, London, he joined the LMS and left for China. He arrived in Macao in December 1839, and moved to Hong Kong in 1843. Two years later, he had to leave for England hoping that his dying wife would recover her health. But she passed away on their very last stop of the voyage. Instead of rushing back to China, he spent fifteen months in England to seek support for the medical missionary work in China in general, the founding of the medical school in Hong Kong in particular. During this stay in England, he met and married Mary Rebecca Morrison, Robert Morrison's daughter. Second, he raised funds and solicited support to open a

[27] The bumpy path as revealed in the history of Western understanding of China has been a subject of many solid publications. The recent ones include Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan's Great Contient: China in Western Minds* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998) & Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Sextants of Beijing: Global Currents in Chinese History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998). In particular, the history of the British understanding of China see T. H. Barrett, *Singular Listlessness: A Short History of Chinese Books and British Scholars*. (London: Wellsweep, 1989). In these publications, Robert Morrison's contributions in this respect only occupies a very marginal position. It calls for a need to appraise (and reappraise) the work of Robert Morrison. See some useful insights, see Starr, *Op. Cit*.

medical school in Hong Kong. In July 1847, the Hobson family returned to Hong Kong. But his plan for preparing a medical school met with frustration. In February 1848, he began his work in Canton where he remained until 1859, with a short interlude of four months to Hong Kong between 1856 and 1857. In his Canton decade, it was the most productive period for him. He started a missionary hospital in Canton, with a Chinese name Wei Ai meaning grace and love. In terms of his publications, he managed to write 21 pieces (18 were in Chinese). In 1859, he left for Shanghai and was soon back to England.[28] His poor health did not permit him to return to China, and died in England in 1873.

If we count by the arrival time of each medical missionary in China, Hobson is the eighth one.[29] However, Hobson as a pioneer deserves our attention here. It is because he had made possible a mission-through-medicine approach, which helped incorporate missionary work in the society. In the first place, it is important to acknowledge a wisdom that medical missionaries firmly established -- "It was better to avoid the risk of injuring the medical missionary cause, which could easily happen at the hands of a missionary who pretended to a knowledge and skill in medicine which he did not possess."[30] Hobson went to Hong Kong, a place with relatively peaceful circumstances than other coastal cities in China, and set up a missionary hospital on 1 June 1843. More importantly, he set himself a higher goal, namely to prepare Chinese for the practice of Western medicine (if not to modernise medical practices in China). He taught a handful of Chinese Western medicine through apprenticeship. In order to materialise his ideals, much vigorous steps were needed. At first, it was to institutionalise Western medical

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[28] For a brief account of his life and a complete list of his publications, see Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: Giving A List of their Publications, and obituary Notices of the Deceased*. (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Press, 1867), 125-128.
[29] Edward Gulick, *Peter Parker and the Opening of China*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 75.
[30] *Ibid*., 77.

knowledge for the Chinese through the establishment of medical education. In 1846, he presented in a public occasion about his long anticipated project of building a medical school for the Chinese. "I am making arrangements to establish a Medical School in Hong Kong, with a view not only to give to China a rational system of medicine, but raise up, and form a peculiar kind and fitness, a Native Agency of pious Medical Practitioners. . . . There will be a department wholly in the Chinese language for the instruction and improvement of Native Physicians in China," said Hobson.[31] Nevertheless, his plan was not materialised in Hong Kong in the 1840s, despite some official support, including the lease of a piece of land at a cheap price, that he managed to obtain from the Sir John Francis Davis (1795-1890, Governor of Hong Kong 1844-1848). Although there was not an official statement to explain why his ideals were rejected, it might well be due to the conflicts that he had with Peter Parker (1804-1888), a prominent medical missionary from the US who was opposed to basing the missionary medical institution in Hong Kong. At last, Hobson resigned from the Medical Missionary Society to avoid further conflict with Parker and moved to Canton.[32]

While he moved to a new place to start the medical mission, he also began a new approach for making possible the spread of Western medicine, namely, writing Western medical literature in Chinese. He was certainly a pioneer in this respect. He began to do so after he moved to Canton. As setting up a medical school in Hong Kong turned to be in vain, it was impossible to do so in Canton. It was because Canton had just had strong anti-foreign activities and it was a place where resources would not be channelled as easy as in Hong Kong through giant Western businessmen. Instead, he began to translate and edit Chinese books on various subjects of Western medicines. In doing so, he helped incorporate the influence of medical missionary work as well. Between 1851 and 1858,

[31] *Substance of an Address; Delivered by Benjamin Hobson, Esq., M.B. at a Meeting of the Friends of*

he wrote five books on subjects ranging from physiology and surgery to *materia medica*. These books include *Chuanti Xinlun* (Treatise on Physiology, 1851), *Xiyi Luelun* (First Lines of the Practices of Surgery in the West, 1857), *Fuying Xinshou* (Treatise on Midwifery and Diseases of Children, 1858), *Nieke Xinshou* (Practice of Medicine and *Materia Medica*, 1858), and *A Medical Vocabulary in English and Chinese* (1858).[33] Evidently, Hobson intended to use the promotion of Western medicine as a means for Christian missions. His intention was apparent in the written preface of *Chuanti Xinlun*, he wrote "The last chapter contains a short account of the history of man, varieties of colour, height, & c., and concludes with remarks upon his moral nature, and proofs of the unity, wisdom, and design of God in creation."[34] It is difficult to measure the extent to which Hobson's texts helped incorporate the missionary work in Chinese society. But his texts were highly regarded by his contemporary medical missionary and other medical historians, and had a far-reaching impact on the introduction of Western medicine not only in China but also in Japan. Take a quotation in 1865 from John Glasgow Kerr (1824-1901), an American medical missionary who began his work in China in 1854, as an example may help illuminate this point. He remarked that " To him belongs the honour of having first made accessible to the scholars and physicians of this vast empire, the anatomical, physiological and therapeutical facts upon which are founded the rational treatment of disease. The books which he translated are published in five volumes, and the demand for them in not only China but in Japan shows that they are appreciated by intelligent scholars."[35]

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the Chinese Association, in aid of the Medical Missionary Society in China (Hackney, n.p., 1846), 6-7.
[32] For the details of his conflicts with Parker, see Gulick, *Op Cit.,* 125-131
[33] The English translation of these titles are from Wylie, *Op. Cit.*
[34] Cited in *China Repository* 20 (1851): 381-382.
[35] Cited in G. H. Choa *"Heal the Sick" Was Their Motto: The Protestant Missionaries in China* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990), 72.

3. James Legge

Legge was born in 1815 in Huntly of Aberdeen. He grew up in a pious family. In his last year of study at King's College, he decided to be a missionary. After he obtained an MA, he joined the LMS which sent him to Highbury College to receive some theological training. Before he left for Malacca, he was ordained in 1839. In early 1840, he began teaching at the Anglo-Chinese College there. Besides, he was so much interested in learning the Chinese language, hoping that one day he could translate the Chinese classics into English. In 1843, the college moved to Hong Kong. So did he and his family. Soon, he established a seminary with which a preparatory school was attached. This two-level educational institution was still called the Anglo-Chinese College. Between 1845 and 1847, he returned to Scotland for health recovery. It was during this stay, he and his three accompanying Chinese students were invited to have an interview with Queen Victoria at the Buckingham Palace. This interview helped promote his fame as a missionary and the cause of the Christian missions in China. After he returned to Hong Kong, he kept his work with the Anglo-Chinese College until its closure in 1856. Afterwards, he turned to the promotion of secular education in Hong Kong. His efforts made possible the establishment of the Central School, a public school that later became the cradle of eminent figures in modern Chinese history. He actively pursued the missionary cause, he took care of the Chinese and English LMS chapels in Hong Kong, and its external stations in Foshan and Boluo of Guangdong province, South China. Furthermore, he managed to gradually finish the splendid translation of the Chinese classics between 1860 and 1873, a five-volume set of solid scholarship, which marked a higher standard of Sinology of his times not only in England but also in Europe. In 1873, he returned to England. Three years later, he was appointed to be the first Chinese Professor at Oxford University. Though at age of 61 when he assumed this

newly designed position, he managed to let his scholarship nourish for another 21 years of vigorous accomplishments in the promotion of Western understanding of China.[36]

In brief, he had focused on two tasks, namely education and sinology, in addition to his regular duties as a missionary-preacher in Hong Kong. These tasks were functional, directly or indirectly, in making possible the long-term incorporation of Christianity in China.

First, he aimed at promoting education in Hong Kong. In the first place, he aimed at offering theological training preparing Chinese pastorate. A preparatory school was attached to the seminary to enable its students to attain a certain level of basic knowledge in many areas and a rather advanced level of the English language, which were necessary conditions for theological training. There were however pressure from the donors of the seminary. At last, Legge closed the seminary in 1856. Throughout the active years of the seminary between 1844 and 1856, there were over a hundred of students studying in the preparatory school. But only 7 students studying theology and none of them turned to be a pastor in any church in Hong Kong. That many Chinese graduated from the preparatory school without advancing to theological studies proved that what was really in need as felt by the Chinese in Hong Kong was a solid education with special emphasis on the English language rather than theology. In 1860, he proposed the founding of the Central School in which Chinese and English languages and other secular subjects, such as history and mathematics were parts of the curriculum.[37]

Concurrent with the development of the seminary and its preparatory, he had his influence on the grant-in-aid scheme for schools in Hong Kong. The origin of the

[36] For Legge's missionary activities, see Wong Man Kong, *James Legge: A Pioneer at Crossroads of East and West* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Publishing Company, 1996). Among Lauren Pfister's substantial pieces of study on James Legge, see the latest one, "The Legacy of James Legge," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22:2 (1998): 77-82.
[37] Wong Man Kong, "The Historical Significance of the Anglo-Chinese College in Sino-Western Cultural Exchange," in *On Problems of Asian History: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Professor*

scheme dated back in 1845 when Legge expressed his requests to the government for supporting missionary schools. The scheme in its roughest shape was implemented in 1847, of which missionaries, like Karl Gutzlaff (1803-1851) and William Lobscheid (1821 b.) were appointed as the inspectors of schools consecutively to take charge of educational affairs. In its early stages, Legge had been able to play a key part in the scheme, such as recommending people to be teachers in government aided schools. After the Anglo-Chinese College was closed in 1856, the LMS started a few small schools that were placed under the aid scheme. The number of students and the amount of funding from the government increased. The LMS was able to incorporate their educational activities into their chapels, while the chapels and the schools shared their resources, buildings, and other related facilities. The LMS had become a major partner of the government in the provision of public education through its participation in the scheme since 1873. In other words, the LMS seized the best opportunities to expand further their share in the public education. With additional resources to support, such as grants for building schools (which at the same time as chapels), the conditions for further expansion of missionary activities were getting mature. More importantly, the provision of education enabled the Chinese converts and members of the LMS a better mobility in the society, while they had had a good Western education. Their abilities, for example, in the English language prepared them good opportunities in Hong Kong, a city of major port for China trade. These educated and wealthy people became Christians and connected with the church. They were benefited from the Western education provided by the LMS and turned to be the cornerstone for the future development of the LMS missionary activities in China. Besides, while Hong Kong led the currents of Western education as compared with other coastal cities (not to say interior cities), their contribution were not

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Heido Fukazawa's Retirement. (Morioka: Centre of Asian Studies at Iwate University, 2000), 23-39.

restricted to Hong Kong, and many of them were pioneers in introducing modernised knowledge (if not solely Western learning) to China. Evidently, the LMS became a status-giving social institution, and successfully incorporated the missionary works into the Hong Kong society.[38] Furthermore, LMS's educational work helped incorporate the church further deep in the Chinese search for modernisation. While checking through the list of reformers in late imperial China and the list of the ministers in Republican China, it was so apparent that many were from Hong Kong, and some were graduates of the Central school, and some were from the LMS schools in Hong Kong.[39]

Second, his another task that caught probably more of his time and energy was the pursuit of Sinology. When he studied in King's College, the University of Aberdeen, he had demonstrated a scholarly disposition and capability, particularly in Latin. It was possibly because of his training in classical studies, he heavily regarded an understanding of the basics of Chinese culture, while carrying out the missionary work among the Chinese. Soon after he commenced his missionary work in Malacca in 1840, he had already thought of translating the Chinese classics, even though his knowledge of Chinese was very slim at that time. Throughout his missionary career in China, he became very much involved in translating the Chinese classics, which he managed to complete his task by 1873. At his inaugural lecture at Oxford in 1876, he stressed that the long-term success of the missionary cause depended on the extent to which the missionaries could understand the Chinese and their culture.[40] In crafting his translation of the Chinese classics, he pioneered a paradigm in accommodating Christian belief to Chinese culture, of which two instances can be taken as good examples. In the first

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[38] Wong Man Kong, "Christian Missions, Chinese Culture, Colonial Administration: A Study of the Activities of James Legge and Ernest John Eitel in nineteenth century Hong Kong," (Ph.D thesis, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1996).
[39] Ng Lun Ngai Ha, "The Role of Hong Kong Educated Chinese in the Shaping of Modern China." *Modern Asian Studies* 17:1 (1983): 137-163.
[40] Wong, *James Legge* 80-95.

place, he asseverated the value of Confucius' ideas in the revised edition of his translation of Chinese classics, an opposite position that he expressed in 1861 when the first edition of the first volume of the Chinese classics was completed.[41] Second, his strong preference of the term *Shangdi* (adopted from the Chinese classics) as the proper Chinese rendering of God. In doing so, as it is pointedly remarked, his use of Shangdi "has remained a hallmark of missionary scholarship and has influenced the use of the term among Chinese Christians with High Church liturgical backgrounds."[42] Although his accommodation position did not become a prominent missionary approach as what the Jesuits had accomplished in the late Ming dynasty,[43] his approach did have influence upon Chinese Christians and their formulation of Christian doctrines from the vantage-points of their cultural heritage.[44] His positive assessment of Confucianism laid as a groundwork upon which a dialogue between Protestant Christianity and Chinese culture became possible. In long run, he helped incorporate Christianity into Chinese society through a cultural dimension.

4. Husdon Taylor

He was born in Barnsley of Yorkshire on 21 May 1832. His family background had a profound impact upon his decision to be a missionary. His great grandparents were close associates with John Wesley (1703-1791), and his grandparents also had deep connection with the Methodist movement. His poor health in his young teenage did not

[41] See Teng, *Op. Cit*.
[42] Pfister, *Op. Cit*., 81.
[43] It was the circumstances under which China in the wake of colonialism led to the rejection of Legge's approach, as clearly argued by Lau Tze-yiu. See "James Legge (1815-1897) and Chinese Culture: A Missiological Study in Scholarship, Translation and Evangelization," (Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1994), 309-324.
[44] The notable examples are Ho Tsun-shin (1817-1871) and Ho Yuk-tsun (1806-1903). See Wong Man Kong, "The Yin-Yang Interaction: James Legge and the Chinese Christians," *Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies* (forthcoming) and Wong Man Kong "The Rendering of God in Chinese by the Chinese: A Prelimenary Study of the Chinese Responses to the Term Question as Seen in the Wanguo Gongbao," (paper presented at the International Conference on Translating Western

allow him to finish his schooling. Instead, his parents took care of his education and upbringing at home. From his age at 13 onward, he worked as an assistant in his father's pharmacist shop. In June 1849, he felt his missionary call for China, and began reading 's *China: Its State and Prospects*, written in 1850 by Walter H. Medhurst (1796-1857), a LMS missionary. He took Medhurst's advice to receive medical training to prepare his missionary work. Between 1851 and 1852, he was an apprentice to a doctor in Hull and then studied medicine in London. He left for China in 1854 as he joined the Chinese Evangelisation Society, which Karl Gutzlaff established. In 1860, he returned to England for health recovery. Besides, he finished his medical training that he had begun before he left for China in 1854 and was admitted as a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in July 1862. A major leap of his missionary work occurred in 1865 when he declared the commencement of the China Inland mission (CIM). Taylor travelled extensively in Europe and the US to solicit support for the missionary cause in China through the paradigm of faith mission and the work of the CIM in particular. The publication of the CIM periodical *China Millions* and his other writings, notably *China: Its Spiritual Need and Claims; with Brief Notices of Missionary Effort, Past and Present*, become sources of information and admiration about the work of the CIM. These publications reached their European and American audience.[45] He died in 1905 in China.

His major contribution made possible the embodiment of "Faith Mission" paradigm. Early in 1865, he had already stressed his approach -- "looking to God for the supply of all his need."[46] Soon, his approach was further developed and became a policy for the

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Knowledge to Late Imperial China, University of Gottingen, December 1999).

[45] Wylie, *Op. Cit*, 222-223. For a useful yet brief discussion of Taylor, see Paul A. Cohen, "Missionary Approaches: Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard," *Papers on China* 11 (December 1957): 29-62. For a biographical account in rich details, see A. J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and the China's Open Century* (London: OEF, 1981-1989). Recently, there is a good study of Taylor in Chinese by Choi Kam-to *James Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission, 1832-1953*. (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1998).

[46] J. Hudson Taylor, *China: Its Spiritual Need and Claims; with brief Notices of Missionary Efforts, Past and Present*. (London: James Nisbet & co., 1865), 116.

CIM. The essence of the policy is as follows, "Every member of the mission is expected to recognise that his dependence for the supply of all his need is on God, who called him and for whom he labours, and not on human organisation."[47] His firm conviction in God's providence became a living example for many China missionaries. With a modest beginning of 22 missionaries in the fall of 1866, the CIM became a giant organisation. In 1889, CIM missionaries accounted for 28% of the whole missionary force in China. In 1905 when he passed away, there were over 800 CIM missionaries and 500 Chinese assistants in over 300 places in China. Furthermore, there were many missionary societies followed Taylor's foot-path and began their missionary work in China. These included the Swedish Mission in China, the Swedish Holiness Union, the Swedish Alliance Mission, the Norwegian Mission in China, the German China Alliance, the Liebenzell Mission, and the Scandinavian Alliance Mission. His influence on the development of missionary work reached beyond China. The notable examples were Sudan Interior Mission, Central American Mission, South Africa General Mission, and the Livingstone Inland Mission.[48] Moreover, his example had a world-wide impact. Eminent figures in mission history, such as John Mott (1865-1955), Gustav Warneck (1834-1910), Sherwood Eddy (1871-1963), acknowledged their religious and intellectual debts from Taylor.[49] His stress on faith gave him the greatest flexibility in mission logistic and recruitment of missionaries across denominations and nations. By the 1880s, the CIM had already developed to be of truly interdenominational and international character. The more diversified in the sources of finance and recruitment the stronger the CIM turned to be. In doing so, the penetration of the CIM into interior and other parts of China became more elastic than any other single missionary society in China.

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[47] *Instructions for Probationers and Members of the CIM* (Shanghai: China Inland Mission, 1925), p.2; cited in Daniel W. Bacon, "The Influence of Hudson Taylor on the Faith Missions Movement," (D. Miss thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1983), 11.
[48] Bacon, *Op. Cit.*, 91-104.

However, it does not mean that there is without problem. Its strength was restricted by the fact that Taylor until 1900 was the major person taking charge of its administrative decision. As a result, "this meant that the character of the mission reflected Taylor's own approach to missionary work. It also had potentially serious consequences for the operation of the mission." More importantly, it caused "rapid personnel turnover," and that "the individual missionary's powerlessness to take independent action in responses to an immediate situation sometimes resulted in contradictions between general CIM policy and specific directives from Taylor."[50]

Working with such a religious character, the CIM developed its "pattern for reaching the unreached."[51] At the superficial level, the CIM required its missionaries to wear Chinese clothes, symbolising their determination to take up the Chinese lifestyle. It has been pointedly suggested that “In becoming like the Chinese in dress and manners, the missionaries believed they could elide their own boundaries of culture and class and the fear they had of the Chinese culture itself. They also believed they could allay the negative image that opium trade had given all foreigners.”[52] At a deeper level, the CIM relied on Chinese preachers to carry out its preaching in interior parts; there were altogether 702 missionaries (including male missionaries and their wives, single female missionaries, and physician) and 681 Chinese preachers.[53] More importantly, Taylor and CIM missionaries were pioneers in pushing the physical frontiers of the missionary stations from the treaty ports and their subsequent areas to the interior cities and villages. It happened that there were two treaties in 1858 and 1860 in which the missionary activities in China beyond treaty ports were secured. As it began its missionary activities

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[49] Bacon, *Op. Cit*., 82.
[50] Cohen, "Missionary Approaches, "33-34.
[51] Bacon, *Op. Cit.,* 83-86.
[52] Susan Fleming McAllister, “Cross Cultural Dress in Victorian British Missionary Narratives: Dressing for Eternity” in *Christian Encounter with the Other*, ed. John C. Hawley. (Washington Square: New York University Press, 1998), 132.

in 1865, the CIM could reach further interior, making possible the approach to reach the unreached. For a number of reasons, Chinese people were hostile to Catholic and Protestant missionaries in the treaty ports and interior parts.[54] Hudson Taylor and his CIM colleagues were always the targets of mob attacks. In view of these attacks, he had two noteworthy responses. First, he was not deterred by the anti-missionary activities that directed against him and the CIM. Rather, he became much anxious to recruit more missionaries. It has been pointed out that "The [anti-missionary] riots of 1891 only added urgency to the call [by the CIM] and through the decade well over 1000 new Protestant missionaries streamed into China."[55] Second, unlike many missionaries who fought for fair compensation or some even extorted for more than reasonable, Taylor made it clear that the CIM policy was to refuse to "claim compensation."[56] His responses made the anti-missionary activities more as a kind of a positive than a negative asset for him and the CIM. Not only did he have a larger team of missionaries, but he also won himself and the CIM a decent reputation of not relying upon imperialist power to squeeze money from China. More importantly, the latter made the faith mission approach -- a trust in the providence of God -- more coherent in its inner logic.

His pietistic position in soul saving occupied a priority of the missionary work. Nonetheless, it does not mean that the CIM did not carry out medical (clinic and/or dispensaries) and educational work. It is true that these works were regarded as auxiliary and therefore secondary.[57] Despite the auxiliary character, these charitable work were always useful means to for the end of Christian missions in nineteenth century China. As

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[53] Choi, *Op.Cit.*, 84.

[54] Fairbank, "Patterns bethind the Tienstin Massacre," Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University press, 1963) & Edmund S. Wehrle, *Britain, China, and the Anti-missionary riots*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966).

[55] Wehrle, *Op. Cit.,* 45.

[56] Wehrle, *Op. Cit*., 71.

[57] Cohen, "Missionary Approaches: Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard,"38-39.

the CIM was a rapidly growing mission agent and its *modus operandi* was to go interior, its strength in education was noteworthy and had its relative contribution to the promotion of basic education in China, which was otherwise an unattainable goal given the impoverished problem in interior China. By 1900, there were altogether 133 CIM schools in thirteen out of eighteen provinces of China.[58]

5. Timothy Richard

Timothy Richard was born in Ffaldybrenin of South Wales on 10 October 1845. He was brought up in a family which devout principles were honoured. His father was a deacon of a Baptist church in his community. Soon after his baptism at age 15, he decided to be a missionary. At age 20, he was admitted to Haverfordwest Theological Seminary, a Baptist institution in Wales, where he heard of the Christian missions in China missionary. He joined the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) which appointed him as a China. On 27 February 1870, he arrived in Chefoo of Shandong province, North China. Soon he realised the limited success of street-evangelism and distributing Christian tracts in China, he looked for other alternatives. He was inspired by Edward Irving (1792-1834) to confine his missionary work at "winning the devout leaders." He studied the Chinese classics as translated by James Legge. It did not take him long to turn on other secular subjects, such as History and Social Sciences. It was as a result of his perception of China's problems. Between 1876 and 1879, he raised fund for the famine work in Shandong and Shanxi provinces where he also served as the relief administrator. Among the Chinese literati, he established himself not only as a missionary but also a source of inspiration for reforms in China, such as education, agriculture, mining, transportation, trade, and the others. He promoted a lot of reform-related ideas through publications by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General

[58] Choi, *Op. Cit*., 84.

Knowledge among the Chinese, of which he was the secretary since late 1891. After the Boxer Uprising in 1899-1900, he persuaded Qing officials to found the Shansi [Shanxi] University, which was financed by the Boxer Indemnities. Moreover, he had a genuine interest in studying Chinese religions and his major publication include: *Calendar of the Gods in China* (also known as *Chinese Religious Calendar*), which was published in 1906, and *Guide to Buddhahood Being a Standard Manual of Chinese Buddhism*, which was published in 1907. He died on 17 April 1919, almost three years after his retirement from China.[59]

He was the source of inspiration for many Chinese reformers of his times, including prominent Qing officials, like Zhang Zhidong (1827-1909) or major intellectuals like Kang Youwei (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao (1873-1929). Besides, he reported that even the reform-minded Emperor Guangxu (1870-1908; reign: 1875-1908) studied Richard's publications so as to acquire some insights for reforms. His publications were well received by the literati. His influential works included the following: *Jiushi Jiaoyi* (Historical Evidences of Christianity for China), *Zhongxi Si Daizheng* (The Four Policies in China and the West), *Liuguo Biantung Qingsheng Ji* (A Brief History of the Rise and Fall of Nations), and *Taixi Xinshi Lanyiu* (a Chinese translation of Robert Mackenzie's *The Nineteenth Century: A History*). Of these publications, the last one seemed to be the most popular one while it was said to have more than a million copies produced and purchased.[60] Here, it is not intended to outline the contents of these publications.[61]

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[59] There are a few solid studies on Timothy Richard. See Cohen, "Missionary Approaches: Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard." P. Richard Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), P. Richard Bohr, "The Legacy of Timothy Richard," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (April 2000): 75-80. The biographical sketch of Richard is extracted from my article, "Timothy Richard and the Chinese Reform Movement," *Fides et Historia* 31:2 (Summer/Fall 1999): 47-59.

[60] Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, "Western Impact on China Through Translation," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 13:3 (May 1954): 314.

[61] I have previously written an article which discusses some major points this respect, please see Wong," Timothy Richard and the Chinese Reform Movement."

Rather, it is important to note that Richard tactfully blended the messages as embraced in Christianity with the modern knowledge that Chinese urged in the midst of reform. In his 1892 report, he recorded that "we propose to call special attention to the economic value of the chief factors of Christian Civilisation so as to elevate the Chinese materially, intellectually, morally, and spiritually."[62] A better way to illuminate his views is to present his notion of how a China missionary ought to be, out of which he made a six-point remark:

> 1. If he wants a Chinese statesman to adopt the laws of Christendom he translates the best books he knows of on law and Christian Institutions and lets him compare them with his own. He can never acquire this knowledge by prayer or Bible study only.
>
> 2. If he wants a Chinese student to adopt the educational system of Christendom he places in his hands in his own tongue a clear account of Western education and lets him compare it with that of China. Bible study, however excellent, does not supply information about modern education of Christendom.
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> 3. If he wants a Chinese believer in astrology, alchemy, geomancy (feng-shui), lucky days, omens, etc., to adopt modern views of Christendom he gives him in the Chinese language text books on astronomy, chemistry, geology, physics, and electricity, where he can find God's exact eternal laws which govern all departments of nature explained, and which he can compare with the vague and often false theories in the books of this own country.
>
> 4. If he wants a Chinese capitalist to be enlisted in behalf of modern railroads, engineering, and industries generally in order to provide better conditions for the poor, he gives him in Chinese an outline of the leading engineering and manufacturing concerns in the world with their effect on the poor, to compare with those of his own country.
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> 5. If he wants a Chinese merchant to extend his business he has only to put before him in his own tongue the profits of the trade in foreign goods compared with the profits of trade in native goods.
>
> 6. If he wants a Chinese religious man to adopt Christianity he gives him books in his own tongue to explain the leading events in the history if God's providence over all nations and the leading forces of the universe, showing how they bear on the progress of man and

[62] *Fifth annual report of the Society of the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese for year ending October 31, 1892* (Shanghai: Noronha & Sons, 1892), 13.

> showing how they illustrate the almighty, eternal, all-wise, and all-kind character of the Supreme Power, enabling men not only to have communion with Him but also to partake of His nature and attributes more and more as we better understand His ways in the world from age to age. This the man can compare with the gropings of his own religions after these higher truths.[63]

Though the messages he presented and the ways he handled evangelism might seem to have some qualities similar to we nowadays would call "social gospel," I would however consider him as a "translator of Christian messages whose identification with his contemporary China was profound."[64] Besides, there are two interesting points worthy of notice when we put Richard's translation into the perspectives of the history of Chinese search for modernisation in general and of Chinese translation of Western books in particular. First, his translation "reflects a picture of the needs and interests of the times." Second, his choice of translation "may be explained partly by the fact that humanistic influence is perhaps more basic and fundamental than technical knowledge."[65] Of course, his ways of blending of Christian messages and secular knowledge reflects his innovative handling of missionary position in the midst of Chinese crisis under imperialism on the one hand and Chinese search for modernisation on the other hand.

But what was and has been remembered officially about Richard by the Chinese were not his reform-related publications. What needs to be mentioned here is that Richard did not end at working on papers. "In 1896, he circulated among European capitals a pamphlet advocating the creation of a 'League of Nations' and urged Britain's Foreign Office to pressure nations into abandoning scramble of concession in China, return tariff autonomy to the Qing government, and finance his scheme for China's universal education," as remarked by a Richard's biographer.[66] After the Boxer uprising, Richard

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[63] Timothy Richard, *Conversion by the Million: Being Biographies and Articles by Timothy Richard* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1907), vol. 2, 176-79.
[64] Wong "Timothy Richard and the Chinese Reform Movement," 59.
[65] Tsien, *Op. Cit.,* 326
[66] Bohr, "The Legacy of Timothy Richard," 78. See also, Wehrle, *Op. Cit*., 124.

played a role in making the peace between China and Britain. More importantly, he managed to convince the British government to use an impressive amount from the Boxer indemnity to found Shanxi University, of which he was made the chancellor that university and introduced a curriculum on western learning. In view of all his contributions, Richard was appointed as a Chinese official. The Chinese official way of honouring a national hero was to ennoble one's ancestor for three generations. So was it in Richard's case.[67] In nowadays China, the monuments and relics honouring missionary presence in late imperial China were intentionally removed. An exception was the Timothy Richard tablet which not only survived through the Cultural Revolution but is also duly placed in the Taiyuan Norman University of which its predecessor was Shanxi University.

6. Thomas Torrance

On 12 March 1871, he was born and raised in a farm in Shotts of Lanarkshire, Scotland. Inspired by David Livingstone (1813-1873), he decided to take up the career as a missionary. It was a decision that his parents did not like. He managed to support himself for theological studies at the Hulme Cliff College, a missionary training college, between 1892 and 1894 and then finish the studies at the Livingstone College in 1895. Subsequently, he joined the CIM and was appointed as its China missionary. He arrived in Shanghai on 1 January 1896. After a brief training in the Chinese language, he was sent to Chengdu, the largest CIM station in Sichuan. As a young people with a burning heart for China missions, he was so much attracted by the ideals and practices proclaimed by the CIM. But after more than a decade of services, his frustration with its policy, hierarchy and management led him to quit the CIM in 1910 and returned to Scotland.

[67] *Ibid*.

Soon afterwards he took the invitation offered by the American Bible Society (ABS) to take charge of its station in Chengdu when he attended the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. Around 1916, a few years of services at the ABS, he found himself a new field, namely the Ch'iang (Qiang in the pinyin system) people in Sichuan province, West China, whom he believed were the descents of people from ancient Israel. He had a profound interest for the Ch'iang people, which motivated not only his missionary work but also his involvement in the establishment of a museum at the West China Union University (WCUU). It was duly recorded in the minutes 243 of the WCUU on 3 October 1934 as follows,[68]

> Whereas, the Rev. Thomas Torrance, one of the few remaining pioneer missionaries of West China, is about to leave us, Be it resolved that this University Faculty record its appreciation of Mr. Torrance and of the labours he has performed . . .
>
> We also record Mr. Torrance's great service in the building up of our Museum, especially in the finding and evaluating of bronzes and porcelains. Among the priceless objects in the Museum not a few bear the name of Thomas Torrance, and many more have been secured through his agency. . . .

Between the 1890s and the 1930s, a period of political turmoil in China, Torrance was lucky to escape from a few anti-missionary cases where missionaries were either killed or banished, these included the Boxers in 1899 and the Chinese communists in 1927. He retired and left China for Edinburgh on 7 November 1934. Although he left the Ch'iang people, his heart was still with them. His attachment and concern can be revealed in his writings about them. On Chiang people, he has written two books, namely, *The History, Customs and Religion of the Ch'iang People of West China* (1920) and *China's First Missionaries: Ancient Israelites* (1937); and about two dozens of articles in missionary and academic publications, such as *West China Missionary News*,

[68] This minute was cited in Thomas Torrance, *China's First Missionaries: Ancient "Israelites"* 2nd edition, enlarged by Thomas F. Torrance (Chicago: Daniel Shaw Co., 1988), 133.

The Chinese Recorder, *Journal of the West China Border Research Society, The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*. He was also the author of two religious books, namely *The Beatitudes and the Decalogue* (1921) and *Expository Studies in St. John's Miracles* (1938). He died in 1959.[69]

As pointed out in the farewell article in *The West China Missionary News*, his major contributions are twofold, namely "the evangelistic work carried on each night at the East Street Chapel and the even greater work among the Chiang people of the north."[70] His mission with the Ch'iang people deserves special attention. The East Street chapel, which he called Dong Min Wy in Chinese, was the first Ch'iang church in which he had a significant role. In less than a year after he left China, the Chinese communists came to Sichuan province and killed many missionaries and Chinese Christians. In the massacre, the East Street Chapel was destroyed and only a handful of its members survived, and a copy of a Chinese Bible was kept. Soon the Chinese Bible was sent back to him in Edinburgh in memory of the ruins of the East Street Chapel. To him, that Chinese Bible stood as "a symbol of resurrection."[71] In addition to foster his hope, he was more motivated to reflect upon his anthropological theory of the Ch'iang people.

His theory about the Ch'iang people was indeed a reflection of his blurred vision over the sacred and secular dimension of his missionary work. He acknowledged his debt of insight from Joseph Edkins (1823-1905) who put China into the map of the diffusion theory in his *Early Spread of Religious Ideas, Especially in the Far East*. He noted that "He [Edkins] and others of his day drew aside the veil from the growth of

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[69] Not much has been studied and written about Thomas Torrance. The information here is extracted from the brief note written by his son, Thomas F. Torrance, the famous theologian, see Anderson¸ *Op. Cit*., 675. See also a biography the theologian Torrance in which some reference about his father is provided. Alister E. McGrath, *T. F. Torrance: An Intellectual Biography* (Edinburgh: T & & Clark, 1999).

[70] "Farewell to Rev. T. Torrance," *The West China Missionary News* 36: 12 (December 1934): 24-25.

Chinese religious conceptions, letting it be known that China had not lived her life as much in the isolation of independence as many had supposed."[72] Torrance regarded himself making a contribution that "it was not suspected by anyone that she had benefited considerably by the direct influence of a colony of Israelites on her Western frontier."[73] His discovery was rooted from his missionary work. He recorded that

> in the course of the writer's missionary work in the far West of China, a surprise came nineteen years ago in the finding of a colony of ancient immigrant whose religious observances resembled very closely those of the Old Testament. At the time of the discovery, and for a number of years afterwards, it did not occur to us that these people might be of the seed of Abraham. While it was plain that they hailed originally from Asia Minor, because their customs, laws, architecture, demeanour and physiognomy made it certain, the surmise was rather that they sprang from another Semitic line, and that their religious practices revealed a type of religion anterior to that of the Israelites. But with an increased knowledge of their traditions and a better understanding of their religious mysteries, the conclusion was forced on us slowly that were indeed descendants of ancient Israelites settlers.[74]

With that belief in mind, Torrance integrated it with his religious piety with the ancient Chinese history. In doing so, he found a place not only for missionaries but more importantly Christianity. Perhaps, it is better to let his words speak for himself as follows,

> The discovery of these descendants of ancient Israel in West China naturally brought in its train many interesting reflections. The greatest, of course, was that God had not been unmindful of these Eastward migrations of primitive peoples which in process of time came to coalesce into the present Chinese race. Even they had to be told of the Law promulgated at Mount Sinai with its attendant Jehovistic sacrifice, and He sent His well-instructed servants to do the telling. Since He had made of one blood all races of men, none could be left, not even the wanderers who found their way to the ends of the earth, to remain without a revealed knowledge of His will. . . .
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> It was indeed a pleasing surprise that the Gospel had been proclaimed thus

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[71] McGrath, *Op. Cit.*, 28.
[72] Torrance, *Op. Cit.*, 7-8. For a general background of Joseph Edkins and his views of Chinese religions, see my article, "Protestant Missionaries' Images of Chinese Buddhism: A Preliminary Study of the Buddhist Writings by Joseph Edkins, Ernest John Eitel, and James Legge," *The HKBU Journal of Historical Studies* 1 (1999): 183-203.
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] *Ibid.*, 16.

> early in China, nevertheless it hardly prepared us, such was the weakness of our faith in God's goodness, for the greater surprise that a witness of divine truth had come to the land with the arrival at its doors of Israelitish immigrants several hundred years before the time of Christ. But when finally persuaded of its actuality, it was impossible not to pause and consider the appropriateness of its coming at such a time. It was near to the formative period when Confucianism and Taoism left their impress on the moral and religious thought of the Chinese mind, and before the arrival of Buddhism with its blighting influence. A new spirit then stirred in the land. The great progressive Chou dynasty, from which China's authentic historical records are dated, had come to its ascendancy.
>
> The several States under its sway were realizing a heightening tide of new life. . . . Though ancestral worship obtained favour with many, and spirits imaginary or real were often placated, such beliefs, in this land of contradictions, could not undo the rational worship of Shang Ti, The Most High. He was also known under the name of Tien . . .. "a simple anthropomorphic picture to denote the Powerful Being in the Sky who took a marked interest in human affairs." The primal religion of China was a simple Monotheism. . . . Hence in China formed in many ways a suitable field for evangelization. She was to be given a higher conception of righteousness than she had, a deeper consciousness of Sin and an assure that God was the Saviour of the penitent as well as the inexorable Judge of the evil-doer.

Having said that, Torrance made clear that his speculation did share a limit. He remarked that "How far the promulgation of the faith of the Israelites moulded the Chinese national life and thought can only be surmised and faintly traced: the historical records of the succeeding centuries are too meagre in their reference to the people to provide a satisfactory guide."[75]

Apparently, Torrance's view is more or less a product of the trend of scholarship of his times.[76] As measure by nowadays standards, his view is not of particular value for scholarship in the field of ancient Chinese history while the diffusion theory has been rejected. In particular, if we looked into the history of the Ch'iang people, his writing confirms with our knowledge that they came in contacts with the Chinese in interior

[75] *Ibid.*, 121..

[76] For a brief yet insightful discussion on the diffusion theory as applied in China, see Wang Gungwu, "Chinese Civilization and the Diffusion of Culture," in *The Chineseness of China: Selected Essays* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991), 132-144.

became significant since the Warring states period (475 BC - 221 BC).[77] But a deeper look into the Ch'iang people in Chinese history, especially during the Han dynasty, would lead one to speculate the extent to which the Ch'iang people really had their impact in the formation of Chinese intellectual or religious ideas while they were cautiously contained by the Chinese government.[78] Besides, the Ch'iang people appeared to be "scattered all around and never became a unified people."[79]

Torrance's pioneering work with the Ch'iang people would reflect his blurred horizon over religion and history. His belief that the Ch'iang people were the descendants of ancient Israelites may have two levels of impact. First, it would help motivate other missionaries to try, despite the poor conditions for preaching with the minority groups in pre-1949 China.[80] Second, it might serve as a basis for new mission paradigm as to how to carry out missionary work with the non-Han people in China. In doing so, he helped pave the ways for a more comprehensive incorporation of Christianity in China.

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7. Ronald Owen Hall

On 22 July 1895, Ronald Owen Hall was born into a family with strong religious commitment. His father was the vicar of a parish. After his award-winning military services for the WWI between 1914 and 1919, he studied very briefly at Brasenose College at Oxford and Cudesdon Theological College. His religious piety drove him to join the Christian Student Movement and later became its national staff. The first time that he came to China was April 1922 when he was missionary secretary attending the

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[77] Yu Ying-shin, *Trade and Expansion in Han China: A Study of Sino-Barbarian Economic Relations*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 6-7.
[78] *Ibid*., 13-16.
[79] *Ibid*.., 52.
[80] Ralph R. Covell, *The Liberating Gospel in China: The Christian Faith Among China's Minority Peoples*. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995), 28-29.

World's Student Christian Federation at Tsing Hua University, Beijing. His second visit to China was due to the invitation from T. Z. Koo (1887-1971), a Chinese Christians leader, to take part in the peacemaking mission in 1925 and 1926 after the high tide of anti-British sentiment marked by the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925. Between 1926 and 1932, he was a parish priest in Newcastle. In 1932, he was appointed the bishop of Hong Kong, a position that he kept until 1966 when he retired. Under his leadership, the Anglican Church in Hong Kong had experienced a significant growth and more importantly became a major partner with the government in the provision of social services. He retired at age 71 and returned to England. He passed away in 1975.[81] His eventful life was nicely summarised in an obituary article in the *South China Morning Post*, a leading English newspaper in Hong Kong. Part of it read as follows,

> It is easy enough to reel off the statistical achievement of Bishop Hall's tenure, as was done at his farewell dinner in 1966 -- he founded 30 churches, established 50 primary and 15 secondary schools and launched many welfare agencies -- but R. O. Hall was not a man who measured either his own or the Church's success in conventional terms. His goal was not a bigger, better and more impressive Anglican diocese . . . but a demonstration of Christian love in action in the modern world.[82]

But I think it is more appropriate to say that his life, especially in regard to his missionary work, a demonstration of Christian love in action in modern China than the modern world. It seems essential to begin with an understanding of the modern China that he personally encountered before we moved on to understand the value of his collaboration with the Hong Kong government in the provision of social services in Hong Kong.

The making of his position on the missionary work in China took root from his understanding of the rise of Chinese nationalistic sentiment. The first time that he came

[81] For a brief account of his life, see the contribution by Charles Long in Anderson, *Op. Cit.*, 275-76. David M. Paton wrote a biography of Hall and made available quite extensively of Hall's personal writings. See, David M. Paton, *R. O. The Life and Times of Bishop Ronald Hall of Hong Kong*. (Hong Kong: The Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau, 1985).

to China was to join the World's Student Christian Federation in Beijing in 1922. The theme of the conference was "Reconstruction of the World according to the Christian Plan." Nonetheless, this conference led to the emergence of the "Anti-Christian Students Federation." It was more as a result of the rise of nationalism since the May Fourth Movement in 1919 and the New Culture Movement soon afterwards.[83] Hall was aware of and impressed by the zenith of Chinese nationalistic sentiment. In the conference, he made friends with several Chinese Christian leaders including the prominent T. Z. Koo and Y. T. Wu (1895-1975). His personal observation and his friendship assured in him a strong sense of respect towards the Chinese Christians and their contribution in the development of Christian missions in China. In 1924, he reflected that "China was no longer a daughter but a sister Church."[84] Probably because of his affectionate attitudes towards Chinese Christian, he was invited to work for a year on re-establishing links with Chinese Christians after the high tide of anti-British sentiment marked by the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925.[85] Out of this critical event, Hall did not aggrandise himself; rather he intended for the reconciliation work. After all, it was an important experience for him. It can be seen from the following reflection:

> I was the first Englishman to work in the Student Department of the Chinese YMCA, and the invitation to me to come had followed the bitter experiences of May 30. This invitation was typical of T. Z. Koo, who is strongly nationalistic and quietly resentful of any slight to his country or her people, and yet passionately concerned for international forgiveness and understanding. Yet forgiveness did not come easily: though intensely emotional, he has never been sentimental. Perhaps the chief value of my going proved in the end to be the dent it made on the British community in Shanghai. Here was a man who was a Church of England clergyman, who spoke with the right accent and had done all the rights things, "Oxford and all that, don't you know?" and he had come out to join this "American-Communist-Nationalist-Political racket, the YMCA what?" the more intelligent ones took notice. They came to know David

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[82] *South China Morning Post* 22 April 1975.
[83] For useful insights, see Jessie G. Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions the Anti-Christian Movement of 1920-28*. (Notre Dame: Cross Road Publications, 1988), 47-55 & 64-76.
[84] Paton, *Op.Cit.*, 43.
[85] Lutz, *Op. Cit.,* 166-186.

> Yui and T. Z. Koo and so got a new insight into China and what was happening in China.[86]

According to a Hall's biographer, "1925-6 meant that what began in 1922 was deepened, and made permanent."[87] In 1932, he was appointed the Bishop of the Diocese of Hong Kong and South China. His affectionate attitudes towards Chinese remained unchanged. For example, he supported the rural reconstruction in general and the village education in particular in Guangdong province.[88] The Japanese army had already invaded China in 1931. By 1937, the warfare between China and Japan went on in a more vigorous scale. Hall's passion with the Chinese prepared him to take up relief work in South China, upon which the Chinese government acknowledged his contribution and conferred him the title of the Order of the Red Precious Stone.[89]

No other attempt would be more revealing of his views about missionary work among the Chinese in the 1930s and the 1940s than outlining his major views as presented in his book, *The Art of the Missionary: Fellow Worker with the Church in China*. Hall wrote to advise how China missionaries prepared their work, and he discussed issues ranging from religious to cultural levels of reflection. In regard to his remarks about religious qualities in the missionary work, he first highlighted the importance of reverence. He remarked, "the starting point of the artist's life is reverence for that which is not oneself and co-operation with something which is so much more than one's own mind."[90]

Second, he reminded China missionaries about the Chinese reality, and to avoid

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[86] *Ibid*., 44-45.
[87] Paton, *Op. Cit*., 53.
[88] G. F. S. Gray, *Anglicans in China: A History of the Zhongha Shenggong Hui* (Austin: The Episcopal China Mission History Project, 1996), 50.
[89] Deborah Ann Brown, *Turmoil in Hong Kong on the Eve of Communist Rule: The Fate of the Territory and Its Anglican Church*. (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1993), 88.
[90] Ronald Owen Hall, *The Art of the Missionary: Fellow Workers with the Church in China* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1942), 12-13. There was also the American edition, which was published by the International Missionary Council in the same year, however with a different title, namely *The Missionary Artist Looks at His Job*.

Eurocentrism. He remarked that "In China art and religion are very close together. The Chinese are an artistic rather than a religious people. . . . In our sense of the world they are not religious -- but they are artistic. You cannot talk of the religions of the Chinese people, but only of their art; not because their art is their religion, but because their art is their life."[91] Furthermore, he noted that "In our country bridge and the cinema take the place of gambling and opium. Dividends and the daily scanning of the stock market lists are our counterparts of avarice and peculation; familyism is replaced by the old school tie, and for 'face' we have a doctrine of 'the rights of men' and a readiness to be 'insulted'. All these things may not seem so damning as China's counterparts. They are not."[92]

Third, he returned to the very core of the Christian mission, through which the decent missionary work would become possible. He considered that "China's poverty is no reason why you should be a missionary, nor is her illiteracy, nor are her terrible endemic diseases reasons for your coming to her shores as a missionary. The supreme relevance of the Christian movement is not to these things. . . . But the missionary movement is not humanitarian."[93] He had an interesting rhetoric for it -- "you can probably appraise the balance sheet of the established firm "God, China and Co., Unlimited" by the type of business that firm has been carrying on, by understanding God in China's way, the way of the artist rather than the way of religionist."[94] Similarly, he redefined the limits of importance and unimportance and thus to avoid self-aggrandisement. He contemplated that "Everything you do is terribly important because the souls of men are at stake. And yet everything you do is unimportant because the souls of men are in God's hands and not in yours. . . . A missionary must start each day's work knowing how much God and the whole company of heaven are counting on his

[91] *Ibid.*, 19-21.
[92] *Ibid.,* 46.
[93] *Ibid.*, 23.
[94] *Ibid.*, 25.

work, and yet as carefree as a man who knows that before the day is over he will be dead and another must carry on what he began."[95]

Fourth, he pointedly perceived that their Chinese colleagues in the mission field were in need of support, understanding, and assistance. "In some ways it is more difficult and dangerous than being a clergyman in one's own country. For the life is more public and in a sense more lonely. You feel that the whole reputation both of your country and of the Church you represented in your hands, " he wrote.[96]

Fifth, he saw the importance of missionary's ability in acute and accurate reading of the Chinese language, which was essential in getting to know the people. He reflected as follows, "Life became so full that many missionaries tended to get on with their work very largely in the English language . . . . What is serious is that we missionaries are not, as we think we are, in living touch with the life of China, and do not realise that we are not. . . . I believe it is more important for the missionary to learn to read the Chinese daily newspaper than to read the Chinese version of the New Testament."[97]

The book was written in 1942. It was a time when China was fighting a hard battle with Japan, and there was no indication of the prompt end of missionary work in China. The historical significance of Hall's book was a reflection of paradoxical position of the missionary presence in China, out of which he intended to look for ways to maintain the missionary work. One the one hand, the sphere that missionaries were allowed to work was shrinking while there were repeated attempts to boost the anti-foreignism as a kind of expression of nationalism. On the other hand, the missionaries were in control of important social resources such as schools, universities, presses, and hospitals, despite the Chinese government's series of rights movement to seize control of these social establishments.

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[95] *Ibid.,,* 75-6.

The second phrase of his missionary work was his contributions in Hong Kong out of chaos. Since the 1930s, the population of Hong Kong reached beyond a million while Hong Kong enjoyed a relative peace as compared with other Chinese cities under Japanese attack. Taking Hong Kong as a refuge had became even more apparent since the Civil War in China. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and many of its political suppression soon afterwards, the population of Hong Kong by early 1950s had exceeded 2 million. But the government could not afford to nourish the population of that size. Social services, housing, and education were among the items of urgent needs. While all the missionaries were asked to leave China, an impressive amount of them stayed in Hong Kong. Some of them wanted to keep Hong Kong as the last post to stop the spread of communism, and at the same time as a major station for preaching among the Chinese. Therefore, many missionary agents realised the problems caused by the rapidly growing population, they help channel resources to help with these problems.[98] Hall as the Bishop of Hong Kong had a remarkable contribution in this respect.[99] Two points were worthy of notice when appraising Hall's work in Hong Kong. First, he was a serious critic of the Hong Kong government. He was denounced to have been deeply influenced by the Chinese communists due to his passionate positions towards the Chinese Christians and his close connection with Christian leaders in communist China. He was at odd with Alexander Grantham (1899-1978; Governor of Hong Kong: 1947-1957), who at one time consider one of Hall's school – Bishop's Workers' Schools as "completely communist-dominated and centres of communist and anti-British indoctrination." The odds were not resolved until "It took American pressure

[96] *Ibid.,* 37.
[97] *Ibid.,* 60-63.
[98] Nelson Chow, *A Critical Appraisal of the Social Policy in Hong Kong*. (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 1991), 24-28. [In Chinese]
[99] For details, see Tsang Kwok Wah, "A Study of bishop R. O. Hall's contribution (1895-1975) to Hong Kong education and social welfare" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1993). [In

on behalf of the other side, exerted in the clumsiest of fashions, to prove that it was the Nationalist element in Hong Kong that stood more in need of government vigilance than Bishop Hall's schools."[100] Second, his role in making possible the ecumenical efforts in Hong Kong at different levels were also impressive. The Christian Union Hospital, the Christian Study Centre for Chinese Religion and Culture, and the Chung Chi College were examples of collaboration across denominations. In brief, Hall made the Anglican Church firmly establish itself as a key social institution in the society, while riding itself of the colonial legacy on the one hand and promoting unity with other Christian denominations on the other hand.

Conclusion

This paper does not aim at offering a survey of the British missionary approaches to modern China. Neither is it a comparative study of the relative contributions of British missionaries in modern China. Rather, this paper intends to offer a kaleidoscopic review of the complexity behind the history of British missionary presence in China. Of course, the elements of time and space matter in historical account. In terms of space, this paper covers areas in South, North and West China. In South China, there was Canton, the only port for external trade, and Hong Kong, the only British colony in China. In North China, it has been the political centre for a long time. In West China, there were unreached ethnic groups. In terms of time, this paper covers almost 160 years. During these years, there were many major political issues, ranging from the British attempts to open China through trade and negotiation to the colonial situation of Hong Kong after the founding of the People's Republic of China. As shown in this paper, these seven missionaries had tried to develop the missionary cause in the longer terms. They all

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worked towards the direction of making possible the incorporation of Christianity in China. In brief, we can see the incorporation took roots mainly at three levels, namely mission-politics relations, mission-society relations, and mission-culture relations.

In regard to mission-politics relations, these missionaries had different levels of alignment with politics. Robert Morrison's interpreter position enabled him to begin his missionary work in China, which was otherwise quite difficult to begin. His work at the EIC and then the Superintendence of Trade inevitably put him in some connections with British ambition in China. He felt a profound struggle of his official (or secular) position at the dawn of the British imperialism in China. Intuitive minded as he was, he was probably aware of the drastic changes in Sino-British relations that would take place after the end of monopoly of the EIC in China trade. Timothy Richard had chosen the opposite position. He was successful in making himself a source of reform ideals for the Chinese literati, reformer officials, and even the Emperor. He was active in helping rid China of Western imperialism, though unsuccessful. His contributions were duly recognised in the traditional and official Chinese ways. If we can regard the work by Morrison and Richard as an alignment with politics, we can regard those of Benjamin Hobson, James Legge, and Ronald Owen Hall as models of semi-alignment with politics. It happened that all these had their work in Hong Kong, the British colony. They did not play any official position in the colonial structure of Hong Kong, they managed to solicit some levels of governmental subsidies in carrying out mission-related charity or social services. The non-alignment model would be seen in the case of Hudson Taylor. His approach was faith mission, relying on God's providence.

In regard to missions-society relations, education and medicine were usually the most needed services and thus opened doors for missionaries to incorporate Christianity

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[100] Frank Welsh, *A History of Hong Kong* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), 445.

in the community. In particular, education as an important device in determining social mobility at personal level, and in extending the modernisation at societal level can be shown in the cases of Legge, Taylor, and Hall. The more revealing cases are those of Legge and Hall in Hong Kong, which we can see a combination of the levels of missions-politics relations and missions-society relations. Through the regular resources input from the government, the missions had a better environment to make itself resourceful in becoming a status-giving and status-reinforcing agent.

In regard to missions-culture relations, all of these seven missionaries had different degrees of interest in this respect. It was probably because it was regarded as the most penetrating in making possible the long-term success of Christian missions in China. These included the promotion of mutual understanding at scriptural levels and secular levels, such as the translation of the Bible in the Chinese language, the translation of the Chinese classics in the English language, the introduction of Western medicine in the Chinese language, and the promotion of Western learning. At a more perceptive level, these missionaries articulated the missionary call in a manner that China and Christianity were shrewdly attached. Thus it made China always a giant magnet for the endeavours of Christian missions. It can be revealed in James Legge's writings on the relations between Confucianism and Christianity, Hudson Taylor's literature on China, Thomas Torrance's writings of the Ch'iang people, and Ronald Owen Hall's perception of a missionary work as a artist work.

There is no simple solution to dissolving the Chinese rejection of Christianity. Neither is there a kind of penicillin to ensuring the incorporation of Christianity in China. Locating somewhere between "incorporation" and "rejection," Christian missionary works in Chinese history became a source of appreciation and condemnation. That is exactly why the Chinese have a love-hate complex towards missionaries and Christianity.

The ambivalent perception of the history of Christian missions in China made itself a topic of immense historical significance.